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## CONTENTS.

	PAGE
Family Life in America . . . . .	TH. BENTZON 1
The Nicaragua Canal an Impracticable Scheme . . . . .	JOSEPH NIMMO, JR. 21
The Army as a Career . . . . .	OLIVER O. HOWARD 34
The Best Thing College does for a Man . . . . .	CHARLES F. THWING 44
Some Municipal Problems . . . . .	E. W. BEMIS 53
The Manitoba Schools Question . . . . .	GOLDWIN SMITH 65
Cost of an Anglo-American War . . . . .	EDWARD ATKINSON 74
An Alliance with England the Basis of a Rational Foreign Policy,	
SIDNEY SHERWOOD	89
The European Situation . . . . .	F. H. GEFFCKEN 100
Spirit of Racing in America . . . . .	JNO. GILMER SPEED 109
Manners and Customs of the Boers . . . . .	T. LORAIN WHITE 118
Deficiency of Revenue the Cause of our Financial Ills . . . . .	JOHN SHERMAN 129
Two South African Constitutions . . . . .	JAMES BRYCE 145
The Cathode Ray,—Its Character and Effects . . . . .	A. W. WRIGHT 165
Teaching,—A Trade or a Profession? . . . . .	J. G. SCHURMAN 171
Foibles of the New Woman . . . . .	ELLA W. WINSTON 186
The Present Outlook of Socialism in England . . . . .	WILLIAM MORRIS 193
Francis Joseph and his Realm . . . . .	AUGUST FOURNIER 201
On Pleasing the Taste of the Public . . . . .	BRANDER MATTHEWS 219
Holland's Care for its Poor . . . . .	J. H. GORE 228
Rumors of War and Resultant Duties . . . . .	J. W. MILLER 237
Glimmerings of a Future Life . . . . .	RICHARD HODGSON 247
The Political Situation . . . . .	E. L. GODKIN 257
A Salutary Mandate to the National Conventions . . . . .	WM. SALOMON 271
THE CUBAN QUESTION :	
✓ Our Duty to Cuba . . . . .	H. C. LODGE 278
✓ The Question of Cuban Belligerency . . . . .	JOHN BASSETT MOORE 288
PROBLEMS OF POVERTY AND PAUPERISM :	
Need of Better Homes for Wage-Earners . . . . .	CLARE DE GRAFFENRIED 301
The Cultivation of Vacant City Lots . . . . .	M. A. MIKKELSEN 313
Modern Norwegian Literature—I. . . . .	BJÖRNSTJERNE BJÖRNSEN 318
The Unaided Solution of the Southern Race Problem, . . . . .	A. S. VAN DE GRAAFF 330
Pestalozzi and Herbart . . . . .	WILHELM REIN 346
Modern Archæology : Recent Excavations in Greece —I. . . . .	J. GENNADIUS 361
Is the Power of Christianity Waning?—No ! . . . . .	H. K. CARROLL 376
Election of Senators by Popular Vote . . . . .	JOHN H. MITCHELL 385
Modern Norwegian Literature—II. . . . .	BJÖRNSTJERNE BJÖRNSEN 398



	PAGE
The Fallacy of Territorial Extension . . . . .	W. G. SUMNER 414
A Keats Manuscript . . . . .	THOMAS WENTWORTH HIGGINSON 420
The Promises of Democracy : Have they been Fulfilled ? .	F. W. BLACKMAR 425
Education of Women in Turkey . . . . .	MARY MILLS PATRICK 440
Armenia's Impending Doom : Our Duty . . . . .	M. M. MANGASARIAN 449
The Democratization of England . . . . .	THOMAS DAVIDSON 460
Ego, et Rex Meus : A Study of Royalty . . . . .	OUIDA 471
Our Sub-Arid Belt . . . . .	E. V. SMALLEY 486
The True Aim of Charity Organization Societies,	JOSEPHINE SHAW LOWELL 494
The Isolation of Music . . . . .	WALDO S. PRATT 501
Jefferson and His Party To-Day . . . . .	WILLIAM E. RUSSELL 513
The Presidential Outlook as Europeans View It,	PAUL LEROY-BEAULIEU 525
Reasons for an Immediate Arbitration Treaty with England,	CHARLES W. ELIOT 534
Mr. Cleveland's Second Administration . . . . .	GEORGE WALTON GREEN 540
Baron de Hirsch . . . . .	OSCAR S. STRAUS 558
Theodore Roosevelt as a Historian . . . . .	W. P. TRENT 566
Cardinal Manning, Anglican and Roman . . . . .	C. C. TIFFANY 577
Substitutes for the Saloon . . . . .	FRANCIS G. PEABODY 595
Is There Another Life ? . . . . .	GOLDWIN SMITH 607
President Angell's Quarter-Centennial . . . . .	MARTIN L. D'OOGHE 620
Moltke and His Generalship . . . . .	J. VON VERDY DU VERNONIS 628
THE WEST AND THE EAST :	
Mr. Godkin on the West : A Protest . . . . .	C. S. GLEED 641
The Financial Bronco . . . . .	T. S. VAN DYKE 651
A French College Sixty Years Ago . . . . .	JULES SIMON 659
The Next American University . . . . .	WILLIAM MACDONALD 671
Social and Economic Influence of the Bicycle . . . . .	J. B. BISHOP 680
Altruism in Economics . . . . .	W. H. MALLOCK 690
IMPERATIVE REASONS FOR REPUBLICAN CONTROL :	
The Free-Coinage Epidemic . . . . .	JUSTIN S. MORRILL 705
Blunders of a Democratic Administration : The Remedy .	S. M. CULLOM 713
What the Republican Party Stands For . . . . .	HORACE PORTER 722
Harriet Beecher Stowe . . . . .	JULIUS H. WARD 727
Modern Archæology : Recent Excavations in Greece —II.	J. GENNADIUS 735
The Matrimonial Market . . . . .	EDWARD CARY 747
Significance of the Canadian Elections . . . . .	GEORGE STEWART 753
INDEX . . . . .	761



# The Forum

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MARCH, 1896.

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## FAMILY LIFE IN AMERICA.

NOTHING is more difficult than to give an opinion of a country where we have received hospitality, and especially a hospitality so incomparably warm and generous as that of America. Whether we praise lavishly or venture to blame, two perils threaten us—the danger of being blinded by remembered benefits, and the possibility of failing to fulfil the most elementary obligations of good breeding. Commonplaces or ingratitude, we escape the one but to fall into the other, and perhaps it would be wiser to say nothing at all.

If, however, one decides to speak, the only road to follow is the perfectly clear path of sincerity and good faith. This course I have pursued throughout the long series of articles, published during 1895 in the "*Revue des Deux Mondes*," upon the condition of woman in the United States.<sup>1</sup> These articles reflect what I have seen, while I have tried to avoid rash conclusions, the justice of which no traveller, after six months of wandering in a new world, would reasonably care to assume. These random notes, in spite of their inevitable shortcomings, have excited a very great interest in France, and, what is of far greater importance, a generous emulation. I speak frankly, having no reason to be modest upon this point, since the success achieved is entirely due to the subject treated. During the course of this publication, now ended, nothing has touched me more than the kindness of the American press and the sympathy expressed by those individuals whom, not without a certain anxiety, I had introduced to the public.

<sup>1</sup> Since published in book form by Calmann Lévy, Paris: "*Les Américaines chez elles*."



But the intelligence of American women apparently enables them to hear without irritation whatever is said of them, if it be said in the spirit and solely for the sake of truth; they know how to look at things from another's point of view; I believe that they are even capable of making use of the mistaken judgment of a foreigner, discovering in the sources of his error material for instructive comparisons of the education, character, and national prejudices of the two peoples. Convinced, after this delicate test, of the absence of narrow-mindedness among my American friends, I shall speak to them of themselves with even less fear than when I discussed them behind their backs, so to speak,—to the French public.

This question has been put to me: "What do you think of family life in America?" And again I shall reply without evasion.

Whatever has made our own love and happiness must seem of more value than a state of things which interests our neighbor, but which we ourselves but half comprehend; for if there be a point upon which the differences of sentiment and organization are completely and strongly marked in the two countries, which otherwise have many traits in common, it is this of home life. The family, despite the ferments of transformations which have, little by little, been effected by contact with other nations, reminds us still, in Latin countries, of what it once was in Rome. Certainly paternal authority is no longer unlimited, as it was in the days of old; it is not even what it was in France before the Revolution, when a father's will alone was sufficient to shut a daughter within convent walls or a son behind prison bars; but although it rests now upon fewer recognized rights, it is still very strong. The father is still, in the full significance of the term, the head of the family to such a degree that the truth is revealed, to those who look deeply into the matter, that in the young republic which aspires to be the France of to-day there still throbs the heart of the old monarchy, armed with divine right. Everywhere the family is the prototype of the nation, and the French nation has the same inalienable habits of administration, subordination, hierarchy, and direction, even in those crises when she seems to wander farthest away from all regard for these things; she has, pre-eminently, a social instinct which demands a distribution of parts, so to speak, in the interests of a harmonious whole, to which each one must contribute his share according to the measure of his capacities.

It is recognized in France that the father's duty is to govern and



provide for his household, to increase the inheritance left him by his ancestors and the dowry brought him by his wife, or, having neither, to supply the family needs by his own exertions. Upon the mother rests the responsibility of household affairs; this is her particular and well-defined domain, together with the education of her daughters, which she conducts to her own liking; usually keeping them under her personal influence, guarding them like little children until their marriage, which is proposed and arranged by the parents. The career of the son is likewise a subject of deep concern to all the members of his family, who do not hesitate to influence the young man in this or that direction; opposing what seems to them an unwise vocation and giving him, except in rare instances, as little opportunity as possible to depend upon his own judgment and capacity.

There is in France a constant exchange of consideration and protection, which has seemed to me scarcely to exist in the American family,—where the individuality of each member asserts itself from the cradle, where each one is astonishingly eager to follow an independent career and to assume the responsibility of his own destiny. In America I have been struck by the absence of that unity of the family, as we understand it: that willingness of some (who are usually women) to sacrifice themselves for the comfort and pleasure of others, that desire to remain united at all costs; and my first impressions were these:—the almost insolent triumph of youth, the boldly advertised domination of woman, the effacement of parents and their lack of authority over their children, the apparent coldness of their reciprocal relations, or, where this was not the case, a certain affectation in emphasizing it, as though it were something quite unusual. I have therefore been greatly surprised when I have heard Americans who have lived a long time in France, assert on their side that the mutual relations between parent and child were on the contrary less affectionate there than in America. Besides this, we French—everybody says it of us and it must therefore be true—have the least sentiment of any people in the world. I had always believed that whatever of sentiment we possessed was concentrated, to a degree almost unknown elsewhere, in the intensity of maternal love (a thing easily explained by the infrequency of love marriages, in the real sense of the term, which are contracted in France), and that this adds to the maternal devotion so much the more of emotion,—nay, passion. Ah well! I am mistaken, it seems; the union is much closer in America. I have not only heard this said, but I have read it in excellent books. Yet, I cannot help protesting.



I begged for explanations,—proofs. “Do you know many families in France?” I ask, and they answer, “You do not have the winter-evening readings in your French home circles”; “No,” I reply at once, “because we have conversation; we talk with one another, which prevents reading aloud, and to give another reason, we do not read together because the books written for our children are not generally such as would interest older people.”

“Are your children brought forward as prominently there as ours are here?” some one asks me. “Have they as important a place in your homes as we give them in ours?” “No,” I should say in reply, “because with us the laws of good breeding demand, on the one hand, that the children shall be strictly guarded and constantly directed, and on the other, that they shall be taught not to annoy any one, not to put themselves forward; and so they learn early that they are not to be noticed. If we speak of them as little as possible, it is because we consider the *I* in conversation hateful, and since our children are ourselves, we rarely discuss them. But this is a point of breeding. The bottom of the matter has not been touched by such considerations.” These misconceptions of French life, however, put me on guard against my own first impressions of American homes, and especially in regard to the expression of sentiment.

I reflect: We on our part consider the Anglo-Saxons much colder than ourselves because a voluntary moral restraint has taught them a much greater degree of self-control; and they find us lacking in feeling, because we imbue the expression of our feeling with our native qualities of tact and moderation. The acting of American or even English players seems to us excessively and singularly emphatic; the acting of French actors seems to Americans to leave too much to be divined; we are grateful to our novelists for avoiding a moral which has been repeated to us a hundred times, for sparing us the commonplace of a purely conventional plot. The plot of a French novel is only a pretext for the expression of ideas and the development of characters. Americans demand in advance of their writers of fiction—and they have excellent ones—that they tell them stories in which the wicked and the virtuous reap as they have sown. For this reason, by the way, their family readings in the evenings are more easily arranged. What does all this prove except that they are young and we are mature,—a truth which in many ways is very apparent. Now, it is natural in immature civilizations that everything should be sacrificed to those who represent progress, hope, intense life. Hence the license of chil-



dren and young girls, the insignificant part played by older persons, the hasty putting away of the dead, the absence of that reverence at the grave which is so marked in an old European country which, though chilled by centuries of growth, still pays respect and still honors and regrets what has gone, finding consolation for the threatening uncertainty of the future in the splendors of the past.

This harshness of a merciless youth is of course much more strongly marked in the working-classes; "*l'homme du peuple*," as one calls him in Europe, has the advantage in America of more education but much less refinement of behavior. One can scarcely realize the mutual affection and devotion that exists among this same class in France. M. Zola has succeeded in lending a coarse and brutal physiognomy to the peasants of his "*La Terre*," by concentrating in a single village all the crimes committed in the whole republic during a number of years. It is this exaggeration and agglomeration, this trick of producing fine but extravagant results, that one may observe in the description of that impossible garden in "*La Faute de l'Abbé Mouret*," where flowers of all seasons blossom at once. In spite of the greed, the worldly covetousness, the inordinate attachment to whatever he inherits, which characterize him, and notwithstanding the deplorable ambition he has lately developed to make a citizen of his son at any cost,—the real French peasant, with his good and his bad traits, is much nearer in point of resemblance to "George Sand's" idealized portraits than to those fantastic caricatures that the most powerful of our realistic writers has made of him. Those who have come in contact with, and have closely observed, the rustic life of our people, have found there some beautiful traces of the old patriarchal manners. One cannot realize, I repeat, how many old parents, living in the poorest attics of Paris, are tenderly cared for by children whose first duty is their comfort, nor how faithfully the ties of blood are held between brothers and sisters, how religiously the law, "Bear ye one another's burdens," is fulfilled by people who have otherwise no religion. On the other hand, it has seemed to me that in America when a man enters upon his career, he becomes absorbed in his individual interests to the exclusion of all others: brimming over with physical energy and pre-occupied with personal affairs, he soon loses regard for home ties, which are broken by absence and a life of adventure.

Speaking of American women, the "homes" and "clubs" for the working classes among them, so excellent in themselves, must, it seems to me, necessarily tend toward the dissolution of the family. They



often secure the welfare of the individual only by uprooting her from her natural surroundings. The general striving after instruction, the frequent contempt for needlework and other humble occupations of the household, must of course separate the poor girl from her own people and class; and all that she gains intellectually in the "struggle for life" does not always strengthen her in the homely quality of goodness of heart; instruction that fosters ambition is not the education that elevates the soul, and may sometimes even become its worst enemy. It is especially important in a working family that each member should be content to be nothing more than a wheel in the clockwork, contributing his best efforts to maintain the regularity of the whole. But what would become of American individualism if it had to play such a humble part in the machinery? The aversion to domestic service, and consequently the recognized need of servants, sufficiently proves a general rebellion. There is no country, on the contrary, where the family, including the servants, are so closely united as in France. And yet, not only in America, but in all countries where English is spoken, they pity us because we have no expression for that intimate and delightful word "home," which occurs so constantly with them!

In vain do we tell them many times over, that if we have not the word, we have the thing in the highest degree, the real home being the unity of the family, which is elsewhere more scattered. It is true that the home in France does not always mean a separate establishment such as the poorest individual who has a drop of Anglo-Saxon blood is ambitious to possess. The isolation of the family within walls that shelter it from all promiscuous association, and defend it from intrusions, contributes surely to its privacy. To be ranged, one over the other, like cells in a beehive, in apartments that may be taken by the year and as easily abandoned, is a subject of horror to Americans. They see in this sort of establishment little more than a perch: *une installation sur la branche*, which surely ought not to frighten those who in their turn enjoy hotel life. But as Emile Augier says in a verse that deserves to be simple prose: "The tavern does not harm the home."

It was perhaps in Philadelphia that I felt most fully the force of that sentiment which surrounds the American home and the influence it may exert upon the morality of a nation. This city has, I was told—and its aspect justifies the assertion—a greater number of small houses than any other, and has instituted a philanthropic movement designed to give to the poorest of its citizens the opportunity of becoming in a few years the owners of their homes. I have never, perhaps, felt such



veneration in viewing the splendors of European palaces, as filled me when I beheld the modest relics of the ancient State House and those great institutions which prove what noble pains Philadelphians have taken to develop art and science in their city; not excepting industrial art, in honor of which no more magnificent temple has been erected than the Drexel Institute. Yet, aside from its University and its learned societies, it is as "the city of homes" that I remember Philadelphia.

To whatever class a man may belong, it is a blessing if, in the hardening struggle for existence which so often leads him far away from home surroundings, he is able to fix his thoughts upon the permanent abiding-place of the family,—the home fireside, where on holidays children and grandchildren may gather around the parental table once more. If one has ever had the good fortune to be admitted to one of these family re-unions in America, the recollection of it is forcibly recalled by each recurring date: Thanksgiving, the cheerful holiday, enjoyed by all classes, rich and poor, young and old, when the inevitable turkey and mince-pie are eaten with gratitude for benefits received during the year; Christmas with its traditional tree, the season of merry-making and exchanging of gifts, when pine-boughs and mistletoe and red-berried holly wreaths adorn the walls and hang at the windows; Easter with its symbolic lilies and beautiful custom of flower-giving and all its joy and gayety! Nothing in France gives the least idea of all this. On such holidays, in America, the most hardened and degraded prodigal son must smell from afar the odor of the fatted calf roasted in honor of his return, and be impelled in spite of himself to go back to his father's house. I must say here, in passing, that in France the prodigal rarely strays beyond Paris. In America he goes to the Far West, for the same species of swine do not herd in the boulevard and the back-woods: they suggest very different reflections.

But, to continue, never have the paternal roof and the least of its relics been so treasured and so much dwelt upon as among Americans. We French are not travellers and rarely leave our homes. That which one has at hand is always of less value than that which is enhanced by the magic of distance; and so the people who are the greatest worshippers of home are, it may be noticed, always travelling, and their adoration of these homes does not prevent them from letting them by contract to strangers while they themselves try a camp life elsewhere. Nothing is more opposed to French prejudices than such a proceeding; a Frenchman would consider his household gods desecrated, if they had no other protection than the walls of a hired apartment. I



might with a slight variation repeat the proverb, "What is truth on one side of the Pyrenees is error on the other." There is another point of difference which seems to be all in favor of the Americans,—the doors of their homes open so much more readily in the name of hospitality. We seldom suspect the impression that a city like Paris makes upon foreigners "who know it only from the splendor of the streets," as a distinguished American lady once said to me, "because its doors are so closely shut." The reception we give foreigners is, I may say, merely external; we do not know how to put ourselves at the disposal of strangers from the other end of the world, treating them as friends at first sight. Besides, we draw into our shells with a sort of suspicion. It is this very exclusiveness, by the way, which gave birth to our "salons," which are nothing more than cliques.

Leaving the shell let us pass to its inhabitant; instead of the home itself let us speak of the family which dwells there, and let us begin, if you will, with him who is called the head.

The father is, as a general rule, very different in America from what he is in Europe. He does not expect to meet with such blind submission, nor does he feel himself bound by so narrow duties. He is not obliged to give his daughters a dowry, for instance. He can let his native city profit by a share of the fortune he has made, without his sons ever thinking of grumbling at the expensive founding of some establishment for the public good. It is their affair to get rich by their own industry, and in their turn to perform acts of good citizenship. The American who inherits a ready-made fortune often loses those fine qualities that I have hailed in him with admiration: enterprise, pluck, grit, incomparable will-power—he then resembles the sons of our aristocracy, except that he bears his leisure with less elegance. But nothing has struck me so much as to see of how little consequence a father of a family can be, in his own house, in certain circles in New York, for instance. I have visited houses where he seemed only to have dropped in by accident, as one might say, evidently at a loss to recognize most of the invited guests, and yet showing himself most hospitable with the good-will of his hand-shake and his smile, and repeating, almost as if he did not know to whom he was speaking, that everlasting, trivial phrase "Glad to see you." The magnificent house showed great luxury, the source of which was evidently the incessant effort of this man who worked for others and provided for their pleasures so lavishly. In other places I have



attended large dinner-parties given in the absence of the master of the house. The liberty in this respect is general: this or that one of the sons or daughters accepts an invitation without troubling himself or herself about a reception at home that night, and no one even thinks of making excuses. Each has his friends, his social duties, his separate existence, and disposes of his time as seems best to himself. Self-sacrifice, if perchance it showed itself, often seemed to me to meet with an indifference that was not very encouraging—nor does one sacrifice one's self unless one be the father of the family, who certainly practises self-immolation to an unusual degree. He often works in harness at home, while his family passes years in Europe leading that purely worldly life which the American colony in Paris exhibits to us, all under the pretext that travelling develops the young people, that Miss Mary needs to catch the pure French accent, that Miss Sally must cultivate her musical talent in Germany, that the nervous prostration of their mother demands a change of climate. And with what satisfaction does the good man speak of the good time, the success, the progress of these absent ones, whose expenses he defrays without stopping to count them!

This is purely American. I believe, for my part, that one greatly exaggerates the necessity of running to all points of the compass in pursuit of knowledge and health. If one is born in a country which forms a continent in itself, one can find all the necessary change, so far as physical health is concerned, by going from the north to the south, from the mountains to the sea. It would be to the advantage of rich and *blasé* Americans to refresh themselves from time to time by the good provincial customs; to return to those living springs, not only of their democracy, but of their true moral greatness; without counting even the many European things they would find in certain out-of-the-way villages in New England and in certain corners of the West, to which some of the old Puritan stock have transplanted themselves. There they would find fathers of families who have preserved the Old-World ideas of authority, and housewives as we understand them. The South also holds great surprises of this kind.

As to the intellectual culture of which Europe is supposed to be the home—the means of instruction certainly are not wanting now-a-days in any of the great centres in America. He who demands them only from the Old World is behind the times or follows a custom dating back to those old times when the United States had no academies, no colleges, no art collections, no museums. I know very well



that I may be told that the feeling for beauty can be acquired only in Italy, and I shall hardly dare to reply that this pretended feeling has very often seemed to me nothing but a rather cheap varnish of ready-made opinions. It was probably something like this pretence which suggested to "Mark Twain" his jokes about the art of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance.

I have often found a great charm of originality in certain Americans who had not travelled, while the annual pilgrims to the land of Art (with a capital A) have, with rare exceptions, repeated to me very much the same things. And the want of variety in the choice of pictures or reproductions of statuary which adorn their houses, always rich but surely showing little individual taste, is a proof of blind following and lack of discernment. A good deal of pretension in the women is the result of this entirely superficial education in art. I have seen a pretty woman, who knew that the expression of her face became easily pathetic, don, without any hesitation, the turban of the Cenci to be photographed in; another, with purely Greek features, accentuated them by having her portrait painted as dressed in the classic *peplum*, the fillet in her hair, and clasping one knee with a pose worthy of a Phædra or Medea. They would all gain if they remained simply themselves, bright and gay Americans,—if they talked of their own literature, which is so rich, instead of dilating by preference on Villon, Mallarmé, or Verlaine. They are brighter than any other women in the world, quite naturally so, and I do not know why the father of the family should be so anxious to add to this brilliancy by pilgrimages to Europe in which he does not take part.

They seem to think, besides, that he is only fulfilling the duty he owes them by acting thus. One whom I congratulated on being immensely indulged by her adoring parents, answered calmly: "Yes, certainly, they watch our development with much interest." The idea that they might think of controlling or even merely of directing this development would never have entered her head. The thought of individual liberty is indeed constantly present in the mind of the father of the family, as it is in the mind of those who are supposed to depend upon him. He has his share of this liberty, as I have already said. Law allows him to dispose of his property as seems best to him, to make his will as he pleases; at the same time it obliges him to take into account the natural rights of each one of his children, in the gravest decisions. The father understands that they can all follow their own vocations, that his son, a mere boy, will fly out of the



home-nest, that his daughter will marry according to her own choice, even should it be done imprudently. Without trying to control their religious faith, he will also give them the example of a religious spirit, which is easy enough, by the way, in a country where each variety of Christianity can find a label to fit it, and where the multiplicity of sects lends itself to the broadest exigencies of free discussion. In praise of America, be it said, the practice of religion is never reduced by men to the function of leading-strings, useful in guiding the uncertain steps of women and children. The father is, or seems to be, in religious fellowship with his family, and this union in the Christian faith surely makes up for much of the superiority of which we boast. The wrong side of the medal, the drawback, in America is perhaps a certain hypocrisy. Alas, where does one not find this untruthfulness and false appearance!

It is fortunate if it helps to strengthen salutary constraint, without which all liberty becomes license. The avowed communion in the faith is certainly the most powerful and most efficacious bond which can bind the family together; besides, this union is sometimes, even in other respects, closer than I have said—another proof that it is dangerous to generalize. If the American business man (and his kind predominates) is almost invisible in his own house, where he expects his wife and daughters to represent those elegances and refinements of which he hardly has time to think except when he pays for them, other classes of individuals, which exist in America as elsewhere—all students for instance, lawyers, physicians, artists, scholars,—are very much less absent from their own homes, and exercise by their mere presence a kind of authority which escapes our notice because it is not proclaimed. I have never seen anything more touching or more perfect than the communion of certain fathers with their unmarried daughters. The intellectual life they shared made them friends by choice, and one can understand that this friendship, without tyranny on one side or dependence on the other, can make the young girl so exacting on the question of marriage that she does not care in the end for any other companion but this beloved master, whose support she becomes in her turn when old age touches him. To understand better what I say, I refer my readers to Miss Sarah Orne Jewett's novel, "*A Country Doctor*," which is written with such largeness and at the same time with such restraint.

Shall I dare to express my whole idea? The severe education that the American girl receives agrees especially with those who after-



ward choose celibacy. The single woman in the United States is infinitely superior to her European sister; free from the fetters that often make the French old-maid so pitiable and ridiculous, she does not, like the latter, expect to gain liberty by marriage,—on the contrary, by marriage she would lose that perfect independence which allows her to cultivate herself more and more, to rise into a larger sphere than that of the family and even of the ordinary social circle, by consecrating herself to works of universal interest. Her intercourse with men, freed from the childishness of flirtation, bears a stamp of quietness and freedom which allows real and serious intimacies that no criticism could assail. One sees no bitterness, no regrets. Her lot is too beautiful, her life too full, in spite of the natural satisfactions renounced—nay, perhaps just on account of that renunciation. Let there be, however, no misunderstanding. If it seems indispensable to me that the woman who, for some good reason or other, does not marry, should find some sphere for her activity, I severely blame the systematic scorn of marriage which comes to many young Americans who are ambitious *to be somebody, to do something*, to distinguish themselves in a career, and to escape from the common ways. With these pretended vocations there are often mixed a childish vanity, a morbid idea of creating a sensation, of singling one's self out; and obstacles are most useful in proving their real value. Colleges, if made too easily accessible, may, it seems to me, do much harm, and seriously injure family-life by drawing young girls away from it at an age when they ought to take their share in domestic duties. On this point, too, one must say that everything is good or bad according to the way in which it is used, and the spirit in which it is conceived. It is naturally the unmarried women or widows who take a leading position in philanthropic associations and the many clubs, agencies, and the like, which have helped so much to enlighten, elevate, and instruct the population of cities. When the mother of a family devotes herself with the necessary fervor to such objects it always seems to us in France that she must be obliged to neglect some of the essential duties which, according to our way of thinking, must bind the wife to her hearth-stone. But perhaps we have not taken into account that devouring and almost feverish activity which enables an American woman to manage well so many enterprises at once.

If I had been questioned about the American mother before having been in the country several weeks, I should have run the risk of making far more silly remarks about her than now, in spite of whatever



hurried travellers may say about the penetration and freshness of first impressions. My first impression, I confess had been, that the school usurped the functions of the mother and that she left her children to its mercies as soon as they had learned to speak, thus renouncing all responsibility for their physical and moral, as well as for their intellectual education. That would have been a great exaggeration. The American mother is not, like the French one, wholly absorbed in her daughters; these receive an education very much like that of their brothers, but brothers and sisters return after school-hours, and maternal solicitude has all the time every means of exercising itself. A very intelligent woman, whom I told that our conventionally trained girls mostly confined themselves, under their mother's wing, to following private or public courses of lectures, said with surprise: "But how can they bear to miss having their boy and girl friends? The solid and really intimate friendships are formed at school. It is there that our daughters go through their apprenticeship for life. Without this initiation your young people must be sadly unfitted at their entrance into the world. The mother who brings up her daughter alone takes a very great and proud responsibility, but she can form her only after her own image and it seems to me that in a short time these two inseparables must make themselves too necessary to each other. Isn't it serious enough to choose a husband for the poor child? Do you really refuse her also the pleasure of choosing her own friends?"

"They could only be girl-friends," I answered, "co-education is unknown with us."

As we talked together I understood that the part of the mother of a family is perhaps a more delicate one in America than in France, just because there the power of the mother is not that of an autocrat, because she does not direct and rule everything herself, because there are many things in her daughter's life which she does not think herself authorized to prevent, and which she has to bear, while exercising a discreet vigilance. She advises without constraining, and under the gravest circumstances she has to limit herself to an appeal to her daughter's reason, without ever counting on passive obedience. It is certainly simpler to mould, like soft wax, a will that gives itself up without resistance. It is just the feeling of this unlimited authority over her daughter, of the good and the wrong she may do her, of her rigorous duty to this utter helplessness, which binds the French mother so passionately to her second self,—whom she has formed without any other influence, admitting even girl-companions unwill-



lingly, and on her guard, beforehand, against the future husband who would take her treasure from her. These relations are being modified since the introduction of a certain cosmopolitanism into our customs; but what exists everywhere with us could not be found in America, where the young bird, of either sex, escapes from the maternal wing as soon as its feathers begin to grow.

Neither have I ever seen anything that resembled those warm effusions of tenderness, that enthusiastic confidence, which exist with us between mother and son. This explains itself in a country where men are so early taken hold on by the realities of life. I certainly admire the vigor and enterprise of the average American boy, his way of starting out, almost without looking back, to conquer the world, and so having a vastly greater field of action than our French lads. Though his motive power is very often the desire for money, I do not mind, since he earns this money himself instead of expecting it from the accident of a legacy or a wife's dowry; but it is certain that long separations, business cares, violent competition, the inveterate habit of "self-control" produce (at least on the surface) a certain hardness, which makes impossible the kind of intimacy between mother and son that always charms and surprises foreigners living in France. For this intimacy more "womanliness" is needed in the man than usually exists in the "muscular Christian" in America, and on the other hand a knowledge of life in general and of the masculine being in particular is necessary in the woman, but quite incompatible with the American ideal of "womanliness" which seems to us a little artificial. This ideal consists really in systematically ignoring what is quite evident. However guarded a life a Frenchwoman may have lived—when she marries she knows many things which the more emancipated American constantly refuses to admit. She knows that as man is exposed by his nature, his education, and the wear and tear of life to more dangers than herself, she cannot expect in him exactly the same delicacy and the same purity that he demands justly from her. Ready for all sacrifices and all devotion that may guard him, she yet only half counts on that absolute faithfulness, in which she herself cannot be wanting without forfeiting her honor. A defensive instinct makes her very clear-sighted as to passions and inclinations that have to be checked. If intelligent Americans, such as I have met, should affect, before her, to believe in the same moral practice for both sexes she would smile, as she is apt to smile, not cynically but with sad resignation, at such conventional fictions as "a only love, a broken heart, etc." She knows



that the absolute and the definite abound more in novels than in real life, the complex shades of which do not escape her; she is not satisfied with mere words. She is also capable of giving to her husband, son, or brother advice that no American son, brother, or husband would ever ask from the women of his family. These have another system, which is perhaps as efficacious in its way; and I suppose they try not to lower themselves in the respect of women, who expect so much of them.

But there is a great deal of conventionality in the relations between men and women in America, and the foreigner who travels in the United States is more struck with it than with anything else. In France one meets more sincerity in this respect, a sincerity coupled with common sense, which is the reason why a book like "*The Heavenly Twins*," for instance, makes no other impression than that of bad taste, exaggeration, and nonsense. Nor would the Frenchwoman, who is the least disposed to tamper with vice, ever understand the indignant stupor of the mother of *Pendennis*, when she discovers that her son, a gentleman, could have had anything to say to a little milliner. The Americans, on the contrary,—and be it well understood that I do not speak here of that ultra fashionable set which makes a profession of being *blasé*, but the Americans who represent our middle-class,—seemed to me to be still living in those happy illusions of *Mrs. Pendennis*. I believe there are no women on this earth more calmly sure of the fidelity of their husbands, and there are probably in fact more happy marriages in America than anywhere else. But I also think—if I may be allowed to say so—that a happy union in France, though much rarer, ranks first just because there can be no question there of that equality of which Tennyson says,—

"Let . . . this proud watchword rest  
Of equal; seeing either sex alone  
Is half itself . . ."

Not when the woman of the house pursues her individual way apart from that of her husband, instead of using her intelligence to understand, help, and complement him, can that divine union be produced:—

"Purpose in purpose, will in will, they grow,  
The single pure and perfect animal,  
The two-cell'd heart, beating with one full stroke,  
Life."

To me—a Frenchwoman—the true reign of the wife and of the mother seems to consist in the unremitting accomplishment of a thousand small things. It is this, perhaps, which keeps woman from that



continuous devotion to one idea, from which, according to Buffon, the works of genius are born. But she who, as an exception, has a work of genius in her mind will be forced to let it out even if all the fine meshes of the net woven around her should have to be torn. The work of genius of the others, of the majority, will be a faultless household. It is well not to disgust young girls with that, and my view may appear founded on routine—but it is also founded on human nature, which it is never wise to oppose. If girls in France are brought up a little too exclusively with a view to please their future husbands, the Americans are perhaps too much concerned with the purpose of personal development, and both systems have their inconveniences.

As to morals, properly speaking, it is quite evident that in a society where flirtation is allowed, on principle, only to girls, and where the *demi-monde* has only the coarsest equivalents for it, temptations must be less strong and less frequent for that sex which in this respect is really the weak one. Besides, in spite of the honorable privileges which she enjoys, woman certainly does not, in an existence swallowed up by business and relieved by sport, occupy that immense place which she fills with us in the mind of man. I believe besides that a certain number of puritanical convictions are still ruling American society as firmly as ever. To suppose that society is more virtuous in one country than in another would be very simple-minded; but nowhere will society give us those specimens of model families which we are seeking. If we speak of it for a moment, however, I should say, that even in that elegant and frivolous world such situations, of which one makes a *vaudeville* with us, such as “*Le Plus Heureux des Trois*,” are very rare in the United States. For that reason, persons who have a taste for such things gladly cross the ocean to profit by the liberties that are offered by old civilizations, and often exceed the bounds which such civilizations authorize.

Of course one suspects in America, as in England, that the moral condition in France is deplorable, and injurious to the dignity of the family. On the other hand, one does not seem to know in the least that flirtation transplanted from America into certain Parisian circles inspires in us a horror equal to that with which Puritans severely regard *sin*, because we do not see in flirtation the excuse of an irresistible passion. Flirtation is a constant transgression of the law: “Thou shalt not play with love.” In its native country it may be rendered inoffensive most of the time by the temperament and the habits of those who give themselves up to it. It all depends on the



partner one has in this game,—on the conventionality on which one rests,—on the education which has prepared us for it. Co-education radically modifies the elements that enter into the future intercourse between men and women. It tempers maidenly shyness on the one side and passion on the other, it clothes the young girl in an armor of assurance and fills the young man with reserve and respect. I believe that it has, at the bottom, a better effect on him than on her.

Long habit prevents most of the inconveniences that we should expect. From the kindergarten onward, the future woman learns to guard herself, and receives from her masculine comrades those protecting attentions which they will show toward her all her life. I imagine besides that the American woman, even the somewhat fast one, becomes more prudent than our scepticism would admit, when she has no chaperon to protect her temerity. This chaperon, whose presence permits a young lady to dine at Delmonico's in male society, is chosen in such a way as to have nothing in common with the "inconvenient third." Left to herself the young lady would be even more safe, and I have heard good judges disapprove of this innovation as one liable to abuse. Does not this prove that customs which have descended through generations had better be kept up and that, if the Americans do not gain anything by going back toward the *duennas*, we should do well in France, for the same reason, not to advance too quickly on the road opened up by the bachelor-girls?

The class of American girls which deserves our interest still more, belongs—and there are many examples—to that intrepid and somewhat hard type which Henry James has painted in his "Portrait of a Lady";—*Isabel Archer*, so eager to know everything, so little curious to know what it is to love! The best of them are wanting in humility, that humility which belongs to tenderness. They are self-possessed to a degree of which we cannot conceive, with a foundation of dryness and inevitable egotism. One must lay the stress on this double fault, instead of harping, as one does too much in Europe, on the worst sides of a most objectionable flirtation. This is just as much out of place, by the way, as the charge of wickedness which is brought so often in America against the matrimonial customs of France and the novels that are supposed to portray them. I for one am inclined to consider flirtation as an equivalent,—a somewhat coarse, heavy, exaggerated equivalent,—of French coquetry. The liberty which a young girl enjoys in her father's house does not necessarily cause her to flirt, with or without a serious intention, and this is, I repeat, because she does not



need to marry, as the French girl does, in order to cease being a charming nonentity. She goes out, reads what she likes, receives and pays visits at her pleasure. This can only scandalize those who have not been in America, and who do not know how ungentlemanly every importunate or sentimental attention is considered when offered to a young lady in a car or in the street. For this reason the girl looks the men in the face with a calm boldness that is almost defiant.

As for books, there are no vicious ones, that is to say, none that descends far into the depths of vice. American girls have therefore no literature apart from the rest,—one writes only for them, even if art should lose! They come first, even before art. Verlaine and Villon, you ask? Even they are purged for their use; all the lions have their claws cut and their teeth drawn for the greater security of these young ladies. They strike the key-note of conversation in society, and the young men probably profit less than they would do with us, by a *tête à tête* to which they are accustomed. The arrangement of rooms almost without any doors, with looped-up *portières* everywhere, allowing an even warmth from the furnace in the most modest apartments, makes it possible for Mademoiselle to receive her male friends without excessive privacy. Of course these privileges are used or abused according to the good or bad manners, the tact or vulgarity of those who possess them, according to the influence of the surroundings, the more or less refined habits of the world in which they live; they may be used only with discretion, but in no case would one dream of contesting these privileges of youth.

To resume: The American family is less homogeneous than the French family, less united in the same interests, less blindly submissive to the authority of a head, who does not feel himself tied or constrained by such narrow duties. One finds much less formality there, than with us. Long before going to America I heard a lady from the West say in connection with all the fuss necessary in France before any one can be married: "I have no certificate of birth. All my father did was to write the name of each child on the first page of the family Bible, as soon as it had come into the world!"

The regulating of what with us is called a "*faux ménage*," a free union, the position of an illegitimate child,—all that is much more easily managed in America than in France, because the question is not how to avoid at any price the intrusion of an illegitimate child into the patrimony and the name, or how to protect the feudal stronghold of the family, but rather to gain a victory for those eternal rights



of the individual. There is perhaps a danger in France that we may arrive at too complete a forgetfulness of our fellow-men through too great a love for our own family; many women especially perceive humanity only very vaguely outside their own household; in America public spirit fills a large place in the woman's heart beside the more elastic duties of the wife and mother. As to the man, he is a citizen in a way that has no value in France, where military service is still the chief expression of patriotism. He usually thinks himself bound to acts of filial devotion toward the State to which he belongs, toward his native place, toward what we call *le clocher*. One will have to arrive by degrees at a wisely defined care for public interests, which, so long as none of the property-holders neglects his common duty, is equal to the vaster but much vaguer and easily eccentric humanitarianism of Tolstoi. The great social questions that force themselves on the whole world will oblige all nations to consider more and more seriously those words of Christ, who, disregarding his own household, pointed to the people and said: "Behold my mother and my brethren." Every one of the property-holding classes is in duty bound to help the people, and America understands this much better than Europe; she is in advance of Europe on this point as on many others. The example she gives will grow and cross the seas. The type of the American family is very likely the one that will at last prevail: the laws of progress, the better recognized rights of women, the necessity for our men to expatriate themselves, to leave the exhausted Old World where their activity no longer finds occupation and to scatter themselves abroad, the growing influx of foreign customs—all this heralds it.

Besides its form of government, we have already imported from America that great dissolvent of the old organization of the family—divorce; we already discuss the advisability of standing armies, and the right to perfect freedom in making one's will<sup>1</sup> has numerous advocates. Already the "interview," long unknown, and abhorred merely by reputation, steals into the most carefully guarded homes and accustoms the people who were till now most jealous of the privacy of their lives to the unhealthy notoriety of the newspapers; already *lycées* for girls rise up against the home education, which had before lessened the importance of the convents. Our girls are getting comparatively emancipated; they have even reached

<sup>1</sup> In France a man may, according to law, will one fourth of his fortune as he pleases, but he must leave the rest to his immediate family.—*Translator*.



that ungrateful period of emancipation, where one wields but awkwardly the weapons one has learned to use too late. At balls the young ladies are no longer taken back to their mothers, who have ceased to mount guard over them, sitting like wall-flowers around the ballrooms. Unmarried ladies of thirty or thirty-five decide to go out alone and to read books that are allowed without question to a young married woman of eighteen. It is a slow but sure revolution. A certain prejudiced class still remains recalcitrant, but it will soon have to follow suit.

I hope all the same that for some centuries yet we may keep certain heritages of the past—our deference to old age, our respect for paternal advice, and that tenderness for a mother that is like a religion. I hope progress will leave us a tolerance for each other's tastes, the polishing away of those angles of the personality that are too sharp, and a good share of that spirit of self-sacrifice which may be called nothing but foolishness, though it is a sacred foolishness of a most heroic kind. I should like to keep, besides, that healthy feeling, till now instilled into our women, that experience is above all systems, that our instinct is a power not to be suppressed, while it ought to be directed, and that certain things felt quite naturally by them, are more precious than what may be acquired by learning. Their grace, their charm, their true beauty, depend on nature; pedagogy does not suffice for everything. Men would be unhappy, without exception, if the type of the learned and strong-minded woman should destroy that of the housewife, which ought not to be incompatible with it. Neither wealth nor learning allows a woman to leave to her servants, even if they should be perfect, the smallest duties of the mistress of the house. Husbands, fathers, brothers of all countries, are sensible of the care that their wives, their daughters, and their sisters take of those every-day trifles that contribute so large a share to the comfort of existence. A woman of genius, *Mme. de Staël*, has said: "A trifle makes or ruins happiness." This is as true in the material as in the moral world. Let us wish therefore that the women of our Old World may lift their minds more and more above their distaff, but that they may never lose sight of the distaff all the same,—that symbol of so many sweet and touching things which nothing more ambitious can replace.

With these reservations, I for one shall be delighted to see our French society—that is to say, our French family of to-day—become more and more Americanized.

TH. BENTZON.



## THE NICARAGUA CANAL AN IMPRACTICABLE SCHEME.

THE popular estimate of the commercial importance of the proposed Nicaragua Canal is based upon an exaggerated estimate of the commercial importance of the Panama Canal. Count de Lesseps came to this country early in 1880 as the advocate and most distinguished proponent of the Panama Canal project. He came with the splendid prestige won at Suez. Under his influence estimates had been put forth, so low as to the cost of the proposed canal, and so high as to the tonnage likely to pass through it, as to excite incredulity even while the world was showering its plaudits upon the so-called "*Terreur des Isthmes*." These estimates were the correlative features of a scheme which ultimately caused its promoters to find their way into French prisons.

A generous and enthusiastic reception was accorded to Count de Lesseps upon his arrival at New York in February, 1880; but even while awarding him the full measure of honor for the fame he had already won, the American Society of Civil Engineers discarded his estimate of cost, and became incredulous as to the accuracy of his estimate of tonnage,—6,000,000 to 7,000,000 tons a year,—the fact having been discovered that it embraced shipping which would have to go from 3,000 to 8,000 miles out of its way in order to pass through the Panama Canal. Accordingly, at the earnest request of the American Society of Civil Engineers, in my then official capacity as Chief of the Bureau of Statistics in the Treasury Department at Washington, I entered upon the somewhat tedious task of computing the amount of tonnage which would probably pass through "an American interoceanic ship canal," the result reached being quite as applicable to the Nicaragua Canal as to the Panama route. By a liberal treatment of all matters in doubt, I found that 1,625,000 tons of shipping were all that could then be expected to pass through the proposed Canal during a year. This conclusion was generally accepted in the United States and in other countries,—except in France, where the press had been subsidized in the interest of the De Lesseps scheme. My computation involved the consideration of tonnage movements, distances, magnitude of commercial



currents, nautical conditions, certain physical characteristics of the American continent, and various elements of competition in commerce and in transportation which had an important bearing upon the subject. All these are set forth in my report to the Secretary of the Treasury of August 7, 1880,—a document of 136 pages, and embracing in its appendix sixty-one statements, by specialists and others, on the various topics touched upon in the consideration of the case.

Eight years after the inauguration of work upon the Panama Canal the project culminated in financial disaster. The Nicaragua Canal scheme, which had previously been a mere name, was then vigorously heralded as the only practical solution of the Isthmian canal question. Strange to say its proponents at first adopted the exploded De Lesseps estimate of 6,000,000 to 7,000,000 tons of shipping annually, which estimate, for reasons never explained, has been raised to 8,000,000 tons. Upon this baseless and most ridiculous assumption the Nicaragua Canal Company have for years been engaged in an astounding propaganda, continued even after their project has suffered disastrous failure as a commercial enterprise. The absurdity of the De Lesseps estimate of the tonnage which an American Isthmian canal can command will, I think, clearly appear from the following consideration of facts and governing conditions.

There is a nautical condition which will always operate as a stringent limitation upon American Isthmian traffic. Both sides of the Isthmus are in the calm belt or “doldrums.” This constitutes an insuperable obstacle to commerce in sailing-vessels by the Nicaragua Canal route. That eminent authority in physical geography, Lieutenant Maury, of the United States Navy, pointed to this fact, many years ago, in the following words:—

“Should nature, by one of her convulsions, rend the American continent in twain, and make a channel across the Isthmus of Panama or Darien, as deep, as wide, and as free as the Straits of Dover, it would never become a channel for sailing-vessels, saving the outward bound or those which could reach it with leading winds.”

This nautical condition would shut off from the Nicaragua route the nitrates of Chili and Peru, the wheat of California, the lumber of Oregon and Washington, and all other sailing-vessel cargoes. The Suez Canal is similarly affected. It is not used by sailing-vessels engaged in Asiatic and Australian trade, all of which tonnage continues to pursue the route around the Cape of Good Hope. This matter may perhaps be put in a clearer light by stating that at an estimated cost of



\$135,000,000, with due allowance for maintenance, operation, and administration, the Nicaragua Canal tolls on a sailing-vessel of 1,000 tons would amount to \$6,900, which of course would be prohibitory. In the event of the completion of the Nicaragua Canal the steamship commerce of Chili and Peru with Europe would continue to follow the route *via* the Straits of Magellan, as that route not only embraces a valuable local traffic on the eastern side of the continent at ports of Argentina, Uruguay, and Brazil, but would avoid the detention due to the slow passage through the Canal, as well as the payment of tolls.

There is a physical characteristic of the American continent which will also tend to sharply limit the amount of trans-Isthmian traffic, namely the Andean range, which skirts the western shore of South America. The oceanic divide is also near the western coast of Central America and Mexico. Commerce will never move west over that mountain range, and afterward come east through any trans-Isthmian canal. That is beyond all doubt.

One of the vagaries of the Nicaragua project consists in comparing its assumed commercial possibilities with those of the Suez Canal. From every practical point of view the comparison is absurd. The Suez route is a sea-level canal, whereas the Nicaragua scheme would involve the construction of 220 feet of lockage. The Suez Canal connects great commercial countries at either end, whereas the Nicaragua Canal would connect two vast unproductive oceans. The Suez waterway is in the direct line of great commercial currents, whereas the Nicaragua route is out of the direct line of any great commercial current. But the most important condition which distinguishes the Suez Canal from the Nicaragua project is that the former has no railroad competitor and is the highway of all the commerce which it develops; whereas the Nicaragua Canal, if constructed, would, by the time of its completion, have thirteen sharp railroad competitors between Chili at the south and British America at the north. These are: the trans-Andean railway extending from Valparaiso to Buenos Ayres; the Panama and Costa Rica railroads; the railway now in course of construction in Nicaragua from Corinto on the Pacific to a point on the Bluefields River; a railroad being constructed from old Guatemala on the Pacific to a port on the Bay of Honduras; the Tehuantepec Railway in Mexico; six transcontinental lines in the United States, and the Canadian Pacific Railway in British America. It is clearly demonstrable that each of these transcontinental railroads, measured by quantity or value of its traffic, is or will become a more important high-



way of commerce than the Nicaragua Canal if it were now completed. Each will also deflect commerce from the Canal. About all the passenger traffic, all the express goods, and all the higher classed freights will go to the railroads, leaving to the competition of the water line only freights of the lower classes, on which railroad rates now closely approximate those charged for water carriage.

The construction of the several transcontinental railroads in the United States has, for all time, diverted a large amount of traffic from the Isthmus route. The Auditor of the Custom House at New York states that the value of merchandise shipped from New York to San Francisco, and from San Francisco to New York, by way of Panama, fell from \$70,202,029 in 1869 to \$3,517,582 in 1894. At the same time the tonnage transported by transcontinental railroads has increased more than tenfold, and the average rail rates have fallen from \$2.60 in 1872 to 84 cents in 1894. It is clearly proven by commercial statistics that the tonnage available for the Nicaragua Canal is less now than it was five years ago, still less than it was ten years ago, and also less than it was in 1865 or even in 1850. And it will be still less ten years hence.

The chief markets for the fruit products of our Pacific Coast States are in this country, east of the Rocky Mountains. The rail shipments of green fruit from California increased from 2,896,530 pounds in 1873 to 149,040,480 pounds in 1893. Approximately, the total value of the products of California shipped east during the year 1890 amounted to about \$82,000,000, of which 98 per cent was shipped by rail, the remaining 2 per cent taking the Panama and the Cape Horn routes. The conditions of distance, facilities for distribution, and time, forbid that such shipments by rail shall ever be diverted to any Isthmian canal route. There is no other State in the Union which to-day has so extensive or so promising a home market as California. Her fruits—green, dried, and preserved—are now exposed for sale in every town and village from Maine to the Rocky Mountains. The railroads engaged in this great and rapidly growing branch of our internal commerce are in close alliance with California producers,—transcontinental railroad rates on oranges, lemons, and other green fruits having been reduced from \$2.50 per 100 pounds in 1873 to \$1.25 in 1895; on dried fruit from \$2.25 in 1873 to 60 cents in 1894 and 1895, and on wine from \$2.00 in 1873 to 40 cents in 1895. The transcontinental railroad companies have even gone so far as to ask of the Interstate Commerce Commission permission to haul the fruit products of California to the Atlantic seaboard for less than the rates charged to the interior, in



order to enable California producers to meet the competition of foreign growers in our seaboard markets; and it is gratifying to know that this form of protection to an American industry against foreign competition has been granted by the Commission.

I come now to the consideration of certain assumptions upon which the promoters and advocates of the Nicaragua Canal scheme mainly base their contention. One of these assumptions is that a large proportion of the commerce of Asia and Australia with Europe and the United States would be deflected from the Suez to the Nicaragua route. This proposition is an affront to the intelligence of the age. Comparing the distances by the two routes from Liverpool to Calcutta, Hong Kong, Yokohama, and Melbourne, we find the distances by the Suez route to be less than by the Nicaragua route as follows: to Calcutta 9,334 miles; to Hong Kong 4,222 miles; to Yokohama 872 miles; to Melbourne 1,638 miles. This, in view of the enormous tonnage of the Suez Canal, its much lower tolls, and the superior facilities of that route for coaling, proves beyond question that not a ton of shipping engaged in the commerce of Europe with Asia and Australia can possibly be diverted from the Suez route.

The distance from New York to Calcutta is less by way of the Suez Canal than by the American Isthmus route, by about 4,853 miles, and of course the former will continue to be the route for steam-vessels engaged in this trade, sailing-vessels taking the ocean passage around the Cape of Good Hope.

The distance from New York to Hong Kong *via* Suez is 11,796 miles, while that by way of the Isthmus of Panama is 11,238 miles, an advantage of 558 miles in favor of the American Isthmus; but the superior coaling facilities are largely in favor of the Suez Canal route, with its conveniently established depots at Nagasaki, Singapore, Galle, Colombo, Perim, Aden, Port Said, Malta, Algiers, and Gibraltar. On the other hand the vast Pacific Ocean, with inadequate coaling-stations, presents an almost insuperable obstacle to Asiatic commerce with the Atlantic seaports of the United States by the Nicaragua Canal route.

The distance from New York to Yokohama is 3,705 miles in favor of the American Canal route, but San Francisco is the natural entrepot of commerce with China and Japan. The imports from these countries are chiefly raw silk and tea, both of which products will in all probability, in the future, be largely shipped from San Francisco to the interior, and even as far east as New York, by rail.

Melbourne is nearer to New York *via* the American Isthmus than



*via* Suez by 2,902 miles, but it has a comparatively small trade with the United States, and the alternative routes by Cape Horn and by the Cape of Good Hope seem to shut this trade off from the Nicaragua Canal. Besides, it appears to be a trade which will naturally centre at San Francisco, and thus avoid the Nicaragua route.

In view of the constant reduction of railroad rates, the improvement in the facilities for the carriage and distribution of merchandise by rail, the diversion of traffic from the Cape Horn and the Panama routes to the transcontinental lines, and the enormous development of transcontinental traffic, it is much more likely that the entire China and Japan trade of the United States will be diverted to San Francisco, and other Pacific Coast ports, and then east by rail, than that it will ever be diverted to the Nicaragua Canal route.

I have recently submitted to leading ship-brokers and shipping merchants in the city of New York, the question as to the possibility of diverting the trade of Asia or Australia to the Nicaraguan Canal, and their answers to my inquiry expose the absurdity of the proposition. Besides all this, a gross misapprehension exists as to the magnitude of the tonnage employed in the trade of the Atlantic and Gulf seaports of the United States with China, Japan, Australia, and Oceania, which might find a shorter route by the Nicaragua Canal than by Suez. During the year ended June 30, 1895, the total tonnage thus entered and cleared amounted to only 416,152 tons, of which only 53,719 tons were steam tonnage, or a possible part of the tonnage of the Nicaragua Canal. The whole of it would not sufficiently increase the possible tonnage of the Nicaragua Canal from other sources to make it in a commercial sense a practicable route.

A second assumption upon which the hopes of the promoters of the Nicaragua Canal are based is that the trade of the Pacific Coast States with Europe will be deflected to that route. The tonnage of vessels entered at and cleared from the ports of the Pacific Coast States in the trade with the countries of Europe for the year ended June 30, 1895, was as follows:

To and from Washington . . . . .	80,577 tons
“ “ “ Oregon . . . . .	45,809 “
“ “ “ California . . . . .	502,349 “
Total . . . . .	628,735 “

Of this total of 628,735 tons of shipping, all of which pursued the route around Cape Horn, only 5,729 tons consisted of steam tonnage, the rest being sailing tonnage. But, as already shown, sailing tonnage



cannot pursue the Nicaragua Canal route, for the reason that, at both ends, it is in a region of calms. The advocates of the Nicaragua Canal, however, jump to the conclusion that this entire sailing tonnage, chiefly employed in the transportation of breadstuffs to Europe, would speedily give place to steam tonnage which would pass through the Canal. This is exceedingly improbable, not only on account of the tolls which it would be necessary to charge by that route, but for economic reasons affecting the combined voyages usually pursued by sailing-vessels in circumnavigating the globe. There are, besides, two other reasons which seem to forbid that such diversion to the Canal shall take place. First, it is much more probable that the present traffic around Cape Horn in the sailing-vessels will be diverted to an overland traffic by rail to Galveston or New Orleans, and thence to Europe in sailing- or steam-vessels, than that such traffic will be diverted to steam-vessels making the voyage direct from the Pacific Coast to Europe through the Nicaragua Canal. The economies of transportation sustain this view. Second, the exportation of wheat from the United States to the fluctuating markets of Europe is falling off in consequence of the competition of Argentina and other cheap wheat-producing countries, and it appears probable that a constantly increasing home market will ere long become almost the sole dependence of the American wheat-raiser.

I cannot at this time enter upon the consideration of the matters of detail and the computations which develop clearly the force of the foregoing observations. It appears to be sufficient in this connection to recommend that the Government, through its competent commercial and economic agencies, shall have such investigations and computations made for the information of Congress and the country. It would be discreditable to the intelligence of this nation to neglect to make such inquiry, and blindly rush to the conclusion that the present commerce of the Pacific Coast with Europe will be diverted to the Nicaragua Canal if it shall be constructed. New conditions confront us, and they must be studied and their lessons heeded.

A third assumption upon which the advocates of the Nicaragua Canal rest their hopes is that the shipment of lumber and timber of Oregon and Washington to the States east of the Rocky Mountains will afford ample tonnage for the Nicaragua Canal route. This assumes that such lumber is to be shipped in steam-vessels, as the Nicaragua route is not available for sailing-vessels. The impracticability of this proposition is evident from the following consideration: Draw



a line from Buffalo, N. Y., to Pittsburgh, Pa., thence to Parkersburg, W. Va., thence to Chattanooga, Tenn., and thence in a southwesterly direction to the Rio Grande. It is easily demonstrable that lumber and timber can be transported by rail from the Pacific Coast to all points west and north of this line at a lower rate than by the ocean route in steamers by way of the Nicaragua Canal. The rail lines can ship forest products direct from the mills of the Pacific Coast to a thousand lumber-yards east of the Rocky Mountains. On the other hand the Nicaragua route would involve the additional expenses due to local rail rates to the ship, transfer from car to ship, ocean freight, canal tolls, transfer from ship to car on the eastern side of the continent, and local rail rates thence to destination. Again, to all points east of the imaginary line mentioned, the lumber of the Pacific Coast would meet the competition of the lumber of Canada, Maine, New York, Pennsylvania, and of the South Atlantic and Gulf States, including Texas. Already shingles have been shipped from the State of Washington to Boston by rail. The total tonnage employed between San Francisco and Atlantic ports of the United States in the voyage around Cape Horn amounted to only 58,015 tons during the fiscal year ended June 30, 1895. This is a sailing-vessel trade. It can never be deflected to the Nicaragua Canal. Besides, it will probably soon disappear before the competition of the transcontinental railroads.

There is a fourth vain assumption upon which the hopes of the advocates of the Nicaragua Canal are based, namely, that the present tonnage of the Panama Railroad will at once be transferred to the Nicaragua Canal upon its completion. Such tonnage is largely composed of traffic to and from points in Central America and South America. Counting arrivals and departures at Panama, it amounts to about 500,000 tons annually. But as the Panama route is an established route with a large fighting margin in any competitive struggle which might ensue, the deflection of even 100,000 tons of shipping from that route seems to be improbable.

The success of a chimera oft-times depends upon the adroit use of some alluring phrase. Recourse has been had to such an expedient in the advocacy of the Nicaragua project. It has been proclaimed from one end of this land to the other that the Nicaragua Canal would form an avenue for "the commerce of the globe," just as the Suez Canal is assumed to be an avenue for "the commerce of the globe." This is transparent nonsense. The tonnage of merchandise transported on the railroads of the United States during the year 1893 amounted to



757,464,480 tons; the tonnage of vessels which passed through the Detroit River during the year 1894 amounted to 23,091,000 tons; and the tonnage of the Suez Canal during the year 1894 amounted to 8,039,105 tons. But the traffic of the railroads of the United States constitutes only a part of the "commerce of the globe"; the traffic of the Detroit River is a much smaller part; the traffic of the Suez Canal is a still smaller fraction; and the commerce of the Nicaragua Canal would be only a small fraction of this small fraction of the "commerce of the globe." And yet this phrase has been and is to-day employed to foist upon the Government of the United States the enormous expense of constructing the Nicaragua Canal,—one of the flimsiest chimeras that ever gained human credence and patronage.

There are two practical methods of computing the amount of tonnage likely to pass through the proposed Canal. The first of these methods is based upon the official statistics of tonnage of the commercial nations, as modified by distance, nautical considerations, and various conditions affecting the course of commerce. This is the method which was employed in preparing my report of August 7, 1880, before referred to. The result then reached—1,625,000 tons—has been subjected to the tests of fifteen years of subsequent experience, and it has been found that the amount should be reduced to at least 1,000,000 tons. This is as near as the tonnage of the proposed route is susceptible of computation by that particular method, throwing doubtful questions in favor of the Canal. There is, however, another method of computation which is more direct, and also susceptible of a closer result as to what the Canal could actually realize. This method consists in taking the tonnage employed in the present Panama transit, and adding to, or subtracting from that amount, as commercial and other conditions appear to render necessary. As already stated, the tonnage of shipping entered at and cleared from Panama annually amounts to about 500,000 tons, which is less than the tonnage of the Champlain Canal in the State of New York. Considering fairly the nautical, physico-geographical, and commercial conditions already mentioned, it is altogether improbable that this amount of tonnage could be exceeded on the Nicaragua Canal. This is clear from the bare fact that the future development of commerce on the western coast of South America, of Central America, and of North America, will, as already indicated, be deflected to railroads now completed, in course of construction, or which may hereafter be built.

The cost of constructing the Canal, according to the recent estimate



of the Nicaragua Canal Board, is in round numbers \$135,000,000. Four per cent interest on that amount is \$5,400,000. To this must be added cost of maintenance, operation, and administration. This can only be estimated. The cost of maintenance, operation, and administration of the Suez Canal in 1892 amounted to \$1,431,334. The Suez waterway is a sea-level canal, whereas the Nicaragua route would have 220 feet of lockage. This and other facts render it probable that the cost of maintenance, operation, and administration of the Nicaragua Canal would amount to at least \$1,500,000 a year. Adding this to the interest charge of \$5,400,000, we have a total fixed annual charge of \$6,900,000. The toll which it would be necessary to charge in order to realize this amount would be: For 1,000,000 tons per annum—\$6.90 per ton toll; for 500,000 tons per annum—\$13.80 per ton toll. But the present rate of toll on the Suez Canal is only \$1.87 per ton. The difference between this and the higher rate of toll by the Nicaragua Canal, above stated, is \$5.03 per ton, which on a steamer of 3,000 tons burthen would amount to \$15,090. The effect this would have upon the Nicaragua scheme is apparent.

It is a well-known fact that the actual cost of hydraulic work usually exceeds preliminary estimates as to its cost. It is probable, therefore, that the actual cost of the Nicaragua Canal might amount to fully \$200,000,000, the amount for which, several years ago, the company contracted for its building. The present cost of the Panama Railroad transfer is about \$8.72 per ton, including freight charges and all incidental expenses. Surely the Panama Railroad is not going to surrender its traffic, or any part thereof, without a sharp fight. In view of all the facts in the case, if called upon to make an estimate as to the tonnage of the proposed Nicaragua Canal for a corporation proposing to build it upon business principles, I would not advise that the enterprise should be based upon an assumption of more than 300,000 tons of shipping annually.

A glaring fault which characterizes the entire voluminous Nicaragua Canal literature is that it avoids all quantitative tests as to the magnitude of commercial movements, and all reference to the attractive power of competing routes, as well as to conditions which place limitations upon the traffic which the proposed Canal can secure. No fair-minded reader of this literature can fail to observe this fatal defect,—at least when it is once pointed out to him.

It is maintained by the proponents of the Canal that it would tend to secure valuable commercial relations with the countries of Cen-



tral and South America, and thus promote those political relationships which have recently had such intense expression in the enunciation of the Monroe Doctrine. This is one of the most visionary of all the conjectural merits of the scheme. It is absurd upon its very face. The assumed political importance of the Nicaraguan Canal is clearly illustrated by the fact that the people and Government of Nicaragua are at the present moment much more deeply interested in the railroad system—which, when completed, will connect the western and central portions of that country with the excellent harbor of Bluefields on the eastern or commercial side of the continent,—than they are in the proposed Nicaragua Canal. In this they are sustained by the geographical and commercial characteristics of their country and by the economic conditions governing the two modes of transportation. Unless I am greatly deceived by information believed to be reliable, the reception which the recent Nicaragua Canal Commission met at the hands of the authorities of Nicaragua was cool almost to the point of disdain. I also have it from a competent and perfectly reliable source of information that the people and Government of Costa Rica view the Nicaragua Canal project with almost absolute indifference, notwithstanding the fact that the line of the proposed Canal skirts the northern border of Costa Rica. The resources of that country are now being rapidly developed by means of a railroad system, having Port Limon on the Caribbean Sea for its commercial outlet. Nicaragua and Costa Rica would really derive very little, if any, commercial advantage from the construction of the Nicaragua Canal. For all political purposes to be secured, the money spent in its construction might as well be sunk in the sea. On the other hand it is evident that the closest possible commercial and political relationships with the countries to the south of us on this continent will ultimately be secured through the construction of the proposed Intercontinental Railway, the preliminary surveys for which, under the auspices of the several American Governments, have already been made from the southern border line of Mexico to Cuzco in Peru. When this great railroad enterprise shall have been completed, all the trans-continental railroads of Mexico, Central America, and South America will become tributary to its traffic. The important commercial and political objects which this international bond of union will subserve are apparent. The money which it is proposed to expend in the construction of the impracticable and absurd Nicaragua Canal across a country which fails to appreciate its importance, would go far toward



the construction of the Intercontinental Railway. Such an achievement would fittingly commemorate the closing years of this century, and perhaps herald a grander progress with the dawn of the twentieth century.

One of the arguments urged in favor of the construction of the Nicaragua Canal by the aid of the Government of the United States is that based upon its assumed military importance. The foreign nation holding the Nicaragua Canal in time of any war in which the United States were a party would be at a disadvantage from a military point of view. Not only would such occupant be obliged to maintain on a foreign soil, at great expense, defensive works from one end of the line to the other, against the dynamiter who single-handed could wreck the canal at a hundred vulnerable points, but he would be obliged also to maintain, at enormous cost, military works and naval forces for the protection of the artificial harbors at either end. In such case the United States could at any time, with the aid of an overwhelming fleet of war-ships, place obstructions, which would require months for their removal, at the entrance of either of such harbors. The cost of such offensive operations would be trifling in comparison with the cost of the defensive works maintained by the enemy. If, on the other hand, the United States should hold the Nicaragua Canal in time of war, this disadvantage of defensive measures would devolve upon it. It requires a stretch of the imagination to convert into "a Gibraltar," a canal 200 feet wide, with an artificial harbor at each end which could be plugged up in a single night. The barrier interposed by the Isthmus, in connection with the advantage which the United States now possesses in the ability to move men and material of war across the continent by rail, appears to fulfil every practical requirement of military exigency; for the assumed military disadvantage of the route around Cape Horn in time of war would be greater to a European nation than to the United States. Besides, let it be noted that a Nicaraguan Canal adequately defended and capable of accommodating great battle-ships would probably cost at least \$400,000,000. If the United States should, however, contemplate the construction of the Nicaragua Canal, it is evident that, before entering upon the work, it should first submit the question to a military board selected from among our most competent army and naval officers. The possible waste of \$200,000,000 on a commercial canal would be bad enough, without the added folly of a military occupation costing perhaps \$400,000,000, and in line with the strategic conceptions of *Don Quirote*.



An attempt is being made to prove that British capitalists now engaged in the construction of railroads in Nicaragua are trying to secure the abrogation of the concession granted by the Government of Nicaragua to the Nicaragua Canal Company, and to secure it themselves; in which event it is declared that the British Government will aid those capitalists in the construction of the Canal. This is a *canard*. British capital will never be sunk in any such absurd enterprise. The only conceivable object of the British capitalists mentioned is to cause the abandonment of the Canal in order to remove a possible obstacle to their railroad system, which will gather traffic from the west coast of Nicaragua and haul it to the eastern or commercial side of the country at the excellent port of Bluefields.

In conclusion, it appears to be neither erroneous nor uncharitable to assert that from the beginning the promoters and advocates of the Nicaragua Canal have studiously avoided anything like a thorough discussion of the economic and commercial conditions which determine the practicability of their enterprise. A pamphlet recently prepared for the Atlanta Exposition declares that the Canal would have a traffic of 8,000,000 tons annually, but fails to furnish any evidence whatever that it could secure even one twentieth of that amount,—and it is very doubtful if it could. Congress is now being urged to extend the credit of the Government to the impecunious Maritime Canal Company of Nicaragua to the full amount of the cost of their project, estimated at \$135,000,000, with a strong probability that it will amount to \$200,000,000. Nothing could be more absurd than that the expense of such a project should be assumed by the United States Government without first causing a thorough investigation to be made as to its commercial, political, and military importance. It would be sheer madness for Congress to embark this country in such an undertaking without first ordering a new and thorough investigation of the project in all its bearings. I have therefore made an earnest request of the proper authorities that my official report of 1880, and all the statements of fact embraced in this article, may be subjected to a rigid criticism and revision by the Government and I earnestly hope that the advocates of the Nicaragua Canal project will exhibit their faith and courage by joining in this request.

JOSEPH NIMMO, JR.



## THE ARMY AS A CAREER.

A SHORT time ago I opened a volume of "Military Gazettes" issued in New York in 1860-61, and, turning over the leaves while thinking of the army as affording a career for young men, caught sight of Carlyle's caricature of the army's business.

After his soldiers, French and British, in a supposed battle, had "blown the souls out of one another," Carlyle asked significantly :

"Had these men any quarrel? Busy as the Devil is, not the smallest! They lived far enough apart; were the entirest strangers; nay, in so wide a universe, there was even, unconsciously, by Commerce, some mutual helpfulness between them. How then? Simpleton! their governors had fallen out, and, instead of shooting one another, had the cunning to make these poor blockheads shoot."

This paragraph—an epitome, in the concrete form, of the arguments of non-resistants, or, as I like to call them, "extreme peace men"—determined me in the outset to attempt a brief discussion of the rightness of the career itself.

### I.—THE RIGHTNESS OF THE CAREER.

The object of an army in the United States is not necessarily, in the main, to conduct campaigns and fight battles, nor to take human life. As the city police must watch over the city and guard it against all sorts of danger, being ready, with its weapons of offence or defence, to strike when other devices fail, so our army watches against certain dangers to the Republic, giving nerve and strength to the Executive,—helping to restrain wild Indians, to capture mistaken hordes of tramps, or to quiet mob-violence aimed against the common weal, or, with naval help, to hold back a public enemy; but ready, of course, like the effective city police, to strike at command, when the Commander-in-Chief, with the sovereign nation behind him, has come to the last resort of human expedients for guarding the nation's life or its honor.

A few months ago, in a large gathering of strong men and devout women, there was a public discussion of this question: "Is war itself ever right?" The argument of all those who answered, "War is



never right," took this positive form: "War is wrong; wrong in itself; therefore the support given to it by praises of its deeds and pæans to its heroes, by public reminders of its glory and its victories, and by enduring monuments raised in its honor,—calculated as they are to beget and foster a wrong spirit in the minds of the people, especially of the young,—is deceptive and injurious, and tends to block the wheels of genuine progress." We will not hesitate to look this objection to war squarely in the face. Indeed, it will not do, even in self-justification, to uphold a wrong principle. Soon or late the right is bound to prevail.

Jonathan Dymond, an English writer, long ago put his postulates against all war with at least great clearness. He asserts:

"No one pretends to applaud the morals of an army, and for its religion, few think of it at all. A soldier is depraved even to a proverb. The fact is too notorious to be insisted upon, that thousands who had filled their stations in life with propriety, and been virtuous from principle, have lost, by a military life, both the practice and the regard of morality; and, when they have become habituated to the vices of war, have laughed at their honest and plodding brethren who are still spiritless enough for virtue or stupid enough for piety."

Even the dauntless John Knox condenses his censures thus:

"It happens, unfortunately, that profligacy, libertinism, and infidelity are thought by weaker minds almost as necessary a part of a soldier's uniform as his shoulder-knot. To hesitate at an oath, to decline intoxication, to profess a regard for religion, would be almost as ignominious as to refuse a challenge."

Just fifty years ago in Boston, on the 4th of July, which he denominated the "Sabbath of the Nation," Charles Sumner gave a public oration, taking as his subject "The True Grandeur of Nations." Concerning this effort Sumner said: "Men seldom make more than one exhaustive speech; the others become more or less modifications of it: that on 'The Grandeur of Nations' was my speech." Indeed, none more ornate is recorded of Clay; and Webster does not excel some portions of this in strength of statement or in grandeur of style. Were it not possible to appeal from Sumner's utterances made in peace times to Sumner himself when adding sinews to a gigantic war, I would hardly venture to quote him. Near the beginning of his oration he asked: "Can there be in our age any peace that is not honorable, any war that is not dishonorable?" He proceeded:

"The true honor of a nation is conspicuous only in deeds of justice and beneficence, securing and advancing human happiness. In the clear eye of that Christian judgment which must yet prevail, vain are the victories of war, in-



famous its spoils. He is the benefactor, and worthy of honor, who carries comfort to wretchedness, dries the tears of sorrow, relieves the unfortunate, feeds the hungry, clothes the naked, does justice, enlightens the ignorant, unfastens the fetters of the slave, and finally, by virtuous genius, in art, literature, science, enlivens and exalts the hours of life, or, by generous example, inspires a love for God and man. This is the Christian hero; this is the man of honor in a Christian land. He is no benefactor, nor worthy of honor, whatever his worldly renown, whose life is absorbed in feats of brute force, who renounces the great law of Christian brotherhood, whose vocation is blood. Well may the modern poet exclaim: 'The world knows nothing of its greatest men'!—for, thus far, it has chiefly honored the violent brood of Battle, armed men springing up from the Dragon's teeth sown by Hate, and cared little for the truly good men, children of Love, guiltless of their country's blood, whose steps on earth are noiseless as an angel's wing."

Sumner's picture of the social fostering of the war spirit is this:

"The mother, rocking the infant on her knee, stamps the images of war upon his tender mind, at that age more impressible than wax; she nurses his slumber with its music, pleases his waking hours with its stories, and selects for his playthings the plume and the sword. . . . And when the youth becomes a man, his country invites his service in war, and holds before his bewildered imagination the prizes of worldly honor. . . . Peaceful citizens volunteer to appear as soldiers, and affect, in dress, arms, and deportment, what is called the 'pride, pomp, and circumstance of glorious war.'"

Now, the principle underlying Sumner's graphic phrases, the real basis of his argument against war, is thus stated:

"If it is wrong and inglorious when individuals consent and agree to determine their petty controversies by combat, it must be equally wrong and inglorious when nations consent and agree to determine their vaster controversies by combat."

Notice that, by this comparison, war is shown as the fault of nations. Is all this true? Must the soldier blush to wear his uniform, hide his battle-flag, and strive to forget the names of the engagements in which, in defence of his country's integrity, he participated? Must his halting gait and battle-scarred body be regarded as a pitiable deformity, and his children be taught to reckon him with robbers and assassins? Unquestionably not. In opposition to peace-at-any-price advocates, it is not necessary to assert that war is right. War is a contest—the final arbitrament, according to the best existing national agreement—between nations or states, or between parts of the same nation or state, waged for various causes. It is sometimes right and sometimes wrong. One party to the controversy may be right, and the other wrong; or each party may be partly right and partly wrong.



The taking of human life is not necessarily opposed to Moses's law, which our Lord more strongly restated, viz.: "Thou shalt not avenge nor bear any grudge against the children of thy people, but thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." The history of the Israelites in peace and war shows its interpretation. All the law and practice always justified the taking of life in self-defence. A man without guilt might strike the nocturnal robber or assassin. Life was forfeited to the government for many crimes. To Joshua, a princely leader, the same Jehovah who gave the law entrusted a mighty army to seize and possess the Land of Promise. Behold his commission: "Be strong and of good courage; be not afraid, neither be thou dismayed: for the Lord thy God is with thee whithersoever thou goest."

The rule is that law must have force behind it for its execution. It is common sense to see that a government, to defend its life, may institute a *posse comitatus*, a police force, an army, a navy, or bodies of militia. Criminal classes, and nations influenced by gross ambition and greed, can be restrained only by a proper force from crushing out the life of a government that stands in their way. Bring Mr. Sumner to the witness-stand again—in war time. On the floor of the Senate, on the 19th of May, 1862, he said:

"Harsh and repulsive as these rights [of war] unquestionably are, they are derived from the over-ruling, instinctive law of self-defence, which is common to nations as to individuals. Every community having the form and character of sovereignty has a right to national life, and, in defence of such life, it may put forth all its energies. Any other principle would leave it the wretched prey of wicked men abroad or at home."

That was Charles Sumner's maturer thought, wrought out in the furnace of our fearful struggle for national existence. All lovers of their kind will utter a glad amen as he adds—doubtless half in reminiscence—the following noble words:

"I rejoice to believe that civilization has already done much to mitigate the rights of war, and it is among long-cherished visions, which even present events cannot make me renounce, that the time will yet come when all these rights will be further softened to the mood of permanent peace."

When Turks shall be effectually restrained from cruelty and barbarism, and when Japan and China shall be fully taken into the family of civilized nations, Sumner's vision of permanent peace will be nearer to fulfilment. Meanwhile, practical statesmen will consider our army and navy, including our National Guard, as much a necessity as the courts of our land. When all men actually reach the plane of



right-doing, surely the criminal courts can be abolished. For the present, then, let peace-loving men, *a priori*, give no dishonor to the public police, to army, navy, or court.

## II.—THE ARMY AS IT IS.

Neither John Knox of Scotland, Jonathan Dymond of England, nor the extreme peace men of our own land, have given fair portraiture of our American soldiery. What we call regulars are really *bona fide* volunteers. Should the reader be desirous of studying the organization of our small army as it is to-day on a peace establishment, he will find all desired information in the Revised Statutes of the United States, commencing "Title XIV, the Army"; while the plan upon which the military arm is at present constructed is set forth in the table on the opposite page.

Section 1115 of the above-mentioned title declares: "There shall not be in the army at one time more than 30,000 enlisted men." This number is varied from time to time by the appropriations of Congress. Able officers have often estimated the number of men that could be brought into the field in case of sudden emergency, without injuring or sacrificing the public property which the army should protect. With an establishment of 20,000, about one-half would be available; with 30,000, two-thirds could be called out.

The main army career is found in what is usually styled the rank and file; that is, with the soldiers who have come into the service by enlistment. The largest proportion of our young men who desire to enter the military profession must come in by this door-way, for in the army, staff and line, less than 3,000 commissioned officers are allowed by law. Heretofore the term of service for the soldier has been five years. This rule was modified a few years ago, allowing him to purchase his discharge upon certain fixed conditions: but the last Congress swept away all conditions and fixed the period of enlistment at the short term of three years.

A recruit must be "effective and able-bodied." He must be sixteen years of age or over, but under thirty-five. If under twenty-one he requires the consent of parents or guardians. Other prohibitions of law forbid the enlistment of minors under sixteen years of age, insane persons, deserters from the army, and persons who have been convicted of "any criminal offence." For a second term there is the requirement that "service during his last preceding term of enlistment be honest and faithful." As a matter of fact, in recent regimental recruiting in



ORGANIZATION OF THE UNITED STATES ARMY.

	Principal Musicians	Saddler Sergeants	Chief Trumpeters	Ordnance Sergeants	Post Q.-M. Sergeants	Commissary Sergeants	Hospital Stewards	Acting Stewards	Battalion Sergeant-Major	Battalion Q.-M. Sergeant	First Sergeants	Sergeants	Corporals	Trumpeters	Musicians	Farriers and Blacksmiths	Artificers	Saddlers	Wagoners	Privates, First Class	Privates, Second Class	Privates, Hospital Corps	Privates	Total Commissioned	Total Enlisted	Professors	Military Academy	Aggregate	
General Officers.....																									9			9	
Adjutant-General's Dept.																									17			17	
Inspector-General's Dept.																									7			7	
Judge - Advocate - General's Department.....												7	8												8			8	
Quartermaster's Dept.....					80																		102		58	197			255
Subsistence Department.....						120																			26	120			146
Medical Department.....							118	71														563		182	752			934	
Corps of Engineers.....									1	1		40	40		8						204	206			120	500			620
Ordnance Department.....				110								54	74								230	127			57	595			652
Signal Corps.....												50													10	50			60
Pension Records.....																									1			1	
Post-Chaplains.....																									30			30	
Pay Department.....																									31			31	
10 Regiments of Cavalry.....	10	10									100	500	400	200		200			100	100				4,400	432	6,050			6,482
5 " " Artillery.....	10									60	260	260	240		120		120		60	60				3,090	280	3,975			4,255
25 " " Infantry.....	50									200	800	800	800		400		400		200	200				10,000	877	12,925			13,802
Military Academy.....																									8	371		379	
Enlisted Men unattached to Regiments.....											1	13	12	1	35		1	1					232			296			.....
Indian Soldiers.....											3	24	18	5	4		7	3	2	5			174			245			245
Indian Scouts.....																							47			47			47
Aggregate.....	60	10	10	110	80	120	118	71	1	1	364	1,748	1,592	206	567	208	523	103	365	434	333	563	18,045	2,145	25,000	8	371	28,276	
Retired Officers.....																										1		624	
Retired Enlisted Men....	4	7	4	113	7	45	37				73	260	96	6	7	12					32	4	14	210	.....	38		938	



the country near where a regiment has been stationed, certificates or other *bona fide* evidence of good character have been demanded of the applicant. Often as many as a hundred seekers have been turned away to get ten men who came up to present requirements to enter the lowest grade in our profession. The pay of the "private" of cavalry, artillery, and infantry is \$13 a month. His allowances cover his quarters, clothing, and rations. A private of the second class in the Engineer and Ordnance corps receives just the same as the above. Here is the starting-point for every man who enlists.

As more than ordinary knowledge is sought among the qualifications of the modern soldier, on account of the intricacies of ordnance construction, especially in the case of rifles and artillery, and more individual character and responsibility are needed in the new methods of manœuvring with extended lines, the recruit is subjected to more than three times the schooling and training of years gone by. Schools and gymnasiums are maintained at every army post. The soldier very soon becomes an expert in the handling of his rifle, his field-piece, his heavy gun, his carbine, and his horse. Whole troops of cavalry now show the quickness and elasticity of which, a few years ago, a class of West Point cadets would have been proud. If capable, industrious, and obedient, the recruit will soon rise. In the Engineer and Ordnance departments, privates of the first class receive \$17 a month with all the allowances. There are ordnance sergeants, first sergeants, sergeants, corporals, musicians, trumpeters, saddlers, blacksmiths, hospital stewards, hospital attendants, and artificers, of higher compensation, and men detailed to work which will entitle them to extra pay. Many are the openings which present themselves to skill and good conduct. The pay is graded from the \$13 of the ordinary private up to that of the ordnance sergeant, which is primarily \$34, with the usual quarters, clothing, and subsistence added; and from the third year there is an increase of one dollar a month.

The answer to the question, "Can an enlisted man gain a commission?" is found in the fact that very many of our officers, especially during the civil war, came from the ranks of the regular army, several reaching the rank of field officers in both the line and staff. The rule of promotion is thus fixed by law:

"Non-commissioned officers may, under regulations established by the Secretary of War, be examined by a board of four officers as to their qualifications for the duties of commissioned officers in the line of the army, and shall be eligible for appointment as second lieutenants in any corps of the line for which they may be found so qualified."



The number is, of course, limited by the number of vacancies which graduating cadets have failed to fill. Such second lieutenants from the ranks may, however, be attached as supernumeraries, provided the supernumeraries do not exceed one for each company.

The West Point cadet holds the next grade above the enlisted man. After his matriculation he receives a "cadet warrant" from the War Department, in lieu of a commission. His original title was a "letter of appointment" from the President. Each member of the House of Representatives has the power of nominating to the Military Academy one young man, a resident of his Congressional District, which nomination must be confirmed by the President's formal appointment. Each Territory and the District of Columbia are also entitled to the appointment of one cadet. The President himself has the privilege of appointing and continuing ten cadets. Entrance to the Academy can be obtained in no way other than the above, except by special Act of Congress. The cadet's compensation, to cover all expenses, is "\$500 a year and one ration a day." As a rule the members of the upper sections of a class are, upon their entrance, already fairly well educated; many are college graduates. Formerly only about one-third could master the course of study and get their diplomas. A larger proportion now get through the Academy. The class of 1854 entered 120 strong, and graduated but 36; whereas the class of 1895 has sent out 52, probably but half of those who joined it four years ago.

All these fifty-two have been commissioned, and have probably by this time reported for orders or assignment to duty to their corps or regiments. Except the Engineer Corps, the staff departments are usually filled from the officers of the army: for the Ordnance Corps, by a severe professional examination; for the others, by selection to fill vacancies as they occur. The Engineer Corps is filled directly from a few graduates near the head of each class. The medical department, however, replenishes from young physicians by a most trying examination, and frequently the judge-advocates have been lawyers in civil practice, coming in by the President's nomination and confirmed by the Senate. Paymasters have frequently been appointed from civil life with the rank of major. Thus commences the commissioned officer's army career. The lowest pay—that of the second lieutenant of infantry—is \$1,500 a year, with the common provision of medical attendance, fuel, and quarters. Before the second lieutenant are the grades of first lieutenant, captain, major, lieutenant-colonel, colonel, brigadier-general, and major-general. But three major-generals are



allowed by law, and their pay is \$7,500 a year, with allowances for horses and fuel, and provision for medical service and quarters. A second lieutenant on the peace footing can hardly look for much promotion—in process of time a captaincy, possibly a majority in line or staff—before the sixty-four-year law shall retire him.

Methinks an enterprising youth would hardly remain in the army simply for money or promotion.

The duties of army officers are many and varied. The Engineers are distributed over the country, and see to the selection of fort-sites and the construction of works, and, together with the navy, attend to the lighting of our shores and the coast survey. They have the supervision of plans and expenditures for river and harbor improvements. They stand with our best civil engineers in everything pertaining to roads and bridges; and mines, torpedoes, shore batteries, and other defences of cities are committed into their able hands. Promotion is obtained by passing rigid examinations. The Engineer Corps is distinguished for its unflagging energy.

The Ordnance Corps is both a scientific and practice organization, whose work covers the furnishing of armaments for forts, batteries, and men. Its requirements for entrance under competition are difficult to meet. Its members have charge of the armories and arsenals of construction, and they must and do keep abreast of the world in their practical knowledge of their specialty, by hard study and constant experiment.

So we might take up the quartermaster's department, with its exacting and multifarious work; the subsistence department, with its administrative completeness; the artillery, with its post-graduate school and its scientific knowledge practically applied to its various complicated engines of warfare; the cavalry, intensely active in schools, in drill, and in mental and physical instruction; and the infantry with its target practice, new guns, new tactics, and gymnastic requirements.

One could thus continue throughout the whole organization, considering the busy surgeons, the hopeful chaplains, the studious judge-advocates, the conscientious paymasters, or the thorough, businesslike, administrative heads of geographical Departments. All would be found to compare favorably with other able and industrious men who are faithfully doing the world's work.

This is but a nucleus, yet it is the framework of a large army, and it would be a mistake to impute idleness, or time ill spent, to the majority of army officers. Except the mere campaign and battle, the



peace-army has the same functions to perform as the war-army ; and, in fact, as the school, academy, and college trials of mind and muscle are usually harder than the life work that follows, so are the trials of mind and muscle of the army men in the days of peace. The law requires the detail of many to the West Point, Fort Monroe, Leavenworth, and Riley schools, and to institutions of learning everywhere as instructors of the military art. For one purpose and another lieutenants are taken away from their batteries, troops, and companies by order of their seniors, and this throws the duty of discipline, drill, instruction, and command upon the few that are left with their organizations.

This is the summary : an honorable profession filled with patriotic men, devoted to duty, with hearts as warm and loyal to all the obligations of a true manhood as are found in other professions. To have a competency, to secure a good name, to defend the flag without fear and without reproach, and to discharge solemn obligations to God and to man during life, are objects above the securing of large wealth and luxurious living. This is the ambition of the best army men from the private soldier to the major-general.

OLIVER O. HOWARD.



## THE BEST THING COLLEGE DOES FOR A MAN.

"WHAT is the best thing your college did for you?" This was the question which I asked of fifty representative men, with a view to reading the answers to the men of a single college. The answers touched upon many matters which are now vitally related to American life, and represented not only conclusions which may prove of service to every teacher and student in each of our four hundred colleges, but also methods which may prove of value to a wide constituency.

It is difficult to distinguish the best thing done by a college for its students, because the good things are so many. It is easier to say that all these influences constitute an incalculable benefit, than to point out the noblest one. It is the testimony of most graduates that the college was to them a determinative influence. This testimony is supported by these letters. President Dwight says that the college made him an educated man and a man of thoughtful life. President Gilman says: "The best thing Yale College did for me was to give me training." The late Dr. Arthur Brooks said: "The best thing my college did for me was to educate me." Each thus affirms that all the influences of the college resulted in giving a certain determination or direction to life. One may assent to the words of the editor of a great newspaper, in speaking of his course at a New England college:—

"I do not recall that a single professor in my four years' course at — ever made an agreeable impression upon me or did anything to arouse my mind or to awaken and inspire my life."

And yet one may agree with the further sentiment of the same gentleman when he says:—

"My career in college was the making of me. I entered a raw youth from a country academy, and I was graduated a young man who had learned how to use books, who had found out how to study, how to gather information, how to treat it, and how to think."

Senator George F. Hoar, writing of his own college (Harvard), says:—



"The education there from '42 to '46 was far inferior to what can be obtained now in very humble institutions. But somehow the young men who were not good scholars and who were not industrious seemed to derive a great deal of advantage, both in the way of refinement and actual learning and moral and mental discipline, from their contact with the university."

Mr. Hamilton W. Mabie says of his college (Williams):—

"It confirmed me in my desire to lead the life of an intellectual man,—to look at things clearly, dispassionately, and in their large relations. It taught me how to study, and gave me such an impulse that I have never ceased to study. Access to books in large numbers, and a good deal of leisure, confirmed my habit of reading in a systematic and fruitful way. That habit has done more for such education as I possess than any other one thing. A college does many things specifically for a student; but the greatest thing it can do for him, in my judgment, is to confirm his highest thought of life, and to fix in him those habits which will enable him to realize that thought for himself when he gets out from under college influence."

The present president of Brown University, writing of the influence of the college over him as a student, says:—

"Brown University did so many important things for me that it is hard to single out any one of them in particular. It brought me invaluable development in character; and of course, in a sense, nothing else could equal this. Yet its help at this point was perhaps not so marked in relation to what I possessed before, as was what the college did for me in other particulars. It taught me to think logically,—by which I mean not so much the power of close and clear analysis as I do that of careful generalization, and the proper ordering of many thoughts according to their mutual relations. It gave me the ability to work at any given time, whether with mind or with body, and also the ability, on occasion, to keep up maximum application for maximum time. I count this power for hard work among the very best results of a liberal education. It gave me a working knowledge of four languages, with such insight into linguistic laws as to render the acquisition of other languages relatively easy; and, lastly, such outlook upon the fields of science, literature, and history, that I am able to 'work up' any new subject in any of these fields as I am sure I could never have done but for this training."

Thus the aggregate of the influences of the college are of tremendous importance in the constitution and direction of life.

The American college can hardly plume itself upon its contributions to scholarship. It has quickened scholarly aspirations and aroused scholarly impulses; but its efforts in extending research and in cultivating fields of knowledge belong rather to the future than to the past. We are, however, beginning to receive intimations of such efforts and of such effects. But the aim of the American college has been and is rather to make thinkers than scholars. It has preferred



to be rather a mother of men than a school of scientists. It has cultivated humanity through the humanities, rather than the scholastic humanities through the personal humanity. It has given a training in that first essential element,—of training one to think. It has, says President Angell, trained the power of making “a lucid statement of a proposition to be maintained, of carefully defining the terms in which it is stated, of making a sharp analysis by which it is to be supported, and of presenting the points in a logical order.” It has also disciplined one to independence both in thinking and acting. A college president, writing of the Harvard of forty years ago, and of his own life there, says:—

“So far as I can now see, the best thing Harvard College did for me was to give me practice in thinking and acting independently in a crowd of conflicting contemporaries of various faculties and members.”

This independence is akin to those qualities which may be grouped together under the word “fortitude.” Fearlessness before any of the perils to which one’s self or one’s career is subjected represents this adequate result. A Yale graduate, Dr. Henry A. Stimson, pastor of the Broadway Tabernacle, New York, has well indicated the nature of this training when he says:—

“At Yale I found myself in competition with the picked men of the whole country, and in the course of my college life I was called upon to enter into contest with them in every direction,—the contest of the athletic field and of the boat race no less than the contest of the class room and prize debates. As a consequence, when I entered active life outside the college and found myself matched with new men and strange experiences, the thought that I had already been in competition with the best minds of my age, and had done my part, was a source of courage and strength that proved most valuable.”

The practical character of the training which a college offers is seen in no more conspicuous way than in the thought that it is a training to hard work. Laziness is a sin which besets the college as easily as it does the individual. But tens of thousands of men have received their first impulse to downright hard, persistent, and absorbing work in college, and thus laid the foundations for the best things that life can offer. Two graduates of Brown University offer significant testimony upon this point. President Andrews says:—

“The college gave me the ability to work with intensity at any given time, whether with mind or with body, and also the ability on occasion to keep up maximum occupation for a maximum time. I count this power for hard work among the very best results of a liberal education.”



And President Angell adds: "The moral impulse to manly and laborious lives was probably the best thing we got from the college."

It cannot also be denied that the college presents opportunities for the acquiring of habits of dignified leisure. An Oxford Don says:—

"It is a great thing to be able to loaf well: it softens the manners and does not allow them to be fierce; and there is no place for it like the streams and gardens of an ancient university."<sup>1</sup>

The words of a "Mere Don" are not to be interpreted too seriously. But if the college is a good place to learn to work hard, it is also a good place to learn how to rest and to re-create one's self well.

But if the American college has been a mother of men, and if it has not been a nurse of scholarship, it has, in making men and in conveying instruction, done a work of tremendous significance. This work is partially ethical, partially religious, partially scholastic. It is a work which may be said to be embodied in the general broadening, deepening, and enriching of character. A well-known editor writes:—

"As I look back to it now, the only thing that I remember with very great definiteness, and am especially grateful for, is the general broadening influence which followed the finding out of what men had done in the world in one great department of learning after another. So that by the time I had finished my college course I had a conception more or less well proportioned of the great things the human race has achieved, and I had my curiosity aroused to learn something. Unless my memory is treacherous, I can truthfully say that I knew nothing of very much value when my college course was finished; nothing except that I had this sort of chart of the world's great work."

But the college also has done a very special work in developing character along ethical and religious lines. President Andrews succinctly remarks: "The college enlarged the range of my sympathies and my views of life, God, man, and duty, turning, as I trust, my pietism into piety." So also says Dr. Henry M. Field, in speaking of Professor Albert Hopkins: "In leading us among the stars he led us to the Creator and Ruler of all."

It is the testimony of most of these writers that of the two elements which represent so large a part of the college,—instruction and personality,—personality is by far of superior importance. When President Jordan says, "The best thing a college, as a rule, does for a young man, is to bring him into contact and under the inspiration of other men of a higher type than he is otherwise likely to meet"; and when Dr. Parkhurst says, "While books can teach, personality only can edu-

<sup>1</sup> "Aspects of Modern Oxford," by "A Mere Don," p. 133.



cate"; and when Professor Simon Newcomb says, "The greatest service to me was in bringing me into contact with educated men and offering me the appliances necessary to prosecute my studies"; and when Dr. Field says that "the statements of President Hopkins were as goads in the hands of a master to prick up sluggish minds"; or Mr. Henry M. Alden says, "The best thing which Williams College did for me was to bring me within the scope of Dr. Mark Hopkins's inspirational teaching,"—they are simply declaring that personality is the great power of college life. Even Senator Hoar bears out this impression when he remarks that "it was the recitations to Dr. Walker that constituted the most benefit," although the recitations were in such disciplinary subjects as Ethics and Mental Philosophy. This impression is still further emphasized by the strong words of Dr. Parkhurst:—

"I can say without an instant's hesitation that the one influence in my college life to which I owe more than to anything else was the personal pressure upon me of Prof. Julius H. Seeley, afterwards President Seeley; and I think there are a good many of my college mates that would make the same statement. I do not mean to under-rate the work done in the class room in a purely professorial capacity."

The remark is often made that students are educated as much by each other as by the professors. The influence of students over each other at Yale is especially strong. I recently asked an officer of Yale College, which had the stronger influence over the students,—the students or the professors. Prompt was the answer, "The students." Whether the answer was a true or false interpretation I do not know. Whether this ought to be the fact may be open to question. But it is clear that the attrition of different minds of the same general character upon each other is of great value. It is certainly significant that a character so strong and so individual as that of Dr. Richard Salter Storrs found its best influence in these common relations. For Dr. Storrs writes:—

"I think the best thing I found in college life was the intimate contact with fine minds of classmates. I shall never cease to be grateful for the educating influence thus received."

Dr. William Hayes Ward, too, of the "Independent" (a graduate of Amherst), says:—

"The best thing I received was the encouragement and help that came from good fellowships. I was brought into relations with other serious and earnest young men who had impulses before them to do good, and who were eager for



the acquisition of what would help them. Those associations were a support. They helped me to study in literary work and elsewhere to good purpose. I enjoyed very much my membership in college societies. By association with certain particular friends I could carry on certain scientific studies better than I could alone. I could go about the country botanizing and geologizing, and I made myself a part of the great sodality of letters, an advantage which cannot be overvalued. . . . Civilization is a product, not of isolation, but of the crowding of population, and the civilizing influence of the humanities is in good part due to the fellowships in which it is cultivated."

The influence of students is constantly recognized in respect to its less favorable aspects. But it is not so often recognized in respect to its higher and nobler relations. It is never to be forgotten that humanity educates humanity, and personality disciplines personality.

A comprehensive inference, therefore, to be derived from these letters is that the best thing which the American college has done for its graduates is in giving a training which is itself largely derived from personal relationship. It is interesting to compare the conclusions reached by these men with the answers given to a not dissimilar question by women graduates of Cornell University. A committee of their own number secured replies from fellow students upon the value of a college training in reference to their individual life. From these replies I select the following:—

"University training has given me broader opportunities and deeper sympathies."

"My experience at Cornell made this life fuller of meaning, and the beauty of the next life more sure. It has made me more certain of the goodness of God and of man; more sympathetic; more willing to work for others."

"The mental discipline received while at college remains with me, although I have retained but few of the facts learned there, I fear."

"Cornell has taught me right methods of work, and has given me a broader outlook on the facts of life."

"My college training gave me intellectual stimulus; knowledge of methods of study; appreciation of the value of all thorough work."

"My university training has been most valuable to me in its influence of general culture, in applying scientific methods to any study, and in a more comprehensive view of life."

"My university training has enabled me to investigate and to make use of any material close at hand."

"My university education has been the chief factor in my life; it has contributed to my health and happiness, and has enabled me to support a large family with ease."

"I value my university training for giving me opportunity of contact with professors of wide culture and high attainments, as well as for the daily discipline of the class room."



"My university training afforded me general development of character and intellect, and has proven an inspiration to living."

"My university work has been valuable to me intellectually and spiritually, by enlarging my life and widening its relations; and practically by giving me the handle to my faculties."

"I value my university education most for the mental discipline which taught me how to get at what I most wanted to know."

"Cornell disciplined my mind and helped me to be a better and happier and more useful woman."

"My university training made my life broader in its sympathies, and has proven an important factor in my domestic life."

"Training at Cornell gave me systematic methods for all things."

"My whole life is wider in its sympathies and interests because of my college training. And the mental discipline I regard as a not unimportant factor in my domestic life. That I am a better cook because I am a college-bred girl is a proud boast with me."

"The greatest good that I am conscious of having derived from my college training is a broadening process, spiritual and moral, as well as mental, that has taken place in my character."

"Not only can I undertake almost any intellectual task with confidence, but I can also bear the small trials and annoyances of life with greater serenity because of the training I received at the university. In other words, it has given me a truer perspective of the importance of things."

The absence of allusions to the worth of the personality of teachers in these replies is possibly significant. I have been asking myself the question, What is its significance? Are women less open to the personal influences of a teacher than men? Such is not the accepted opinion. Are Cornell teachers less impressive than other teachers? One hesitates to credit such an intimation. Does the short period dividing the college years from the present, in the case of many of those who bear these testimonies, tend to magnify the value of instruction and to minimize the value of the instructor? An affirmative answer is hardly credible. Is the modern college depending less on personality and more on the book and the laboratory? But whatever the answer may be, I merely suggest that this absence of allusion to the worth of personality may have considerable significance.

The comparison of the American college with the English or German university brings forth an interesting contrast. The value of personality in the English university is probably greater than in the American college. The reason of this is at least twofold. The English university is not only a place of education: it is a place of society; or, as the late Professor Jowett said, in a sermon preached the first Sunday after his election as Master of Balliol, "Society may be said to be a great part of education." At any rate social relations play a most



important function in Oxford and Cambridge. The relation, too, between the student and his tutor in the English system is very close. The tutor often lives in as well as works for his pupil. At times it is a relation very free and easy, and again it is most vital and inspiring.<sup>1</sup> The late Professor Jowett was easily a great scholar, but he was more easily a master of men. The personal relations he cultivated represent the foundation of a large share of the best work he did for Oxford and for England. But in the German university the chief power over the student is derived through scholarship rather than through the personality of the teacher. Although the best of the German students may come into close relations with the German professors, and may find in the intimacy of this relation helpful influences of rare power, yet the German professor is usually eager simply to deliver his lecture, and cares less, apparently, whether his audience be one or one hundred, provided only he has done his duty in reading his manuscript or in giving his talk. But through the seminars "the personal acquaintance of the instructor with the students is brought about; wherever a really intimate relation has grown up between them, its roots will generally be found in the seminar, for it is here that the student receives individual and personal impulse, and here that the instructor sees the talents growing which shall continue his own work."<sup>2</sup> The American college, in respect to the best thing which it can give to its students, seems to be a union of the personality of the English professor and of the scholarship of the German university.

The consideration of this important subject suggests two or three questions.

Do the best results which a college works for its students differ according as the college is large or small, rural or urban, holding to the required or adopting the elective system of studies? The answers do not allow any induction upon these points. It may also be said that these letters were written by men who have been out of college on the average for at least twenty-five years. I venture to ask whether letters written by the men graduating to-day would bear similar testimony. I think they would. For, as President Eliot writes, the education which Harvard gave in his days as a student was inferior. It was much inferior to the education which the college gives in these days of the great president we all know. A representative student who is soon to graduate from a college has written to me as follows:—

<sup>1</sup> Brasted, "Five Years in an English University," pp. 190, 192, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Friedrich Paulsen, "The German Universities," p. 213.



“I doubt whether a man still in college is in a position to judge of the results of his college training, yet there are one or two things which seem pretty clear to me. While I have derived much benefit from the study of books, I think it has been a greater benefit to me to study men and their methods of thinking and working. But the best thing the college has done for me, so far as I know myself, has been to set before me a higher ideal of manhood than I had before. It has made me satisfied with nothing less than the best I can make out of myself, whereas before I came to college I believe I was content with less. I have come to realize the fact that no man has a right to fall behind his possibilities.”

It may also be questioned whether the best results of the work of a college are to remain what they now are; for college methods and content of work are changing. Are the results also to change? The college is becoming an agency of research. It is becoming a mother of scientists. Is it to cease to be a mother of men? Or is the condition of being a mother of scientists the best condition for continuing its service as *alma mater*? Whatever may be in store for the American college as the predecessor of the American university, it can never cease to be an agency for the training of a man in the great business of living. It enriches his life; it deepens and broadens his view of truth; it ennobles his aims; it strengthens his choice of the right; it clarifies his vision of, and his love of, the beautiful. The college pours oil into the lamp of character and makes its light more radiant and more lasting. When these functions are lost, if they ever be lost, they must be assumed by some other power. For, so long as the race continues, so long are its members to be trained to think, to judge, to reason, to act with independence and with justice, to work laboriously, and to be large and true and noble men. These qualities represent the best thing which a college can do for its students.

CHARLES F. THWING.



## SOME MUNICIPAL PROBLEMS.

THE municipal problems that have hitherto absorbed most of the energies of civic federations and good-government clubs are those of clean streets and alleys; the organization of poor-relief; an honest, efficient police force and criminal courts; enforcement and improvement of excise, criminal, and election laws; the closing of saloons on Sunday; and civil-service and public-school reform. The solution of these problems is important, and prepares the way for the equally important and more difficult questions still before us. These relate to the raising and expending of municipal revenues, and to the proper attitude of the city toward monopolies of situation, such as light, heat, and street transportation.

When we consider the increased amount of money that our cities could well afford to spend upon their streets, schools, sanitary departments, libraries, parks, and public buildings, all of which should educate the public taste as well as accommodate the public business, we must at once realize the need of much more public revenue. It is no answer to claim that there is enough revenue now if it were only honestly spent. Facts altogether disprove this. To give an instance, a committee of Chicago's best business men, after keeping a small section of that city reasonably clean during the past summer from private subscriptions, report that to clean all the streets and alleys of the city adequately, although done in the most economical manner, would require over ten times the \$250,000 annually appropriated for this purpose. Yet in that city during the last eight years, owing to a deplorable undervaluation, the per-capita revenue raised by taxes for general expenditures has declined 30 per cent.

When we contrast Germany's thorough enforcement of compulsory education for every child from six to fourteen years of age, for over forty-four weeks in the year; and the admirable kindergarten, manual, and technical instruction of some foreign and even a few home cities, —all of which cost money,—with the bad conditions in these respects in the vast majority of our cities, to say nothing of contrasts in street paving and other matters, we cannot believe that more honesty and



intelligence in the spending is all that is needed in those of our cities whose rapid growth calls for still more rapid increase of public improvements. Inasmuch as society, like an individual, can better afford to use 10 per cent of a large income or property than 5 per cent of a small one for some useful but perhaps not immediately remunerative purpose, we need not be disturbed if public revenues, provided they are honestly and wisely expended, increase faster than private income. Yet a great economic authority on this subject—Prof. Henry C. Adams—doubts if public expenditures in this country since 1840 have increased as fast as private wealth.

Not only do we need more revenue, but we need far wiser and juster methods of raising it. The recent report of the Illinois Bureau of Labor Statistics is a revelation of the extent of tax-evasion and unequal assessments. Although some States—as Pennsylvania—have a better tax system than Illinois, it can be said of nearly every city and State in the Union that their success in enforcing their tax laws is a generation behind that of western Europe. In no other governmental activities is there more room for reform than in this. The evil is naturally worst in our cities, where ability to pay taxes is most easily concealed. Many of our tax systems are actual promoters of crime. Business men of high commercial standing have told me how agents of the assessor have offered to secure reductions in their assessments if the agent might have one-half of what was saved. Such offers are often accepted.

Where assessments are notoriously unequal, it often seems to business men simply a question of justifiable self-defence to bring pressure and even bribery to bear in order to keep even with one's competitors. The great test comes when such men have an opportunity, so often unused, to help along movements intended to improve the system and remove the temptation for fraud or inequality. It may be admitted that the condition is somewhat better in smaller cities and in some eastern States, but everywhere it is bad enough. The proposal of the late able Pennsylvania Tax Conference, that every taxpayer should receive, with his assessment, a list of all the assessments in the few blocks near him, would lessen inequalities. Much might also be accomplished by the separation, as already in some States, of the sources of State and local revenue, with the creation of adequate tax courts, and the union in one tax district of the entire county where each large city is situated.

As I am writing of cities, I must avoid considering taxes on in-



comes, inheritances, and corporate property, which are more properly matters of State concern. Mayor Pingree's instruction to his Detroit assessors to assess all land, even if unoccupied, at its full selling value, and to be somewhat lenient in assessing improvements, seems to have had good results, and to point the way to at least an equal ratio of assessment in proportion to true value upon land as upon improvements.

The extent to which discriminations may appear in a city possessed of a particularly poor tax system is illustrated in the report, before cited, of the Illinois Bureau of Labor Statistics. After showing hundreds of instances, assumed to be typical, where land values in Chicago are assessed at only one-third the rate of improvements, the report gives tables showing that in the cheap-residence quarters of Chicago the building is worth 74 per cent of the total value of land and residence, while in sections devoted to choice residences and large office buildings the building is worth only 43 to 48 per cent of the entire property. Thus the high assessment on improvements, compared with the low one on land, discriminates against cheap and even fairly good residence property. It appears that the average rate of assessment on eighty pieces of cheap-residence property, worth on the average \$867 each, was three times as great in proportion to true value as on ninety-eight pieces of unimproved land worth on the average \$2,509 each; twice as great as on thirty pieces of choice-residence property of an average value of \$140,869 each, and 75 per cent more than the rate of assessment on seventy pieces of business and office property worth on the average \$1,421,479 each. As press and public have, since the first day following the publication of this report, pursued a policy of silence respecting it, but have not, to my knowledge, denied the statements therein made, their general accuracy may be accepted.

Another municipal issue of equal importance is that of franchises or special privileges in the use of streets for water, gas, electric-light, telephone, and street-railway plants. In the case of water-works, city ownership is now in the lead, and its superiority to private ownership is almost universally acknowledged in places that have tried both. Nearly two hundred cities in America now own their electric-light plants, but in most cases they are handicapped by legal inability to sell to private consumers. A comparison with most private companies is therefore impossible, for the latter will often agree to light streets at nearly cost in order thereby to secure a franchise permitting very profitable charges for commercial lighting. A company having this



private business also gains by a public contract which pays even a small amount of the fixed charges that otherwise would have to be paid from the receipts of the commercial lighting. Yet even with full allowance for depreciation, interest at 4 to 5 per cent until a plant is paid for from net earnings, and for other items often omitted from the reports, the majority of these public plants appear to have justified their existence.

Where public plants are permitted to sell to private consumers, as at Danville, Va., not only is the charge to the consumer much reduced, but there is a large profit to the city. Chief Barrett, of the Chicago Electric-Light Department, informs me that although he is paying higher wages and working his men fewer hours (eight hours per day) than the private companies, and placing the mains in conduits in the heart of the city, he could cut in two the prices of the private companies and still make a profit, if he were only permitted to sell to private consumers.

Gas-works, street railroads, and telephones are still almost entirely in private hands in this country. The exceptions are found in the Brooklyn Bridge cable line, several fire and police telephone systems, and a dozen gas companies: the most important of the latter being those of Richmond and Danville, Va.; Wheeling, W. Va.; Philadelphia, Pa.; Hamilton, Ohio; and Henderson, Ky. These monopolies probably furnish the most profitable returns on cost of construction of any kind of business in America. It is nothing unusual to find electric street-car plants that can be duplicated with all equipment for \$20,000 to \$35,000 per mile of single track, and horse-car lines of less cost, earning 4 to 6 per cent on more than \$100,000 capitalization. Fares which at three to four cents would return as good profit as the average cotton or woollen mill, are kept at five cents,—the same as twenty years ago,—while meantime the cost of operation and material, and the prices of all goods subject to competition, have considerably fallen. Almost as large monopoly profits are made by the gas companies of our large cities, although reductions in price occasionally occur.

Out of the enormous profits to be derived from these necessities of city life, provided favorable grants can be secured from city councils, there arise the most demoralizing conditions. A prominent attorney, upon whose word I can rely, lately remarked to me:—

“When I stop to think of the methods of some of our largest corporations, which are daily brought to my certain knowledge, I wonder where we are going to land. As merely typical of this I may say, without mentioning names, that a



few days ago a large corporation in which I am a director set aside \$100,000 to buy a certain city council the coming winter, and we did it as calmly as we would have appropriated the same to furnish a new office building."

Fortunately some editors and newspaper-owners occasionally speak out, but rarely, thus far, with the success attending the exposure of Tweed by the New York "Times."

The average wage-worker as yet sees little benefit to himself in such grants of city franchises as will bring more revenue to the city and lessen taxes, whose burden seems to him to fall on other classes, while he is repelled by the superior airs of some reformers and attracted by the promises, made by demagogues, of direct benefits to his ward or to his class. With the recent tendency of reformers to ask for cheaper and better service, rather than large payments to the city, a greater popular following is sure to come.

After a long and severe struggle, and after refusing bribes of from \$50,000 to \$75,000 from those claiming to represent established local monopolies, Mayor Pingree, of Detroit, Mich., has secured from a new street-car company a rate of fare by which passengers can purchase eight tickets for twenty-five cents. Under this contract the city assumes the expense of street-paving between the rails, and a few minor expenses, which practically makes each fare equivalent to about three and a half cents, in comparison with five cents (sometimes with and sometimes without obligation on the part of the company to pave part of the street) in nearly all other American cities. In Reading, Pa., thirty tickets are sold for a dollar. The Detroit Street Railway Company now offers to sell its tracks to the city at cost, pay the city a rent equivalent to interest on the investment at  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent,—at which rate it is assumed that the city can borrow,—and then, itself furnishing all equipments, to sell single tickets for three cents, and forty tickets for a dollar. It also offers to use the tracks of the other company on the same terms, if the city can secure possession of them. The old company, known as the Citizens' Street Railway Company, now offers to sell eight tickets for twenty-five cents, but single tickets for five cents when transfers are given, if a thirty-year franchise is granted.

The Third Avenue surface road of New York city recently secured at auction eleven miles of road, known as the "Kingsbridge extension," in a now thinly populated district, for  $41\frac{1}{2}$  per cent of the gross receipts as payment to the city for the first five years, and  $43\frac{1}{2}$  per cent thereafter, the fare being five cents. Unfortunately this franchise appears to have either no time limit or a very remote one.



The recent successful competitor for a new street-car franchise in Indianapolis offered not only six fares for twenty-five cents, with full transfer privileges and extensive street-paving, but a percentage of gross receipts to the city of 10 per cent the first five years,  $12\frac{1}{2}$  per cent the second five years,  $13\frac{1}{2}$  per cent the third five years, and  $14\frac{1}{2}$  per cent the remaining fifteen years. Last December the directors of the Chicago General Railway (electric), having sixteen miles of double track, authorized the sale of seven tickets for twenty-five cents after May 1, 1896. The payment to the city of 9 per cent of the gross receipts of all the lines in Baltimore produces a revenue of more than \$200,000 a year, which is expended for the parks.

The now famous lease of the Toronto street railways, made in 1891 for thirty years, deserves a passing notice. Besides paying \$800 a mile to the city for every mile of single track; providing a rate of six fares for twenty-five cents (or eight fares between 6 and 8 A.M. and from 5 to 6.30 P.M.); working its employees only ten hours a day; and submitting to other interesting conditions, the successful bidder pays 8 per cent on all gross earnings up to \$1,000,000, 10 per cent on the next half million, 12 per cent on the next half million, 15 per cent on all earnings between \$2,000,000 and \$3,000,000, and 20 per cent on all above the last figure. Such terms, if in force in most cities, would mean not only lower fares, but more than three times the public revenue now secured from street railways. In 1892 Montreal secured from a new company as low fares as in Toronto, and about two-thirds as good a percentage of gross receipts. Yet even in Toronto the city treasurer has stated that, during the three months in which the city had charge in the summer of 1891, direct city operation proved more profitable to the city than the lease during any three months of the year or two immediately following. As Dr. Albert Shaw and others have shown, city management of street-car lines has proved a great success in many European cities. Recent returns are at hand showing the results of the first year of city management at Glasgow. They show that, aside from putting on a handsome new equipment of cars, providing the employees with uniforms, and reducing the hours of labor, the city has overcome a bitter competition from the old company, which, on failing to secure a renewal of its lease, started a great number of omnibuses. After full allowance for depreciation the city secured a much larger net revenue than during any year of its lease of the city-owned tracks to a private company.

The Brooklyn Bridge Cable Road, with its gradual and voluntary



reduction of fares to the present charge of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  cents, and with its great financial success, strict civil service, higher pay, and fewer hours than on the adjacent Manhattan Elevated Road, and a greater freedom from fatal accidents than is true of most private companies, sets an example of city management that is sure to spread. The entire cost of maintaining, not only the cable line but the carriage and foot ways, the ninety policemen and all other expenses of the Bridge, was only 2.13 cents per passenger by the cable road alone in 1895. The trouble with private ownership of these comparatively simple routine-like city monopolies lies in the antagonism of interest between city and company, and the enormous temptation, already dwelt upon, to weaken, if not corrupt, councils or commissions appointed to guard the public rights. It seems far harder to introduce honest and efficient regulation of private-owned city monopolies than it is to introduce the civil-service reform that should accompany city ownership and management. In attacking the spoils system we are attacking a set of usually disreputable politicians, whom most decent citizens despise; while in seeking to secure honest dealings between a public body and a private city monopoly we often have to contend with the so-called "best citizens," whose power is enormous, and whose selfish interests are opposed to reform.

We may well pause over a situation such as that described by Mayor Swift of Chicago in the following burning words to the wealthy Commercial Club of that city, December 28, 1895, as reported in the Chicago "Tribune" of the next morning:—

"Talk about anarchy; talk about breeding the spirit of communism! What does it more than the representative citizens of Chicago. . . . Who bribes the Common Council? It is not men in the common walks of life. It is your representative citizens, your capitalists, your business men. When have they come to the front, either individually or collectively, and inveighed against this manner of obtaining franchises? When will they come to the front, individually or collectively, and ask of the Common Council to demand adequate remuneration for the city? Never, to my knowledge. . . . If an assessor grows rich while in office, with whom does he divide? Not with the common people. He divides with the man who tempts him to make a low assessment, not the man who has the humble little house, but the capitalist and the business man. These are plain words, but they are true."

Although there are wealthy men in Chicago who are truly interested in securing all that the Mayor urged, yet the fact that he could bring such an indictment, with little subsequent rebuke from even those he was addressing, is very significant of the alarming situation that confronts us.



We must bear in mind, however, that the conditions in older cities are probably somewhat better. At all events we are bound to go through a period of attempted—and, it may be, fairly successful—regulation, as in Toronto and Detroit, before very much city ownership is tried. With this in mind, reformers might well concentrate their efforts upon securing the following principles, among others, in the charters of all large cities:—

1. No special permit or privilege, popularly known as a franchise, for the use of the streets or alleys, should be granted for longer than ten years, save for thirty years in the cases of elevated or underground roads, and for twenty years in the cases of surface street-car lines and of gas-works.

2. No franchise should be capable of renewal or extension until within a year of its expiration, nor should any permit for change of motive power, or for the extension of any system by new construction, or lease from another company, operate as such an extension. This would prevent the sudden grasp of new power from a complaisant city council elected on other issues.

3. Although it would seem self-evident that, after the expiration of a franchise, a city would have the right to purchase the plant of the company that possessed the franchise at the cost of construction, less all depreciation, as fixed by arbitrators, yet the decisions of our courts are so much more sensitive to private than to public interests and rights, that able lawyers advise a specific provision in the franchise for city purchase on the above conditions. This might well include the purchase of power-houses and engines, in the case of a street-car company, or the manufacturing plant of a gas or electric-light company, even if such were not in the streets or parks, provided they were needed by the city for itself or for a new company succeeding to the lease. Doubtless it would be well, where possible, to provide for the reversion to the city, without pay, at the end of the franchise, of all property in the streets. Where this is impracticable, or perhaps in any case, a city might well construct and own from the start all street mains, conduits, and tracks, on which an operating company should pay the equivalent of interest and depreciation; or the city might have a recognized ownership and control, even though the actual construction should be done by the operating company.

4. All franchises on different portions of a system should by law expire at the same time, which should be the earliest period of expiration of any franchise on any part of the system. At present many of



these city monopolies very cleverly arrange different times for the expiration of franchises on various portions of the line, so that a city can never take an independent stand and offer the whole system to the best bidder.

5. The city should expressly reserve the right to require an increased number of street cars and other public conveniences, when, in its judgment, public accommodation requires them, and it is physically possible to provide them.

6. The accounts of all companies holding municipal franchises should be open to full investigation by the proper city authorities, and sworn statements by such companies should be provided for, not only to determine taxes, but to enable the people to ascertain the profits and thus determine the wisdom of a re-lease or of city ownership.

7. Near the end of a lease or franchise period, on petition of a certain proportion of the citizens, a popular vote should be had on the question of city operation, and five years later another vote on the question of going back to private ownership should be taken, in case city ownership were tried.

8. No franchise should be awarded by a city council until approved by a board of public works, or by the chief of that department of city administration and by the comptroller. Perhaps, also, the mayor might be given an absolute veto.

9. Finally, in accordance with the above principles, franchises should be let at auction to the company offering the city the highest proportion of gross receipts.

Substantially all the above suggestions, excepting the seventh, were indorsed and couched in legal phraseology in the winter of 1894-5 by a committee of some of the ablest lawyers of Chicago, but they made little impression upon the monopoly-dominated Illinois legislature of that year.

Most of what has been said above with special reference to street-car franchises will apply equally to the gas question. Here, too, the difficulties of regulation are great. The most thorough trial of public regulation in the world has probably been made by the Massachusetts Gas and Electric-Light Commission. Its power to reduce rates, order improvements, forbid stock-watering, and secure full returns of cost of construction and operation, even in the case of previously existing charters, furnishes a precedent, as do our State railroad commissions, for the similar action that is likely to be taken before long with our street railways. In fact, a beginning has been made in this direction in New



York, and perhaps in one or two other States. But while some good results have been attained in Massachusetts, there is much doubt of the strength and courage of the commission. Despite its efforts, and undue legal restrictions upon city ownership, the demand for city ownership in the case of lighting-plants is steadily growing in that State.

Personal investigations for several years have convinced me that, upon the whole, success has attended city ownership of gas-works in this country. The worst and most advertised experiment has been in Philadelphia; but in that city there appears to be far more corruption in the relations of the city council to the privately-owned street-car lines than in all departments of the public gas-works. Very significant is the editorial of December 16, 1895, in a leading gas journal that has always opposed city ownership,—“The Progressive Age” :—

“The most strenuous efforts of the unscrupulous machine element in the politics of that city [Philadelphia] have been directed, not toward the retention of the gas-works under municipal ownership and control, as being the policy of greatest pecuniary advantage and therefore sole interest to the office-holders, but toward the sale of the gas-works again into private ownership.”

To this end the far-seeing council has constantly refused to appropriate needed money for improvements. Thus, with apparent design, the council plays into the hands of a private company that supplies part of the gas already to the city gas holders at a higher price than would be the cost in an improved city plant. Yet during nine out of ten years since 1840, Philadelphia has had cheaper gas and higher financial returns under public ownership than has Brooklyn or New York under private control. Space forbids reference to the greater success of city gas-works in other places, or to the interesting way in which Cleveland, Ohio, a few years ago, secured a reduction in price to eighty cents per thousand feet, five cents of that going to the city as a tax.

A great mistake is made by the average merchant and manufacturer, when he stands aloof from these questions, and fears that there is something dangerously socialistic in the effort to introduce the changes above outlined. On the contrary, the great majority of the citizens of Richmond, Va., who believe in the success of their city-owned gas-works, thus held by the city since 1852, are far from being convinced, as are the socialists, that all competition is bad and must in time yield to societary management. The same is true of Detroit, whose citizens a year ago voted four to one for city ownership of street-car lines; or of Toronto, whose favorable lease has been described.



Speaking of the present difficulties in the way of reforms in taxation and in the bestowal of franchises,—reforms that go to the bottom of things far differently from reforms in street, educational, and police departments,—one of the leading lawyers of the United States lately remarked to me:—

“I would enjoy nothing better than to lead a Lexow investigation as Goff did in New York ; but no man can afford to do it as it ought to be done, in my city, unless he is worth half a million dollars. For example, I am forced to seek accommodations at the banks ; but they handle the stocks and bonds of the powerful companies holding franchises or controlling assessors and other city departments to such a degree that, if I began a really vigorous contest for the people’s rights, I could probably not secure banking favors at a single bank. With an expensive family, and the fact staring me in the face that it is to these powerful corporations that lawyers must resort for large fees, I confess I am not heroic enough to take up the cudgels for reform.”

But the only way to secure general respect for wealth and for law and order is to purge our business dealings with the public of hypocrisy and corruption, and to insist that the Decalogue be observed equally by all. Surely it is the merest common sense that the people should use their streets and powers of taxation in the interest of justice and fair dealing and in a way to secure the interests of all instead of the profit of a few.

It seems hardly necessary to add that nothing is farther from my intention than to attack wealth as wealth, or to convey the false idea that the ordinary manufacturing, mercantile, or banking corporation is deserving of attack or is interested, in the long run, in misgovernment. Rather have all these legitimate business enterprises a great deal to gain by such reforms as have been indicated, since, by removing the popular sense of injustice, they would render the possession of honestly acquired property more secure. The millionaire is not *per se* any different from other people. When individuals of this class, however, do corrupt the body politic, the responsibility and injury are worse than when done by those in lower station ; just as the opposite is true,—that honest business methods among the wealthy are not only common, but are a powerful inspiration to the rest of society. Neither must it be assumed that all city monopolies deal corruptly with public bodies, for there are most honorable exceptions. An old friend and prominent engineer of a large electric-light combination in the East assures me that he has found it entirely possible to secure franchises honestly, and has often done it. We must even admit that the average citizen would do much the same as the average manager of a great monopoly, were he in a



similar position. This is not a class struggle. Simply, there is need of a new civic education and a new social conscience in all ranks of society.

It is not so much any radical industrial reorganization that is immediately needed, as a revolution in all our ethical conceptions of public righteousness, and of our duty to advance the same at whatever personal sacrifice. Our very strongest and most reputable citizens must consent to accept nomination—when freely tendered by their neighbors—for aldermanic and other municipal offices. For our ablest and most honored citizens selfishly to scorn public station and expect the intricate affairs of our enormous cities to be intelligently managed by cheap and mediocre talent, however honest, is absurd. It is more : it is a crime. The public conscience must also be so aroused as to take possession of ward club and primary as well as polling-booth, to the end that true friends of the people may take the place of the modern aldermen and other city officials, who hold that since posterity has done nothing for them, they need do nothing for posterity. Nor must work stop with the election. Every day thereafter a watchful though friendly public opinion must support the courageous and efficient public officer in his efforts to realize in some measure, in every place, the vision of the White City that we saw in 1893.

EDWARD W. BEMIS.



## THE MANITOBA SCHOOLS QUESTION.

BRITISH journals have spoken of the Manitoba Schools question as one that threatened to break up Canadian Confederation. This it never was. But it has brought into active play the antagonistic elements of which the Confederation is composed, and it has bred trouble, almost agony, among the politicians. The Catholic vote in Canada is nearly two-fifths of the whole vote, and, though not actually solid, it does to a considerable extent hold together under its ecclesiastical chiefs, while the Protestant vote, except in extreme cases of anti-papal excitement, is disunited, and attempts to carry the country by riding the Protestant horse have generally failed. The appearance of a religious issue is extremely perplexing to the leaders of both political parties, who want both Catholic and Protestant, but particularly Catholic, support.

The historical and legal intricacies of the question can have little interest for the American reader. Manitoba, in the early days of her existence as a Province, while the Catholics were still relatively a considerable vote, adopted the system of Separate schools, which is still in force not only in Catholic Quebec but in Protestant Ontario, while the Catholics tried in vain to introduce it in New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island. The Catholics having now, by the influx of Protestant settlers, become an inconsiderable minority, the Provincial Legislature of Manitoba passed an Act abolishing Separate Catholic schools. The Catholics protested against the Act as unconstitutional and *ultra vires*, alleging that the Separate system was a privilege inviolably secured to them by the Act of the Dominion Parliament admitting Manitoba as a Province to the Confederation. The courts in the upshot upheld the Act of the Manitoban Legislature. But ultimately the British Privy Council, to which the case was carried, decided to give the Catholics of Manitoba the benefit of a special provision in the Manitoba Act empowering parties aggrieved in regard to this matter to carry their grievance before the Governor-General in Council. In the last resort the Dominion Parliament may proceed to redress the grievance by remedial legislation. The Catholics of



Manitoba having carried their grievance before the Governor-General and the Privy Council,—that is in effect before the Ministry of the day,—the Ministry of the day, which is Conservative and generally enjoys the support of the Catholic vote, has launched against Manitoba a project of remedial legislation. Manitoba, knowing that the Protestant Provinces will not march upon her, faces the thunderbolt without flinching, and has just, at an election held upon the issue, given an overwhelming majority to the anti-Separatist Government. The project of remedial legislation must now go before the Parliament at Ottawa, and great are the searchings of heart among the politicians, especially among those whose seats depend on a mixed Catholic and Protestant vote. Protestant feeling in Ontario has been stirred to an unusual degree; to such a degree as severely to shake the Ministerial ranks in the Province and to cause the leader of the Orangemen to secede from the Government. Mr. D'Alton McCarthy, a Toronto lawyer of eminence, leads off from the Conservative party, mainly on this issue, a party of his own which is showing strength in the bye-elections. It is supposed that division on this question within the Government has had something to do with the extraordinary scene of intrigue and mutiny which has ended in the virtual dethronement of Sir Mackenzie Bowell from the leadership and the installation of Sir Charles Tupper in his place, though for this there were other and more tangible motives, as will presently appear. Nor are the Opposition leaders at their ease, though they are in the happier position of critics. Mr. Laurier, the Liberal chief, being himself a French Catholic from Quebec, and looking for the support of his compatriots, is in a particularly delicate situation. On the stump he has had to go through an acrobatic performance of a most difficult kind, leaning before Catholic constituencies a little to one side, before Protestant constituencies a little to the other, and using Provincial autonomy as the pole by which he balanced himself on the perilous rope. A gulf has yawned for him on either side. Even his comparison of the impregnable position, which he regarded himself as occupying, to the lines of Torres Vedras, proved not free from danger, since he was taken to task by some of his French constituents for what they conceived to be a complimentary allusion to a British victory.

The writer of an able and notable pamphlet<sup>1</sup> on this question opens

<sup>1</sup> "Is Manitoba Right? A Question of Ethics, Politics, Facts, and Law." A review of the Manitoba School Question. Published by the "Winnipeg Tribune."



by reminding us of the wisdom of Jefferson, who bade us frequently recur to first principles. The foundation of the public school system and of the tax by which it is supported are laid bare to inspection by this controversy. Is education the duty of the parent and those to whom the parent commits it, or is it the duty of the state? Has the state a right to supersede the parent or the church to which the parent entrusts his authority and to insist that the child shall be educated in its own way? It is evident that if the public-school system and the school tax are accepted and established no privilege can be allowed. The Roman Catholic Church cannot claim to be alone of all the religions recognized and respected by the state, while the rest—Anglican, Presbyterian, Methodist, Baptist, Unitarian, or whatever they may be—are swept with Secularism and Agnosticism into a common heap as unworthy of consideration. By consenting to this, the state, though it would not endow, would morally establish, the Roman Catholic Church. In a land of equality such a distinction is monstrous, though the power of the Roman Catholic hierarchy sustains it in Ontario and, with open voting for the election of school trustees—a form specially favorable to the influence of the priest. But supposing the Catholics were to abandon the ground of privilege, and, planting themselves on the broad principle of parental right, to declare against state compulsion and taxation altogether, logically to dislodge them might not be quite so easy. Their opponents would at all events be put to a defence of the fundamental principles of the system. That a man is by nature bound to provide education as well as food and clothing for the children whom by his own act he brings into the world; that he has a right to educate his children in any way which his conscience directs; and that you have no right by state taxation to take from him the means of so doing, and to force him to educate his children in the way which you prefer but to which he objects, are three propositions which, supposing natural right to prevail, call apparently for definite answers. The answer to them presumably is that the policy of a republic in which all exercise political power requires that all should undergo education. To this it might be rejoined, first, that the purpose of the state would be answered by an educational qualification for the franchise; and second, that it seems doubtful whether the children of the class for which the safeguard is chiefly needed are generally in school. Reports seem rather to indicate that a number of these children are truants, or shrink, as the ragged are apt to do, from taking their seats in school beside the better dressed. Voluntary charity, however im-



perfect and irregular, picks out, regardless of rags, the class that is most in need. Malthusians would perhaps add that a system of public alms, whether in the shape of free breakfasts or free education, tends to the improvident increase of population, which, in crowded countries, is beginning to be recognized as a serious danger.

The Catholic says that he wants a religious education for his child because only religion can form character. You send him to Mr. John Stuart Mill who will show him that it is not religious doctrine that forms character, but moral precept enveloped in religious doctrine and enforced by the authority of the parent and the teacher. He will retort that, unless you are an agnostic, you acknowledge the efficiency of religion in education yourself, and he can even point, it seems, to the introduction of a slight religious element into the school course of Manitoba as a proof of the truth of what he says. If you offer him an hour set apart for religious teaching through his priests, he will tell you that what he wants for the formation of a religious character is not a single hour allotted to doctrinal instruction, but the whole school life and surroundings of the child. You tell him—the author of the pamphlet already mentioned tells him—that his religion is objectionable because it diverts the citizen's allegiance to a foreign power, and because it is shown by history to be adverse to the progress of industry, knowledge, and general civilization. He will reply that if his religion is incompatible with his allegiance you ought not to lay your hands upon his children but to exclude him from the political franchise, and that, as to the second count of the indictment, he has an immense proportion of Christendom with him in thinking that character, which depends on religion, rather than intelligence, is the source of usefulness and happiness, and in preferring the simple and pious pair of the "Angelus" to the go-ahead offspring of the non-religious public school. Your rejoinder, on the principles of a free country, ought, it would seem, to be not only conclusive but so manifestly conclusive as to warrant you in the exceptional use of coercion. For coercion is used when a man is forced by a school tax to maintain your system of education instead of his own.

The record of the Roman Catholic Church, in the countries where she was exclusively dominant, is very bad. Little better is the record of the Anglican Church during the period of her exclusive domination. But where religious freedom permits, and there is a mixture of sects, rivalry has its stimulating effect, and the Roman Catholic layman demands for his child such an education as may give him a fair chance against the Protestant in the race of life.



England has just called a halt in the extermination of the voluntary schools which the late Minister of Education was carrying out with the apostolic zeal of a *défroqué*. The village school of England, with the parish clergymen and the good ladies of the parish to look after it, is, like other features of the manorial system, incapable of reproduction here. On the other hand, we have slid away probably from the original Scotch or New England type—which was highly religious and, being used by a small group of families, probably not unparental,—into a system which has a tendency to become a machine and to detach itself from the family, from the Church, and even from the general interest and intelligence of the community.

Public gratitude is due to Dr. Rice for impartial investigation of the system, the results of which originally appeared in *THE FORUM*.<sup>1</sup> Dr. Rice reports, with sorrow, that in the large proportion of instances the people take absolutely no active interest in their schools. He finds not one parent in a hundred, even in the best of homes, interested enough to protest against flagrant evils or to insist that the air of the class-rooms shall be fit to breathe and that the teacher's treatment of the pupils shall be humane. Dr. Rice also reports that the quality of the teaching varies greatly and in some schools is very low, as low apparently as it could be in any Separate school. Those in whose hands the system is are naturally, perhaps laudably, disposed to press and extend it with little regard to social economy or the needs of the country at large. In some of its developments it seems now to be causing a serious displacement of industry by educating youths out of agricultural callings into intellectual callings, which are becoming dangerously overstocked.

The public school system, whatever may be its comparative merits or defects, is firmly established on this continent. All the better can it afford to have its foundations examined. Its liegemen, like the advocates of socialistic legislation generally, identify themselves with the state, and are apt to conceive of the state as a power of unbounded wisdom and benevolence. But the state, if it is anything but an abstraction in which no qualities, rights, or duties can reside, is only the Government; and to the wisdom and benevolence of Government, whether national or municipal, while it is in anything like the present hands, few will deny that there must be bounds. Dr. Rice has repeatedly had occasion to complain of political influence. In one case he

<sup>1</sup> Subsequently published in book-form by the Century Company, New York, under the title "The Public School System of the United States."



says that it has ruined the schools. From political influence and jobbery at all events the voluntary system is free.

This Manitoba School affair has also interest as an episode in the struggle between the British and French races, which are severally identified with the Protestant and Catholic religions. Canada, when England took her over from France, had not more than sixty thousand inhabitants, almost all of the poorest class, who might probably have been Anglicized with ease. That they were treated on the opposite principle, that their language was respected and their religion recognized, was due, it may be surmised, to the necessity of preserving their allegiance in the face of the American Revolution, which may thus, in a certain sense, be said to have extended to Canada. This policy, combined with the hostility of the Canadian priests to New England Puritanism and afterward to the atheism of the French Revolution, kept the people loyal to Great Britain. The conqueror, however, had given them votes which they used to throw off his ascendancy, and there was a constant fight between them and the English minority in possession of office down to 1837, when they broke out into rebellion, simultaneously, though hardly in concert, with the rebellion against arbitrary government and the Family Compact in the British Province. Lord Durham thought he had achieved a master-stroke of statesmanship when he united the two Provinces. The French element, being the weaker, he imagined, would be politically dominated by the stronger element and ultimately absorbed. Never was there a greater mistake. The weaker race, being perfectly combined in defence of its threatened interests, formed a solid vote which dominated the United Parliament; while, instead of being absorbed, it has absorbed and is continuing to absorb outlying portions of the British element which come within or touch its pale. An American politician once showed the writer that he at least had not fixed the eye of territorial greed on Canada by asking whether the French in Canada were naturalized. They are not only very much naturalized, but regard themselves as the only genuine natives, and when they speak of a Canadian mean a Frenchman.

Prior to Canadian Confederation and the transfer of the North-West from the Hudson's Bay Company to the Dominion, that vast expanse had been the abode of five thousand French and as many English Half-breeds, who, with two thousand whites, largely Canadian, and the Indian tribes, made up the population. Organized authority and civilization were represented by the staff of the Hudson's Bay Company, whose lives in their lonely and Arctic stations form a curi-



ous chapter of commercial history. The Half-breeds were hunters, trappers, boatmen, and wandering traders. The Roman Catholic Church was represented by a few priests and marked the region ecclesiastically for her own. When the sale and transfer took place, adventurers began to stake out the land in a way alarming to the Half-breeds and subversive of their squatter rights. The Half-breeds suspected, not without reason, that civilization was going to improve them out of existence. They organized for their defence and formed a provisional government under Louis Riel, a leader who had something in him of the commander, but more, apparently, of the medicine man, and was not the less fitted on that account to sway ignorant and half civilized people. Riel twice headed Half-breed insurrections, and met a tragic doom in the second. The disturbance called the Red River Rebellion and the execution of the Loyalist Scott, which fiercely excited Protestant Canada, were the results. The Half-breeds cared, it may safely be said, for nothing but their right to the land. But the priest whom they sent to Ottawa with a presentation of their claims, slipped—it is alleged—by pious fraud into their Bill of Rights a clause giving the Catholics Separate schools.

The Manitoba Legislature was at first organized, as the Legislature of the Dominion still is, on the bi-racial and bi-lingual principles, while the French and Catholic element, led politically as well as ecclesiastically by its Archbishop, struggled to hold its ground against British and Protestant immigration. Colonization in the French and Catholic interest was attempted but failed. The British and Protestant element has gained the complete ascendancy, in token of which the official use of the French language in the Provincial Legislature has been abolished. The last pulse of French resistance was the second rebellion of Riel, which had its source, like the first, in the fears of the Half-breeds for their lands. The hearts of the French in Quebec were on the side of the Half-breeds; and though at the call of the Government two battalions of Quebec militia marched against the rebels, political colonels found reasons for withdrawing from command. French excitement, however, proved evanescent. Perhaps Manitoba was rather beyond the mental range of the "habitant" of Quebec. The leader of the Opposition in the Dominion Parliament, moving, on the faith of French support, against the execution of Riel, found the support fail him and met with a damaging defeat. In the east of Canada, however, the French element has been gaining ground and extruding the British not only from the district in the Province of



Quebec called the eastern townships, which was once entirely British, but from the Eastern counties of Ontario. French nationality instead of breaking up or being absorbed is growing more solid and pronounced than ever, while the connection with the mother country, long suspended by the French Revolution, is being renewed. Intense excitement was produced in Quebec by the Franco-German war. The digestive powers of British Canada are far too limited to enable it to assimilate a mass so large, so compact, and so thoroughly distinct.

Attention has also been directed by the controversy to some points of Canadian Confederation. The author of "Is Manitoba Right?" exclaims against the absurdity of allowing such an enactment as that of Separate schools to be made binding on a community for ever, especially by an embryo Legislature of Half-breeds. There would be no answer to him if Manitoba or the Dominion were independent. But they are dependencies of Great Britain, at whose hands they have received a constitution which they have no power to change, and to which the Catholics now appeal. One anomaly is just as great and as shocking to natural reason as the other.

The authors of Confederation would have preferred a legislative union. From this they were debarred by the division of races and the jealousy of the French Province. But they so far succeeded in their centralizing policy as to give the central Legislature the residuary power, which, by the American Constitution, is given to the several States. Thus it comes to pass that the Dominion Legislature has to deal with a question of education, bringing a question of religion in its train. Americans may be thankful that in their case nothing of the kind is possible. If, in addition to all the present torches of discord, religious quarrels were to be imported into Congress, the Republic would be torn to pieces.

The provision for an appeal to the Governor-General in Council exemplifies the British love of constitutional figments and the price paid for its indulgence. The Governor-General has been divested by the constitutionalizing process of almost the last remnant of real power. He is a pale counterpart of the crown upon a cushion by which the British republic is surmounted. Yet legislation still proceeds upon the assumption that an appeal to him is an appeal to a superior and impartial power. In point of fact, it is an appeal to a party Ministry acting in his name. Party strategy dictates the answer, and the party struggle decides whether the answer shall take legislative effect.



Speaking the other day of the Copyright question, respecting which the Canadian Legislature and the Colonial Office are at issue, the Canadian Minister of Justice claimed for Canada, in peremptory tones, liberty to "govern herself or to misgovern herself" as she pleased, without regard to any Imperial veto or deference to British interests. In effect this liberty has been conceded so far as legislation is concerned, the Colonial Office having in this very case shrunk from putting the Imperial veto on a Canadian Act when it was clearly required for the protection not only of the rights of British authors but of Imperial relations with foreign countries. The judiciary of the Empire alone still retains its authority unimpaired. Appeals from all the Colonies and Dependencies are still carried, as in this Manitoba case, to a tribunal at Westminster, which sits in judgment one day upon a question of Canadian education, next day upon a commercial case from Australia, and then upon a suit concerning a Hindoo inheritance with the right to perform the family sacrifice annexed. Nor is the decision ever questioned, though complaints of a want of acquaintance with the local circumstances of the Dependency are sometimes heard.

At this writing all is uncertainty at Ottawa, owing to the confusion resulting from the success of the conspiracy for the dethronement of Sir Mackenzie Bowell and the installation of Sir Charles Tupper in his room. But the supposed intention of Sir Charles Tupper and the son to whom he probably hopes to bequeath his power, is to assume the headship of the Roman Catholic interest, and, with that object in view, to carry into effect in Manitoba the measure of remedial legislation announced at the opening of the present session in the speech from the throne. Such a policy might be successful for a time, especially if to the Catholic vote a Tupper Government is enabled, by one of the bargains which are in the air, to add the support of the Canadian Pacific Railway, aptly nicknamed the "Government on Wheels." But in the end the Conservative party, if it binds itself to the car of Roman Catholic hierarchy, can hardly fail to rouse a Protestant resistance, which, if roused, will certainly prevail. How Manitoba is to be coerced into acceptance of remedial legislation is a problem still to be solved, for the Protestants of Ontario will certainly not take arms to enforce on their co-religionists in Manitoba, for the benefit of Roman Catholics, a system of Separate schools.

GOLDWIN SMITH.



## THE COST OF AN ANGLO-AMERICAN WAR.

WE have lately been told by the jingoists,—who, under the cant of patriotism, promote aggressive violence in our relations with other countries,—that the honor of this nation must not be weighed against mere dollars and cents. That may be admitted; but when it is proposed to dishonor the country by an aggressive and violent jingo policy without warrant of any kind, it becomes fit to count the cost of possible war in dollars and cents in order to bring the malignant influence of the jingo faction into most conspicuous notice. The mere suggestion of such a crime,—destructive to the welfare of this and of the mother country alike,—as a war between the two great branches of the English-speaking people, has been met by such an instantaneous protest from clergymen and laymen alike, from employers and laborers, from chambers of commerce and labor unions, as to have almost wholly removed the danger. That decree for the maintenance of peace, good-will, and mutual service has been uttered with such effect, both in this country and in Great Britain, as to render the jingo faction in Congress powerless and to forbid the Executive officers of either government from disregarding it.

In the last and during the early part of the present century the purpose of European governments in securing and governing their colonies was to retain the sole regulation of their trade and manufactures, under the mistaken idea that such a policy would benefit the parent state. Among European countries Great Britain alone has reversed her former colonial policy during the greater part of the nineteenth century,—to our great benefit as well as to her own. The efforts of the Dutch are still in some measure to retain the sole control of the traffic of their possessions in the East. The aim of Germany, France, and even Italy in securing dominion over parts of Asia and Africa is to control colonial trade and to limit colonial purchases to home goods. England alone opens her own ports and those of all her colonies to the world's commerce,—subject to the terms, methods of collecting the revenue by duties upon imports, and financial policy which each colony may choose to adopt,—on condition that the same rules shall be



applied to the trade with the mother country as to that of all other countries.

We may now notice the results of the later British colonial policy as compared with that of all other nations, and especially with that of the Spanish-American states still existing in most of the so-called republics which have displaced the former Spanish rule in South and Central America. In the consideration of the following statistics of the imports and exports of this country attention must be given to several conditions.

First, it will become apparent that the purchasing power of the foreign countries which have taken from us on the average during the last ten years at least 15 per cent of our whole farm product,—or between 6 and 7 per cent of our total product, giving employment in domestic industry to at least 1,500,000 of our own people in producing these exports,—is in proportion to their application of science, invention, and machinery to all the arts of life. The greater their progress in the application of mechanism to their own productions, the greater their purchasing power with respect to the food, fuel, fibres, metals, and manufactures with which we supply them.

Second, it will be apparent that in proportion to the application of mechanism to the conversion of food, fuel, metals, and fibres into finished or manufactured fabrics, the wages, and consequently the purchasing power, of the workmen in the countries to which the greatest part of our exports is distributed, have been augmented, while the cost of the fabrics used by them has been lessened. The greatest purchasing power and the greatest selling power, next to our own, lie with Great Britain, where the wages of the workmen are higher than anywhere else in Europe and where the cost of the greater part of the products is much less.

Third, it will appear that the purchasing power of the nations and states of Asia, Africa, and South America is very limited, because modern methods of production are least applied by their inhabitants; consequently products are mainly those of hand-work, yielding very low wages. Hence our commerce, or the exchange of our own products for the crude products of these non-machine-using nations or states, is very much less—ratably to the number of persons who might be supplied by us if their purchasing power were greater—than it is with the machine-using nations of Europe.

It is often said that "trade follows the flag." It is the flag symbolizing energy, personal liberty, intelligence, and a just government



that carries trade to the uttermost parts of the earth. Our flag would now rival that of England had we not continued the very errors which so long hampered her,—in our navigation acts, which were modelled on her act repealed in 1853, or thereabouts, and in the other measures by which we have obstructed the progress of our own commerce.

Lastly, it will appear from the consideration of the following table that the great groups of the English-speaking people of all sections of the world are becoming more and more interdependent, and are year by year enjoying an increasing benefit from the exchange of their products, as the obstructions of distance and time are overcome. On the other hand, the more complete our own applications of science, invention, and machinery to mining, metallurgy, agriculture, and manufactures, the greater our ability to supply other countries with the products of mines, fields, forests, and factories. In all these pursuits, without exception, the wages or earnings of the workmen which are recovered from the sales, either for domestic or foreign consumption, are higher than those of any other country, while the cost of labor in the product is lower in almost all productions which are of necessary rather than of voluntary use,—else none could be exported. A glance over the outward manifests of ocean steamers which are given in the commercial papers day by day will prove these assertions.

The home valuation of the exports of this country has averaged a fraction under \$800,000,000 per year for ten years, amounting in the aggregate to \$7,943,346,955. These exports consist of the products of our farms to the extent of more than 80 per cent. Their production has given employment in domestic industry to more than a million and a half men out of an aggregate of twenty million persons occupied in gainful pursuits. Without this export—that is to say, had it not been possible to sell this excess of our products to other countries, or rather to exchange it for the goods and wares which we import—these men (about 1,500,000), mainly consisting of farmers, would have been without occupation and in a state of compulsory idleness for long and intermittent terms. We export what we cannot consume, while our imports consist mainly of the products of tropical or semi-tropical countries and of the crude or partly manufactured articles which are necessary in the processes of our own domestic industry. The table on the opposite page sets forth the proportionate value to ourselves of the markets of all the states of the world.



VALUATION AND DESTINATION OF THE EXPORTS FROM THE UNITED STATES.<sup>1</sup>

	EXPORTS. 1885 to 1894 Inc.	ANNUAL AVERAGE.	Per Cent of Total.	APPROXIMATE POPULATION.	
Great Britain and Ire- land.....	4,060,135,619	406,013,562	51.12	40,000,000	White. Mixed.
British Colonies and Dependencies .....	712,054,131	71,205,413	8.97	{ 10,000,000 300,000,000	
France, Germany, Holland, and Bel- gium.....	4,772,189,750	477,218,975	60.09	350,000,000	
	1,809,533,962	180,953,396	22.78	174,000,000	
	6,581,723,712	658,172,371	82.87		
Russia, Austria, and other European States.....	482,379,273	48,237,927	6.07	230,000,000	
	7,064,102,985	706,410,298	88.94		
China, Japan, and other Countries in Asia not under Brit- ish Rule.....	116,481,826	11,648,182	1.47	572,000,000	
Africa, not under British Control....	6,847,818	684,782	.09		
Hawaiian, Philippine, and other Islands not British or Spanish..	44,348,757	4,434,876	.56		
Small Unenumerated Places.....	13,953,245	1,395,324	.17		
	7,245,734,631	724,573,462	91.23		
South America, omit- ting British Guiana	295,285,939	29,528,594	3.70	36,000,000	
Spanish and French West Indies, Haiti and San Domingo..	244,755,771	24,475,577	3.08	2,500,000	
Mexico.....	113,517,519	11,351,752	1.43	12,000,000	
Central America, omitting British Honduras.....	44,053,095	4,405,309	.56	3,500,000	
United States.....				70,000,000	
	\$7,943,346,955	\$794,334,694	100	1,450,000,000	

In this table we have conclusive proof that trade follows five lines somewhat in inverse proportion to population.

- 1. To countries in which the just and firm administration of Eng-  
lish rule assures the greatest volume of traffic.
- 2. To countries in which the purchasing power is developed by the  
application of modern science and invention to production.
- 3. In ratio to the capacity of the people of each section of each  
continent to share in the benefits of stable government or to establish  
such government by their own consent.

<sup>1</sup> AUTHORITY—Report of 1895, Bureau of Statistics, U. S. Treasury.



4. Trade exists and increases only in ratio to the maintenance of a stable form of government of some kind.

5. Trade is progressive upon the American continents and islands, only in so far as the inheritance of the Spanish rule—of forceful privation of the people to the gain of corrupt classes—is thrown off.

In evidence witness the statistics of trade in the same sequence :

1. The purchasing power of Great Britain and her colonies, next to ourselves the machine-using states of the world, is 60 per cent of our food, metals, fibres, and fabrics exported.

2. The purchasing power of France, Germany, and the low countries, which come next in order in the use of modern mechanism, is 23 per cent, these countries combined being our next largest customers.

3. Austria, Russia, Turkey, Italy and the lesser states of Europe,—suffering want in many ways, yet possessed of territory which, if under the beneficent rule and just laws by which English-speaking people are governed, might supply the whole of Europe with food in huge abundance,—can buy of us but 6 per cent of our exports.

4. The hordes of Asia and Africa not under English rule or protection take less than  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.

5. The huge area of the continent of South America and the states of Central America and Mexico—over 9,000,000 square miles in extent, or a third more than the habitable area of Europe and the United States combined—held in possession by less than fifty-five million people, mostly of mixed blood—are kept back and retarded by the inherited wrongs and evil influences of Spanish rule. Although equal to any other area of the earth's surface in the productions of the tropics, the semi-tropics, and the temperate zones, the people occupying this great area can buy of us less than 9 per cent of our exports. How shall this great area be redeemed? As the present hazard of war among the English-speaking people has been incurred in dealing with this problem, a yet more minute analysis must be made.

The main point of interest in the previous statistical analysis of our export trade is this indication of lack of purchasing power among the Spanish-American states of the two continents of America.

Since Mexico established a constitutional government on a firmer basis, and since her territory was opened by railways, her purchasing power has greatly increased, yet with a far more prolific territory and a better climate than are possessed by our neighbors in Canada, her twelve millions of people could only buy of us annually for ten years less than \$12,000,000 worth of our products at less than \$1 per head,



against an average of \$39,000,000 worth taken by the five millions of Canada at a fraction under \$8 per head. The three and a half million people under Spanish-American rule in the Central American states lying between Mexico and the Isthmus of Panama could only buy of us less than \$4,500,000 worth of goods at \$1.29 per head, against more than \$8,000,000 worth taken by one million three hundred and forty thousand of the English-speaking people of the British possessions of South and Central America, of Jamaica and other West India Islands at \$5.96 per head. The thirty-six million persons of Spanish-American descent, and those who are governed by them, occupying the continent of South America, aside from the little portion known as British Guiana, could only buy of us less than \$30,000,000 worth a year of our products at 83 cents per head, against an average of more than \$10,000,000 worth bought by less than three and a half million English-speaking people of Australia and New Zealand—who are only one-tenth the number compared with the mixed races occupying the whole of South America—at \$2.86 per head. The two hundred and eighty thousand people of British Guiana have bought of us \$1,787,646 worth of goods per year on the average at \$6.38 per head, against \$3,615,252 worth bought by two and a half million Venezuelans at \$1.45 per head. The thirty-two thousand inhabitants of British Honduras have made average annual purchases from us of \$373,605 at \$11.68 per head, while three and a half million other inhabitants of Central America have purchased from us \$4,405,309 per year at \$1.26 per head. Were our exports to South America equal proportionately to those to Australia and New Zealand, our exports to that continent would average \$125,000,000 a year in place of \$30,000,000.

The same general rule which governs our exports holds with respect to imports. Although Great Britain has passed gold to our credit in pounds sterling annually for the last ten years at the rate of \$240,000,000 for her excess of purchases from us over her sales to us, yet at the annual average of \$164,000,000 of goods imported from Great Britain by us we are her largest single customer. The balance of our merchandise traffic with Great Britain and Ireland in the years 1885 to 1894, which was placed to our credit in gold coin, amounted to more than \$2,400,000,000. This great sum has been derived mainly from our sales to her people of cotton, corn, provisions, dairy products, and the like. The number of farmers, cotton growers, millers, and the like, whose occupation depends exclusively upon the British market for the consumption of their products, is not less than one million.



The war of the jingoists would be more destructive to agriculture in its first effect than upon any other branch of domestic industry.

It is noticeable that in our traffic with the manufacturing states of Europe—Great Britain, France, Germany, Belgium, and Holland—there has been placed to our credit each year for the last ten years in gold coin \$250,000,000. In ten years \$2,500,000,000 has been the balance due us on the excess of our exports of merchandise to these countries over the imports from them, and this credit has been mainly for farm products sold to them on a gold basis. The exports from these countries to other parts of the world, from the sale of which they obtain the means to pay us in gold, are very largely to countries which are on the silver standard or on depreciated paper. Hence the cost and burden of converting sales made on a bad-money basis to terms of good money in gold in order to satisfy us have fallen upon these states of Europe. Had our credit been maintained, as it would have been except for the incapacity of our own Congress,—an incapacity about equally divided between the two parties,—we should have possessed not only the control over the gold reserves of the world as well as over our own product, but this country would have become, on a gold basis, as England now is, the place of safe deposit for the capital of the world. In very reverse of this true policy our incapable Congresses have devoted themselves to the free coinage of silver, to the purchase of silver bullion, or to what is called the “bimetallic system.” This latter term means the enactment of a treaty of alternate or optional legal tender of gold and silver at the choice of the debtor country, the creditor country being deprived of any choice in the matter. Under such a treaty these great manufacturing nations of Europe could force us to accept, at a fixed ratio to gold, the silver derived from the sale of their exports to silver-using countries, without any regard to its real or commercial value. Good money is that kind of coin which is worth as much after it is melted or hammered smooth as it purports to be worth in the coin. In international traffic good money is the only standard, bad money—money not worth so much after it is melted as it purports to be worth in the coin—being refused.

It follows that the mis-representatives of the grain-growing and cotton-producing States in the Senate have lately voted to enable Great Britain, our principal creditor for provisions, cotton, and grain, to pay our farmers for their products in bad money. This act has been done at the dictation of the attorneys of the silver miners, the products of whose mines possess an annual value of about one-third that of the



hens' eggs produced in the barnyards of these same farmers and cotton growers. If financial ignorance can be illustrated by any greater depth of folly—and in some cases of dishonor and fraud—one must seek far to find it. To this incapacity the present financial discredit, business depression, and threats of national dishonor are to be ascribed. One of the most potent influences brought to bear by the advocates of free silver-coinage is an appeal to the superficial animosity against Great Britain. One can hardly refrain from loss of dignity in characterizing the combination of folly and fraud which is exhibited by these inconsistent promoters of free silver. Actuated by animosity against Great Britain they yet propose and sustain a policy which would enable her to pay for our farm products in bad money, retaining to her own use and benefit the gold of which we hold the command whenever we choose to exert it. Our supplies of food and cotton are necessary to Great Britain in order to enable her to maintain her manufacturing supremacy over other European states while she keeps unimpaired the unit of value in gold—under the name of pound sterling—which has made London the banking centre of the world and England the place of safe deposit for the reserves of all nations in time of war. It is to be doubted whether the Senators who propose this great boon to Great Britain are actuated by very Christian motives of doing good to their supposed enemies; yet a more certain method of maintaining England's financial supremacy could not be invented than the one which has lately been supported by the votes of a majority of the Senators of the United States.

In my own single experience in the service of the Government, when commissioned in 1887 to report upon bimetallism in Europe, I had constant evidence of the amazement of every public financial officer, and the head of every great bank in Europe to whom I was accredited, at the folly of our Congress in assuming the useless burden incurred by our bad financial management and our constant purchases of silver bullion. On every side, even at that date, came prophetic testimony of our discredit which it was then patent would sooner or later ensue in Europe from the continuance in our erroneous course. The common remark of men in the highest financial positions in Europe at that time were also to this effect,—that so long as the United States hampered themselves with a bad monetary system and relieved Europe from the burden of depreciated silver by storing it in their Treasury, so long had Europe little to fear from competition with them in manufacturing, in arts, and in international commerce.



I recur now to the unquestioned data of our exports which make us the great creditor nation of the world in our traffic and would, if we did not tamper with our own credit, give us the command of the capital of the world on a gold basis.

Does it not follow from these unquestioned facts that the mother country and her descendants in all parts of the world are year by year becoming more interdependent and more and more capable of supplying each other's wants to the mutual service and benefit of all? That is the motive of commerce,—by which it lives and moves and has its being. If it did not profit all states and nations which exchange product for product, commerce could not exist. The mediæval error that in all commerce what one nation gains another must lose, is one of the most potent causes of the animosity against England which now depraves the minds of many people in this country.

Do not these facts again prove that the moral, ethical, and economical principles which ought to regulate and control the relations of the English-speaking peoples with each other lead to the same conclusion? No principle of political economy can be sustained which is inconsistent with moral, ethical, and political welfare. The science of trade and commerce rests upon as solid a basis in ethics as it does upon any other ground of its existence. If such are the necessary conclusions, then the jingo spirit which leads to violence and antagonism is as bad in its effect upon our material welfare as it is injurious to our morals and debasing in our politics.

It follows that the self-interest as well as the moral and political welfare of the people of the United States are bound up in a close commercial union with the other English-speaking peoples. The prosperity of the grain grower of the West, of the dairyman of the Middle States, and of the cotton grower of the South demands alike that every effort shall be exerted to overcome the prejudice and animosity which find their expression in jingoism. We have exerted the greatest physical effort in laying our railways, deepening our harbors, and opening the ways of commerce for the exchange of the surplus of our farms, our forests, our mines, and our factories for the products of other countries. The greater part of our imports consists of the hand-made products of the non-machine-using countries of the world,—the tea, the coffee, the sugar, the spices, the dye-woods, the wool, and other articles which are necessary in the processes of our domestic industry or for the support of the masses of the workmen who are employed therein. Webster once said that “we cannot afford to spend our intel-



ligent and well-paid labor in doing what foreign paupers can do so well for us." That is the motive of our commerce. For one day's product exported which has yielded the highest wages earned under our favorable conditions, we may secure in return the produce of ten days' work of the semi-pauper laborers of many parts of the world. Yet both are benefited by the exchange, and in the exact measure in which the conditions of our customers in other countries are raised above that of pauper laborers is their purchasing power increased and their commerce made more valuable to ourselves as well as to them.

From this analysis of our commerce and from other data which are now at our disposal, it has lately become plain that the opening and partition of Africa, although augmenting the knowledge of the resources of that continent and likely to lead to great individual wealth, will not provide homes for the increasing population which is beginning to press upon the resources of many sections of continental Europe. This surplus population must emigrate. The over-crowded area of Great Britain, France, Germany, Belgium, and Holland is but 560,000 square miles. The population of these countries is approximately 214,000,000; their inhabitants belong to the only races capable of home rule and also possessing the energy necessary to succeed as colonists. The only great section of the world of which a considerable part is not now under the control of the English-speaking people is South America, which alone has an area of 7,000,000 square miles, and a population approximately of 36,000,000. A very large section of that continent possesses a rich soil and a temperate climate, and is suitable in every way for the domicile of the Anglo-Saxon races. In what manner can the influences which have enabled the English-speaking people to establish peace, order, and industry wherever they have secured dominion be extended over that great continent? The day of aggression and conquest has passed. This work of bringing South America under the safe conditions of Anglo-American laws and customs can be accomplished only by consent of the people of the several states of the continent itself. The danger to them of foreign aggression, which was very great when Great Britain and the United States joined in support of what is known as the Monroe Doctrine for their protection, has also passed. It was equally to the interest and benefit of Great Britain and the United States to save them from foreign domination then, as later it was also to the equal advantage of Great Britain and the United States when the latter, after the civil war, warned the French to withdraw from Mexico.



Under the shock—caused by a perversion of the Monroe Doctrine—which even the possibility of a civil war between the English-speaking peoples has produced, it has become apparent that even such remote causes of animosity must be removed. In its present ill-defined form the Monroe Doctrine is used as a menace,—not as a safeguard according to its original purpose. But the common sense and the moral sense alike of England and the United States have been aroused: war has been forbidden, while even the threat of violence has been sternly rebuked. What now remains is to wrest safety from this danger and to bring the true harmony of interest and the true purpose of the English-speaking people to bear, so as to assure the application of the spirit of the Monroe Doctrine throughout both the continents of America. The way to accomplish this is plain, open, broad, and straight. It is for the interest of the masses of every state in South America that election by true ballot shall take the place of changes of a revolutionary kind by bullets, and that the safe conditions of Anglo-American law shall be established. When Great Britain and the United States are joined in the suppression of foreign aggression they may, without the exercise of force, induce all South American states to settle their disputes by adjudication or by arbitration.

The first cause of dispute consists in a question of title to land upon which citizens both of one South American state and of Great Britain hold claims of possession by right of occupancy. Titles to land when in dispute between private persons are subject to adjudication in a court of law. Disputed titles, between states, to land already occupied by one claimant may not rightly be arbitrated; but they are surely subjects of adjudication on questions of fact which would not be difficult to establish in an International Court of Law. Adjudication may be agreed to even by the strongest nation in cases where arbitration may not receive support.

The second class of questions which bring contention between states is alleged encroachments upon personal or maritime rights. These are surely subjects of arbitration in an International Court of Equity.

The next great subject for the joint action of the English-speaking peoples—in which all have the greatest interest—is the protection of commerce upon the seas. This may be assured by a commercial union among the English-speaking people for the protection of commerce; but suitable measures would unquestionably receive the support of so many other nations as to make it a department of international law. Not only must private property, other than contraband of war, be



exempt from seizure upon the sea, but privateering and the issue of letters of marque must be forbidden. It would be a righteous use of the navies of the English-speaking people combined to give protection to the commerce of all nations by enforcing this rule. It only needed the assent of the United States, so unwisely denied many years ago, to have made this also a part of international law. The destruction or plunder of commercial vessels by ships of war, even of combatants, must also cease, to the end that no basely named "commerce destroyers" may hereafter be suffered to exist. Acts which would disgrace an army upon the land must no longer be imposed as duties upon the navies of a nation claiming to be civilized.

While the armed defence of harbors may for a time continue to be necessary, lest for lack of precaution great injury might some time be done by the naval forces of some petty state of a semi-barbarous type, yet towns and cities which are not themselves fortified, or that form no part of the harbor defences, must hereafter be exempt from bombardment or from any other damage from naval forces, as they are now exempt from similar injury from land forces. This may also be made a part of international law.

Interoceanic canals and waterways must be neutralized and placed under the joint protection of the English-speaking peoples and of other states and nations which may join with them, so that immunity from damage to such waterways or from interruption in their service may be enforced with such power that no single state would dare resist.

Islands in mid-ocean, like the Sandwich Islands, Samoa, and perhaps ports of refuge on the distant coasts of continents, must be neutralized and thereafter placed under the joint protection of the great maritime powers, to the end that coaling-stations, cable-landings, and commercial agencies may be established upon equal terms by the people of any state,—no armament to be permitted upon the land and no hostile shot to be fired upon the sea at an agreed distance from these sanctuaries of peaceful commerce on the penalty of bringing into action the whole combined forces of the commercial states of the world to forbid a repetition of the wrong.

What stands in the way of this union for the protection of commerce and for the assurance of peace and plenty wherever the dominion of the English-speaking people and its influence extend?

With every step in popular government, under constitutional forms, for the protection of the interests of the great mass of working people, greater assurance of peace, order, and welfare has been given to the



world. It is the misfortune of Great Britain to be so close to nations in which the dynastic war spirit still prevails as to be forced to expend great sums of money in order to sustain English law, English rule, and English influence wherever it has been established. We may take what exception we may to some of the arbitrary and dictatorial methods by which British rule—as well as our own—has sometimes been extended; but whether we will or no, our own interests are indissolubly connected with those of the mother country, and whether we recognize it as a duty or not, our own prosperity in great measure depends upon sustaining the principles of English liberty and protecting the commerce of the English-speaking people wherever these influences have been extended throughout the world.

Perhaps nothing but the shock of civil war between the two great English-speaking nations could have brought this matter to the issue in the way in which it is now presented. If common sense is applied, common prudence exerted, and common honesty exhibited in dealing with these great issues, the vision which I have presented may become a living fact to the benefit of the world and may lead by example to the removal of some of the dangers of war which now threaten so many of the so-called Christian states of Europe.

Never before have any five men been charged with greater responsibility than has been imposed upon the Commission appointed by the President to ascertain in which nation is vested the title to a small section of South America; nor has a greater opportunity of promoting human welfare ever been presented. No man can be entitled to the first rank among judges, statesmen, or students who cannot define and establish the rights in this case under the strictest rules which govern the practice of law; and this without even the threat of an appeal to force. In the progress of this simple investigation, the functions of the Commission may be extended so as to remove all causes of danger of such a crime against liberty and humanity as a war among the English-speaking people would be. It may happen that it will fall to this Commission to initiate measures to secure the benefits of Anglo-American law and to establish peace and order throughout both the continents of America. It is certain that under its learned and able adjudication the mere partisans who have been making use of the vague and uncertain ideas about the Monroe Doctrine to provoke antagonism in the minds of the mass of the people, will be deprived of what has been a dangerous weapon in their hands. While the purpose of the jingo faction in the Senate and House has been mere party suc-



cess or personal notoriety, the object of the President, whatever exception may be taken to his method, cannot be questioned. If the end shall even approach the conditions of peace and reunion for all righteous purposes of the several branches of the English-speaking people which I have prescribed, the temporary discredit and disaster to which we have lately been subjected will be as dust in the balance when weighed against the progress in human welfare which will ensue.

In the treatment of this question I have been obliged to indulge in some repetition in order that the case might be presented from every point of view; yet I must submit a summary of the whole argument.

The jingo type originated in England, where there is, or was, a small class imbued with the same animosity against the United States that is manifested by a faction of our own people against England, but for very different reasons. The sympathies of many of the Tory landlords and others of England were with the slave-holders of the South during our civil war. The working people with a true instinct sustained the cause of the North and forbade the jingo faction from taking any hostile action against us. These jingoists of England had some reason for their fears. They dreaded the attack upon their privileges which was certain to follow upon our success in maintaining the Union and in establishing our abundant product. That product is assured by the application of free and intelligent labor to lightly taxed lands which are free of rent. We have redressed the wrongs which they would have done us, had they possessed the power, by bombarding British ports with unlimited supplies of wheat, corn, and cotton. The working-men who sustained our cause have had an assured abundance of cheap bread, but the rent on which the Tory landlord depended at the cost of cheap bread has disappeared. Without a hostile shot we have shorn the jingoists of their greatest power, while rendering assistance to our friends. We may be as fully assured at the present time that the men of England who are now endowed with the suffrage to a degree never enjoyed before, hold the dominant power. They will never permit the commerce which supplies them with our food and fibre to be destroyed, nor will they submit themselves again to the high cost of the necessities of life which the jingo policy would bring upon them.

The number of persons occupied for gain in this country during the past ten years has averaged in excess of twenty million—a little over one in three of the whole population. Of that number one-half have depended for their subsistence either upon the direct cultivation



of the farm or upon the conversion of crude farm products into their secondary form of dressed meats, canned provisions, flour and dairy products. The number dependent upon agriculture has been in excess of ten million persons. Bearing in mind that these products of agriculture which are exported are in greater measure products of labor sustained by very moderate capital, rather than products of large factories employing relatively a less number of persons and a greater amount of capital, it is perfectly certain that the exports of this country during the last ten years have given employment on the average to one million and a half persons, mostly men employed upon the fields, and probably to nearer two million. The destruction of international commerce or its interruption, especially the interruption of our commerce with Great Britain, would at once deprive a great number out of this vast force of their customary occupation and means of subsistence. That privation would immediately act upon the entire products of agriculture, reducing prices to less than cost and depriving nearly every branch of agriculture of any profit. But the evil would not end at that point. The prosperity of the railways and of the manufacturers, whose chief market is among the farmers and those engaged in the conversion of farm products, would be instantly impaired. Although the prices of a few articles might be extravagantly raised by the obstruction to imports, the great mass of our industries would be paralyzed and brought to a state of extreme depression.

Hence it follows that there can be no conceivable justification for a jingo policy of aggression, violence, and force, and no possible justification for war among the English-speaking people except in absolute defence of our own territory, our own institutions, and our own liberties.

The adjudication of land titles, the arbitration of other matters of contention, and the other suggestions made in this paper have been urgently pressed upon men in high power and position both in Great Britain and in this country. We are now making history with great rapidity; and, since the danger to which the jingo element in both countries has subjected us has been disclosed, this noisy, blatant, but really feeble faction may have been suppressed even before this essay is published, and either deprived of any influence upon public affairs or relegated to lasting contempt and obscurity by the aroused common sense of the great body of the English-speaking people.

EDWARD ATKINSON.



## AN ALLIANCE WITH ENGLAND THE BASIS OF A RATIONAL FOREIGN POLICY.

DURING the last few years the foreign relations of the United States have been brought sharply and continuously into view. The Hawaiian revolutions raised the question of the annexation of remote territory. The emergence of Japan, through her war with China, into the circle of the great modern Powers has made it necessary to consider a possible menace to our power and to our peace in the Pacific. The Armenian massacres have brought up the question of the defence of our citizens engaged in peaceful occupations in foreign countries. The Cuban rebellion forces upon our attention our relations with European states having colonies in America, and revives interest in a possible question of territorial annexation. The boundary dispute between Venezuela and England has led us to take active measures toward the assertion of the so-called "Monroe Doctrine." Under the pressure of these events we are studying to discover the rational basis of a foreign policy which shall be rooted in our history and, at the same time, consonant with the needs of our future growth.

We have a traditional foreign policy. Its cardinal doctrines are two: avoidance of entanglement in European disputes, and prevention of European aggression in America. The basis of this policy has been a profound instinctive sense of the isolation of America. Our geographical, political, and economic separateness has been one of our commonest and most persistent traditions. Our national consciousness is thoroughly imbued with it. It has been an unchallenged assumption in our argument and in our conduct. But the question is now somewhat rudely thrust upon us, "Is this isolation a fact?" There is grave doubt whether we can continue to look upon America as a continent divided from the rest of the world. If in fact this isolation does not exist, can the United States draw boundary lines along arbitrary meridians in the Atlantic and the Pacific and assert that European and Asiatic Powers shall respect these boundaries and consent to be ruled by us in matters affecting their relations with American states?



These two cardinal rules of our policy have somewhat the vagueness of traditions. There has been no clear understanding of the limits of their application. They have received no generally accepted formulation. And they have never been recognized by European governments as resting upon anything other than our national power. The aim of this paper is to show that, while in their origin they were the outgrowth of economic and political conditions, the industrial development of the last three quarters of a century has destroyed this isolation of America, and that the pressure of our economic progress is forcing upon us a new policy.

The assertion of our intention to prevent European aggression in America was entirely natural during our early national life. European colonial policy had been one of constant exploitation and arbitrary government. Even English colonies for a century and more before 1776 had been forced to fight out again the old English right of self-rule. The war policy of George III not only lost him his American colonies, but it stamped upon the American character an almost ineffaceable distrust of England. It is in vain that England has since become, in some respects, more democratic than the United States. The vision which met our infant eyes of the armed heel of England descending upon our cradle always rises first. England is to us still a tyrant,—a greedy and ruthless conqueror.

We were democratic a century ago because we had approximated an equality in economic opportunity—a new country, where each man had a free field for his ability. The fact existed of a possible high standard of life for all classes. Individualism, equality, were the chief products of the soil. We became passionately devoted to the doctrines of liberty and equality. Having won our national independence, we had active sympathy with struggling democracy everywhere. We welcomed the democratic ideas of France. In spite of the excesses of the French Revolution, so repugnant to our national character, the party with French sympathies remained very powerful. We thoroughly believed that a monarch must be a despot and that liberty could exist only under a democratic form of government. Our conviction was deep and honest that America was destined to be the refuge of liberty,—the asylum for the oppressed of all nations. It was here in this new world, separated from Europe by the great ocean, that the world's salvation from despotism was to be wrought out. These are sentiments which still remain—woven into all the tissues of American national life. Europe, to-day, forgets this. Europe does not under-



stand us because Europe does not see the power of this sentiment—the passion with which we hold to the principle of equality and to the spread of democratic institutions. We are French in our ideality. The reason why we have not made shipwreck of our democratic state is that we have held tenaciously to the ideal of a free equality—equality not merely before the law, but equality in economic opportunity. The determination to preserve a part of the world where this democracy might persist and grow has been a necessary element in the character of every American. The Monroe Doctrine is not the fundamental principle. It was simply a particular assertion, under special circumstances, of that deeper spirit of Americanism. At a time when it seemed as if the Holy Alliance were to combine all Europe in a backward movement toward absolute monarchical government, we uttered our protest that, on the American continent at least, there should be soil where democratic institutions might grow. In sympathy for Spanish colonies struggling to independence we asserted it for them. In the belief that the future of democratic institutions demanded our success, we asserted, as a right of self-preservation, that extension of European conquest in this country should cease.

But while the Monroe Doctrine was simply a particular protest under special circumstances, it has acquired a kind of authority because it was the earliest important assertion of the principle. In subsequent assertions we have naturally appealed to this Doctrine as authority. But it has no real authority. The truth is that the principle asserted in it is much wider and deeper than the Monroe Doctrine, and that instead of being obsolete it is a very important element in our national life.

The other tradition as to our foreign policy finds its first authoritative expression in Washington's Farewell Address of 1796. I say authoritative, meaning only that this Address has the authority which came from the weight of Washington's name and the inherent sound sense of the principle. He says substantially that our national prosperity depends upon the peaceful pursuit of industry, that we must keep aloof from European political disputes, because otherwise we shall be dragged into their quarrels and their wars. These two principles—the avoidance of entanglement in European politics and the opposition to European aggression in America—were eminently wise, conservative, and peace-promoting principles. They were complementary parts of a policy which had two main objects,—one political and the other economic. We wanted opportunity in America for the



peaceful development of democratic principles and institutions ; opportunity also for the peaceful development of our industries. In the last century we had already begun to dream of our future industrial greatness. Many men of Washington's time, and none more clearly than he, had seen beyond the Alleghanies. Already the necessity of good roads and of canals to reach the Western country had become evident. President Jefferson, putting to sleep his political conscience on the point of exceeding the constitutional rights of the Federal Government, negotiated the Louisiana purchase. Thinking men saw the manifest economic destiny which had begun to push us to the Pacific. We wanted peace—profound peace,—for we had a gigantic industrial task before us.

The industrial and commercial development of this century have changed many of the essential conditions of our national life. If we are to remain true to our principles—the promotion of democratic government, of peace, and of our economic prosperity—we must face these changed conditions and alter the letter of our policy to gain the ends for which the policy was established. Steam-navigation has so reduced the size of the world that we are no longer isolated. England to-day could more easily wage war against us than against Germany. She could transport her troops to Canada in as short a time as was required, early in the century, to place Wellington's army in Spain. The only effective barrier to-day against Europe or Asia is a powerful fleet. Mere width of ocean is no longer sufficient against any nation with a stronger navy than our own.

Now this isolation, due to the vast ocean distance between us and Europe, was the great fact which lay at the bottom of our traditional foreign policy of isolation. Asia did not figure in the problem, for we had not realized the meaning of our westward extension until the settlement of California after the gold discoveries. A narrow stretch of thinly populated country along the Atlantic seaboard, the United States looked upon the ocean as a providential bulwark against the political systems and military force of Europe. We declared that our business was, not to meddle with European affairs, but to cross the Alleghanies and make an industrial conquest of the West. Had industrial conditions remained what they were in the first quarter of the century, our effective conquest would not now have reached beyond the Mississippi and our traditional policy would still be wise. The same power, however, which has destroyed our military isolation, has brought us into the closest economic relations with Europe and with



the rest of the world. Steam-navigation, steam-railroads, and steam-power in manufacturing have made nations in every part of the world actually dependent upon each other for the necessities of daily life. The industrial structure of modern society pays little heed to national boundaries, or geographical distances. The world to-day is small and compact. No nation is or can be isolated. Not only Europe, but Asia and Africa as well, have developed close commercial connections with the United States and other American nations. The ocean is not a barrier to transportation of goods, but has become the great highway of the world's commerce.

Slowly, but inevitably, our affairs are becoming intermingled with the affairs of other nations. English and Continental capitalists are owners of our industries to an enormous extent. The financial operations of our Government are greatly dependent upon the European money market. If we mingle with the nations we must act with them. The Great Powers will not forever make an exception of us and let us pursue our own independent courses. Hawaii and the war between Japan and China have already given hints that we shall be forced into the international disputes of Eastern Asia. Our isolation is breaking down. We are in this new world which the inventions of this century have created. We have largely created it ourselves. And this new world, made by new industrial powers, we must live in, as a necessary and an influential part of it.

There is another force pushing us out into the world's councils—the necessity of protecting the lives, the property, and the liberties of our citizens in different parts of the world. Missionary zeal, the desire to travel, the necessities of foreign residence for commercial purposes, the international pursuit of science, are more and more spreading American citizens throughout other lands. In Armenia at present the facts are such that our people might easily have been persuaded to join with other nations in armed intervention.

Another and more particular fact is forcing us away from our traditional policy. The work of the industrial subjugation of the West has been accomplished, in its large outlines. The process which began with the national road to the Ohio, with the Chesapeake and Ohio canal, and the Erie canal, was continued by the steam-railroad. Slavery was a powerful force, pushing westward in its rivalry with free-labor in the North. The war with Mexico gave us the Pacific coast. The gold discoveries settled the coast. The civil war not only destroyed the system of labor which would have disastrously



hindered our progress but it brought the railroads to the Pacific and knit the Pacific coast into close economic and political unity with the East. Even the fanatic anachronism of the Mormon faith contributed to the building up of the industrial structure of the continent. To-day the whole country is vitally connected in its commercial life. The first agricultural occupation of the soil has been mainly finished. The great lines of transportation have been located and put into operation. Manufacturing of every sort is rapidly developing. The period of extensive occupation is over. The period of intensive development is begun. The statistics of the last twenty years show plainly how rapidly the process of internal development is going on—and also how rapidly we are reaching out in foreign trade. Our new navy is another indication of the same sort. While our agricultural development was engrossing our attention a powerful navy was largely an unnecessary expense. The development of our manufactures will necessitate the building up of an extensive foreign commerce. Instinctively, rather than consciously, our people have felt this and have supported with growing enthusiasm the policy of building up a strong navy and of promoting the growth of an American merchant marine. Merchants and manufacturers are arousing to the necessity of securing more direct governmental recognition and are urging the establishment of a Department of Manufactures and Commerce.

Our industrial forces cannot be confined within the bounds of our own land. If our old political ideas and the necessities of our economic growth come into conflict the former must yield. Economic forces shape and change the politics of nations. The pressure of our commercial expansion is becoming irresistible. The danger is that it may take the form of territorial annexation—that we shall try to extend the name of America to un-American portions of the earth. The plain fact is that under modern conditions nations cannot be powerful without international trade. The wider the trade the more efficiently can productive power be used. Modern manufactures cannot be effectively carried on without materials brought from every quarter of the earth and a market as wide for the finished product.

International trade brings a share in international politics. We have the best combination of economic resources in the world as the basis of national greatness. This clear destiny can never be realized unless we push our strength actively out into the world. We started in our national life believing in the industrial greatness and growth in store for us, and believing in the future spread of free institutions.



We believed that we were to guard this continent against backsliding into absolute government. The two cardinal doctrines in our foreign policy were formulated under conditions radically different from the present. To preserve the form of these doctrines and lose their real meaning would be folly. If we are to seek henceforth the peaceful promotion of our industrial development and the growth of free governments, we must adopt new methods fitted to the changed conditions. We must realize that our industrial greatness and its due growth are to be won in the future by an aggressive foreign commerce. Active rivalry with other trading nations is a necessity if we are to continue our development. This active rivalry will bring us into grave dangers. We shall be in danger of making commercial enemies who may easily be turned into mortal foes. In particular, we are likely to come into an active rivalry with England. Facing these facts, it is necessary that we should adopt a positive, far-reaching policy, which should be made, as it were, a part of our unwritten Constitution. This policy, I am firmly convinced, should be *friendship and alliance with England*.

In the present state of feeling it would not be a difficult matter to negotiate a treaty between England and the United States which would, for example, recognize the essential principle of the Monroe Doctrine on the one hand and on the other pledge England the support of the United States, in such measures of intervention as might be necessary, in the matter of the Armenian troubles. This would be the announcement of a new policy. It would be a notice to the world that henceforth all English-speaking peoples might be expected to act together in great questions affecting their interests or in the suppression of savagery.

If we really wish to promote good government and free institutions, no better way can be devised than to push English influences. England to-day under the form of a monarchy is one of the most democratic countries in the world and the masses of her people are thorough believers in self-government. Wherever her colonies are established, the principle of self-government is established. Wherever she occupies another country—as in Egypt—justice in the courts, good order in life and in business, and sound finance are secured. The English are a hard-headed people, capable of little sentimentality, but they do more for the best interests of the people they forcibly rule, than these people can possibly do for themselves. As believers in democratic government we ought to welcome English influence throughout the world.

We would not be promoting true democracy in opposing the peaceful extension of English government in Spanish America. I, for one,



would rather see English colonial government in Cuba, than to see Cuba belong to the United States. And I hold this opinion, not only on grounds of the general progress of settled industry and good order, but as an American patriot. What could we do with Cuba? We could not admit the Cuban population, unused to our ideas of government and untrained in true political self-control, to the franchise. Cuba could not safely become one of our States, at least not until the island were half-peopled by Americans. But English colonial government—since she learned the lesson our Revolution taught her—has been moderate and wise. Her colonists of English blood have all the home rule they wish. And they are the men who dominate the other races and teach them the arts of industry, of good order, of commercial and financial honesty, of disciplined warfare when war is necessary. The Cubans would under our control be given self-government and a voice in our own government long before they were ready for it. Under English rule they would be wisely governed until they showed themselves capable of self-government.

If we had any place in our governmental system for colonies, the case would be different. But colonies have no place in our Constitution. Annexation of remote territory, or of near territory containing populations thoroughly different in race and in ideas, would mean the breaking down of our political system. The permanent existence of territories or colonies is no part of our policy. We have but one idea—the speedy growth into States of all our territorial possessions. But every State has a voice in the government of the Union. It would be fatal to admit to Statehood populations thoroughly alien. What we want now, as always, is peace—the opportunity for the development of our resources and of free government. The alliance of England and the United States would be one of the strongest possible guarantees of the world's peace. To attack this alliance would mean to attack at once the strongest navy in the world and the country which could furnish unlimited men of the best fighting quality and with inexhaustible economic resources behind them. It would be folly for any Power short of united Europe to attack at once the whole English-speaking world—a folly which Europe would not be likely to commit.

It should also be remembered that this spirit of co-operation would unite the peoples of the earth most advanced in industrial development. England's financial system controls in the commercial operations of the world. English capital supports the industry of a very large proportion of the civilized countries. Her ships carry the world's



goods. The United States have resources, only slightly touched as yet, for the production of raw material of countless manufactures. Our supplies of coal, oil, and gas, our water-power now available for electric power, the manufacturing skill of our people, and the unsurpassed ability of our organizers of enterprise promise us speedily the first place among the manufacturing nations. With this as a necessary concomitant goes a corresponding expansion of our commerce. The British Empire and the United States acting together would literally control the industries and the commerce of the world. Add to this the probable fact that the states of Central and South America would for the most part join with us in an alliance which guaranteed the principles of the Monroe Doctrine, the combination would be absolutely irresistible. England could then afford to view her isolation in Europe with indifference. Holding the direction of the world's economic resources in our grasp we could compel the world's peace.

The promotion of the highest economic civilization yet attained would result from this policy. The English-speaking peoples have led all others in industrial development. The invention of better machines and processes, the most efficient organization of the forces of labor and capital, the maintenance of the order and security necessary to progressive industry, the principles of business honesty, the improved mechanism of finance, the individual liberty necessary to stimulate the highest productive enterprise—these are all evidences of the natural and historical supremacy of the English-speaking peoples. Industrial progress requires the friendly co-operation of England and the United States—a settled policy of friendship.

But what becomes of the Monroe Doctrine if we thus join hands with England and invite her to push her influence in America? The economic growth of the other American nations is our gain as well as theirs, for we would have an ever growing commerce with people whose economic resources were always increasing. We cannot colonize. England can, and English rule means economic growth. Similarly the extension of English trade, the settling of English people throughout the republics of America, is a gain to us. They promote settled enterprise and this improves the basis of our own trade relations with them.

It is out of my province to discuss questions of international law as such, yet I shall venture to suggest the basis of a treaty which would be better than the formal assent of England to the Monroe Doctrine. The principle should be that in all cases of dispute between American



states—other than the United States—and any non-American nation, the United States and England should each reserve the right to intervene should either of them deem its interests threatened or should injustice be threatened to such American states. This would give England the opportunity to exclude undue extension of other foreign influence than her own in America and it would give us the admitted right to oppose all aggression in America whether from England or from other nations. And this would commit us to no narrow limitation of the American principle, as the formal affirmance of the historical Monroe Doctrine would. This would enable us in many ways to help forward the peaceable extension of English influence in America, as well as our own, while it would furnish an absolute guarantee of protection to the American states from European or Asiatic aggressions.

If once we could unite in a co-operating spirit in this way undoubtedly much of the misunderstanding and smouldering enmity now existing would be removed. We should also acquire a strong, if silent, voice in the control of English policy. She would find it necessary to study us, our ideas, and our temper. She might often be kept from rash action by the knowledge that she could not carry our people with her in some aggressive stroke. To keep our aid she would be obliged to keep our confidence. In this way, without the necessity of an overgrown navy or a burdensome army, we could make our public conscience felt the world over.

We have reached, let me restate it, a critical time in our economic development. We have occupied the ground which lay within our grasp, and have built throughout its length and breadth the framework of our industrial structure. Our future development, the intensive utilization of these resources, can only come by a rapid growth of new manufactures and by a swiftly expanding commerce. Already our manufactures are rivalling those of the strongest manufacturing peoples. Already our foreign commerce is becoming one of the most important of the world. We face an alternative where our choice cannot long be delayed—the alternative of active friendship or of avowed hostility to England. She is our greatest rival in manufactures and in commerce. If we be not for her we must be against her. If our present attitude be maintained our success will be won only as we defeat her. Step by step we must drive her from the field. As to the ultimate result of this contest there can be little doubt. Our natural resources are indefinitely greater than hers. In our industrial qualities we are Englishmen. In such a struggle resources and numbers will win. We can humiliate



England and at last annihilate her economic supremacy, if we choose. Are we ready to do this? Is it our best policy to engage in a death struggle with the foremost nation of the world in economic civilization and moral life, as the means to our own success? The English people have done this before. England's supremacy over Holland two centuries ago was won by just such a struggle. And as then, so now, this intense commercial rivalry will inevitably involve wars. We shall become embittered more and more against each other until upon some trivial provocation we shall fight. Because we have the same blood we shall fight. We both belong to a race that brooks no permanent rival. Are we ready to drift into an irreconcilable hostility toward England? Are we ready to repeat the ignoble acts of the English and, after a century, more or less, of bitter commercial rivalry, to destroy with ships and armies the pride of our mother-country and sink her into another Holland?

On the other hand, we have nothing to lose by an avowed and positive friendship with England. The more of her capital we have to develop our enterprises, the better off we are. The more we buy of her manufactures, the better market we have for our foods. What is needed is first of all an attempt at friendly co-operation. Let this once be established and it would be easy from time to time to negotiate treaties and to pass such laws that there might be a division of the field which would leave to each that in which each was the stronger. The free flow of capital from one country to the other would enable the people of each nation to share the advantages of both. A permanent court to settle disputes between the two peoples might easily be established as a new bond.

This combination would undoubtedly be regarded by the rest of the world as an instrument of oppression. The justification of it is only that it would be a combination of those forces, economic, political, and ethical, which are historically foremost and which make most strongly for progress in civilization. This is an arrogant pretension; but history justifies it. By a firm union between all English-speaking peoples, their supremacy in industrial methods, in free government, and in moral living would be made unassailable. To live with us the rest of the world would be forced to live like us. And that is a fair definition of progress.

SIDNEY SHERWOOD.



## THE EUROPEAN SITUATION.

THE year 1895 cannot be said to have been an auspicious one for Europe. Apart from the internal troubles of the different states, and such special ones as the defeat of Italy in Abyssinia; the serious civil war in Cuba, which must lead to Spain's bankruptcy; and the intervention of Russia, France, and Germany in Japanese affairs,—the so-called "Eastern Question" has assumed alarming proportions, and the European Powers which dabbled in it have made a fine mess of Mr. Gladstone's "unspeakable Turk." Yet that ominous question may be comprehended in a nut-shell.

Islam is not so much a religion as a culture. The Koran which is its sole basis, as an inspired book and in spite of its many contradictions rules the whole life of the Muslim,—laying down the laws of matrimony, of inheritance, and of evidence, as well as those relating to morals and prayers. The Turks, issuing as a conquering race from interior Asia, adopted Islam wholesale. There has never been a Christian state in the sense that the Turkish Empire is a Mussulman state. As to the non-Mussulmans, the Koran makes a sharp distinction between the heathen—who are to be destroyed unless they adopt Islam—and the possessors of a scriptural or revealed religion, such as that of the Christians and Jews. These latter are to be subjected, and, as a token of their subjection, are to pay a poll-tax.<sup>1</sup> They are to have no rights, but are not to be persecuted because of their religion. In fact the Turkish conquerors confirmed the position of the different Christian patriarchs. To only one exception the Christians had to submit: every five years a *razzia* was made among their youth, their finest boys were taken, were given a strict monk-like Mussulman education, and, when adult, formed the kernel of the Turkish army—the Janizaries. The second distinguishing feature of the Turkish Empire was that of a great feudal monarchy. The power of the Byzantine rule had been reduced long before it fell to a shadow. The country was in fact governed by greater and smaller chieftains, the Dereg-Begs and Timarlis. These the Turks left undisturbed on

<sup>1</sup> Koran, Sura II. The Repentance.



condition that they furnished a certain military contingent, and paid tithe to the Sultan; otherwise they enjoyed perfect autonomy. It was the addition of these contingents to the Turkish army that enabled the Turks, not in themselves so numerous, to conquer Asia Minor, Egypt, and the Balkan peninsula, and to carry their armies to the gates of Vienna.

Then the flood began to recede. In a series of unfortunate wars the Porte lost most of its conquests, and the great feudatories took advantage of this weakness of the central power to render themselves nearly independent. Mahmud II became the reformer, after having destroyed the Janizaries—who had turned into a Pretorian band, deposing and enthroning Sultans,—and having, with the help of Moltke, created an army, he fell upon the Dereg-Begs, annihilated them, and with a stroke of the pen confiscated all the property of the Timarlis. This measure had fatal consequences, for while the administration of the feudatories was perhaps not exemplary, on the whole it answered the local wants. Now, however, it was replaced by a centralized bureaucracy of Pashas, Mutessarifs, etc., appointed by the Sultan; and what rendered this measure still more calamitous was the introduction of the *Iltizam*,—the farming out of the provincial taxes to the highest bidder. Thus greedy functionaries bought their places at Constantinople and, being always subject to recall, tried to squeeze double taxes out of the unfortunate provinces. The taxes, therefore, were oppressive, corruption flourished and the country, notwithstanding its rich resources, became impoverished.

Now the European powers, when beginning, by external complications, to meddle with the internal affairs of Turkey, have hitherto put the wrong wedge in the wrong place. What they ought to have insisted upon, and what at times they were quite able to insist upon,—as, for instance, the two Western powers during the Crimean war,—was a reform of the administration; the abolition of the farming out of taxes; fixity of tenure for government officials, and the appointment of capable men sufficiently paid; and a system of rational taxation, so that the grievances under which Turks and Christians equally suffered would be removed. Instead of that they pressed the Porte to proclaim equality of rights for all its subjects; they insisted that Christians no longer be subjected to the degrading poll-tax, but should be allowed to serve in the army; and that the evidence of Christians should be accepted in the courts equally with that of Mussulmans,—and so on. Now a strong non-Mussulman power—such



as England in India or Austria in Bosnia—may compel Mohammedans to submit to such conditions, however distasteful they may be (Austria, for instance, has been obliged to refer civil affairs to separate courts, leaving only religious questions to the Mussulman judges); but a Mohammedan monarch will never sincerely countenance reforms which are subversive of the whole culture of Islam. The Porte, indeed, pressed by the Powers, has several times promised to introduce the above-mentioned equality, but has never carried out its promises,—not only because of a tendency to bad faith, but because such reforms would be resisted by its Mussulman subjects, for the lowest beggar who humbly asks a present from the Christian traveller still regards the latter as an infidel dog. Islam is a stationary power. It has no conception of what we call modern progress. Mussulmans may use the railways which the English or Germans build in their countries, but their culture remains the same.

Now in the latest complication three of the leading Powers—England, Russia, and France—have again adhered to the false idea of equality; the only difference being that it was demanded in favor of a special Christian community—the Armenians. The latter are an ancient race, but were ever divided under different sovereigns. There are now two millions of Armenians in the Russian Caucasus; but in Asia Minor they form an extremely small minority—15 per cent—of the population. Even in the province of Sivas, where they are most numerous, they number 17,000 and the Mussulmans 840,000. They are also divided as to their creed, about 75 per cent being Gregorians, 15 per cent Protestants, and 10 per cent Catholics,—all hating each other bitterly. Now under such conditions and inasmuch as the Armenians are not segregated, but are interspersed among Mussulmans and Christians of other denominations, Is it possible to apply the principle of autonomy? Yet this is what England, under the pressure of the revolutionary Armenian committee in London, and supported by Russia and France, has asked. Russia's support is due to the fact that she is always glad to give trouble to the Porte, though at the same time she secretly exercises a retarding influence, and presents herself to the Sultan as his true protector. Under the pretext of restoring order, Russia would like to take another slice of Anatolia, but she will never countenance an autonomous Armenia, which might form a nucleus of attraction for her own Armenians and become a second Bulgaria. As to France, she simply here, as everywhere, submissively follows in the wake of Russia. The three Powers finally extorted a reform *irade* for six Anatolian



provinces, the immediate consequence of which was the plunging of the country into a frightful civil war. Mussulman fanaticism was aroused, Armenians were slaughtered by wholesale, and they in turn retaliated, as for instance in Zeitun. Reform thus remains a dead letter.

Much has been said of Lord Salisbury's speech at the Mansion House. I think it was an exceedingly poor performance. The noble Lord, following in the path of his predecessor, had used strong language against the Porte. He was even inclined, last August, to send an ultimatum to Constantinople, and to follow it up by the English fleet; but he prudently abstained from this action when Russia hinted that in such an event she would be obliged to occupy Erzeroum. Lord Salisbury then threw himself upon the concert of the great Powers, which, as he thought, had never been stronger than at present. That concert has shown itself in only one instance,—the demand, by the Powers, for additional guardships for their embassies, a demand which was at last granted by the Sultan after an audience to the Russian Ambassador. Otherwise, the European concert has given no sign of life. The Triple Alliance prudently keeps back, Russia wishes the present condition of affairs to continue because it undermines the stability of Turkey; and England, isolated, yet not wishing to sever her relations with the other Powers, can do nothing. Lord Salisbury has adopted other tactics by publicly reading a letter addressed to him by the Sultan, and commenting upon it in an unusually harsh way. Now it is quite true that the misgovernment at Constantinople is scandalous, and the constantly changing ministers have no power. The Sultan wants to decide everything himself, but acts on the advice of favorites, astrologers, and the like.

But Lord Salisbury has also a special and very material grievance against the Sultan, which is not generally known. The English wish to construct a railway from Port Said to the Persian Gulf,—a route which would become the shortest way to India. But the Sultan, considering that he has quite enough of the English in Egypt, refuses to grant a concession for a road through Turkish Arabia. In this he is supported by Russia, which has no desire to facilitate England's access to the Persian Gulf; and, the railway having also to cross internal Arabia, inhabited by independent tribes, a Russian agent persuaded the Sheik of Inan, the ruler of the most powerful of these tribes, also to refuse the passage, so that the plan now seems hopeless.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For the knowledge of this fact I am indebted to a German scientific traveller, just returned from Arabia.



The British Premier hopes that another Sultan may be more pliable, but this is doubtful. Meanwhile Russia protects the present ruler, having found a golden key to the Palace, for which Abdul-Hamid has, notwithstanding his financial stress, shown his gratitude by sending Arif Pasha with precious gifts to the Czar. No matter which way she turns, England finds herself at Constantinople in a blind alley.

I need not discuss at length the Venezuelan question, which blocks England's path in another region, but I avow that I cannot take an optimistic view of it. It is all very well to say that a war between England and the United States would be fratricidal, but we must reckon with facts as they stand. Whatever one thinks of President Cleveland's Message, the American Boundary Commission is constituted, and, even if it works slowly, consulting all the materials of the different archives, it must come to some result as to what the proper frontier should be. England, on the other hand, having refused arbitration within the Schomburgk line, would not readily accept a one-sided American decision, unless it concurred with that line. A general arbitration by independent great Powers, suggested by Mr. Stanley in the January "Nineteenth Century," seems to have little chance, as such Powers would not care to accept the responsibility, nor would the United States consent to what would be the reverse of the Monroe Doctrine, namely, settling an American dispute by European intervention. Nor must we omit to reckon with the bitter feeling against England which, as Mr. Stanley states, he has found everywhere in his late trip in the United States,—a feeling so general that, according to his view, the President's Message was only an echo of it. Mr. Stanley writes :—

"It was no electoral dodge as at first believed by us, it was no jingoist impulse or courting of the Irish vote, but the expression of American sentiment and American conviction. We shall be equally wrong, also, if we think that any partiality for Venezuela has inspired the President's utterances. The United States seems not to claim to know which party is wrong or right, the boundary dispute is of trivial importance, except as it is the cause of the greater issue, namely, the right of the American people to speak with authority in all questions affecting the integrity of American states."

Now, given these facts, I confess I cannot see a way out of the difficulty compatible with the honor and the interests of the litigant parties.

All these questions, weighty as they are, seem, however, to be thrown into the background by events in the Transvaal and by what is called German intervention. The facts of this case are so persistently perverted by the English press that I must state them as they are.



In 1801 the English conquered Cape Colony from Holland—which, by the invasion of Napoleon, was unwillingly thrown into the ranks of England's enemies—and kept the colony at the peace of 1815. Besides the indigenous population of Kaffirs, Zulus, and other tribes, they found there the Dutch settlers,—the Boers,—a sturdy race which had colonized a great part of the country. But in time the colony expanded: in 1843 Natal was annexed; in 1866, Kaffraria; in 1868, Basutoland, and so on,—the riches of those parts attracting many foreign colonists. In 1853 a foolish constitution was granted to the colony, giving the franchise to the colored races—who were mere savages—as well as to the whites. The Boers, seeing that in this way their majority over the English would be turned into a minority, emigrated northward, founding the colony of the Orange Free State and later that of the Transvaal. In 1875–6, Lord Carnarvon went to the Cape in order to bring the jarring and discordant elements of South Africa under one common administration. But though his scheme was conceived in a spirit of moderation, it proved abortive. Apathy on the part of the British colonists, sullenness and defiance on the part of the Boers, restlessness and rebellion among the numerous offshoots of the great Bantu race on the eastern frontiers, made futile all attempts to realize the plan. The principal interests had shifted in some degree from the south to the north, and the Transvaal, holding the key to the situation, tried to form a connection with the Portuguese settlement at Delagoa Bay. In order to prevent this, the British Government, by a lawless *coup*, annexed the Transvaal in 1877; but in 1881 the Boers rose against their invaders, and at Laing's Neck and Majuba Hill inflicted upon them the most ignominious defeats that British troops ever suffered. Mr. Gladstone yielded, and by the treaty of August 3, 1881, the Transvaal recovered its independence, subject to certain rights of the British crown reserved by Article II, which might be termed suzerainty, although that term was not used. But, precisely for this reason, that treaty was rejected by the Transvaal Volksraad, and in a new treaty of February 27, 1884, Article II was omitted, the country took its old name of South African Republic, and the powers of the British Government were by Article IV restricted to a right to veto treaties with foreign powers and African populations, except the Orange Free State, on the express condition that such veto must be exercised within six months after such treaties had been communicated to the English Government.

It was under these circumstances that the treaty of commerce



and amity of January 22, 1895, was concluded between Germany and the South African Republic, in which the latter declares that it wished this treaty after having secured its independence. England exercised its veto when the newly founded Boer states Stellaland, Goshen, and Nieuve Republic wished to come under the protectorate of the Transvaal; and she annexed all the country between the latter and German West Africa, so that the South African Republic was everywhere surrounded by British territory, except the one outlet through Portuguese Africa to Delagoa Bay, through which, notwithstanding English intrigues, a railway was built, principally with German capital. The recent discoveries of the gold mines at Witwatersrand attracted a great many adventurers, not only English, but of all nations, and the village of Johannesburg became a flourishing town. These "Uitlanders," as they are called, urgently demanded equal political rights with the Boers, on the ground that they paid the same taxes. This was not unjust in itself, and President Krüger was not disinclined to support these claims, although he was certainly right in proposing certain guaranties, as these adventurerers in no wise represented the flower of their nations. In any case such amendments could be made only through the prescribed constitutional forms, namely, by the sanction of the Volksraad. But what happened? A band of armed filibusters was organized in West Bechuanaland under the leadership of Dr. Jameson, a functionary of the British South Africa Company, and crossed the Transvaal frontier, declaring that they were called by their brethren, the Uitlanders, to redress their grievances. The Boers, however, were quite equal to the emergency. Their forces met the enemy at Kruegersdorp, and, after a severe struggle, routed them completely, taking Dr. Jameson and his principal officers prisoners to Pretoria.

The conduct of the British Government in this affair was blameless, for as soon as the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Chamberlain, heard of it, he telegraphed to the Governor, Sir Hercules Robinson, to stop Jameson, and the Governor issued a proclamation disclaiming for his Government any responsibility for this lawless adventure. But it seems equally certain, not only that the Prime Minister, Mr. Cecil Rhodes, knew of the proposed raid, but that Jameson was his subordinate in the Chartered Company and acted under his orders. This even the English press admits, and the proof of it is that Rhodes was compelled to resign.

Now what has the German Emperor done? So soon as he heard of the Boers' victory, he congratulated President Krüger on having, by his own energy, and without appealing to the help of friendly powers,



successfully repelled the armed forces which had invaded his country, re-established peace, and maintained his country's independence against aggressions from without. The Emperor therefore simply congratulated the President on a fact which the British Government emphatically condemned. He in no wise interfered, but, when the invasion was imminent, had simply asked, through his ambassador at London, what measures the Government had taken to protect the German residents in the Transvaal against this aggression. Yet this message aroused in England an indignation scarcely to be comprehended. It was denounced in the most unqualified terms as a wilful insult to the British nation,—as an attempt of a foreign sovereign to interfere in a question regarding a country under English suzerainty. Now this is exactly what I must term a misrepresentation, for the South African Republic is not under English suzerainty. In the treaty of 1884, the second article of the treaty of 1881 was explicitly omitted, and the right of England was restricted to the veto mentioned above. That such is the case is confirmed by an official dispatch (February 14, 1884) of the then Colonial Secretary, Lord Derby, under whom was concluded the "Convention between Her Majesty The Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and the South African Republic, of February 27, 1884."<sup>1</sup> It runs thus:—

"By *omitting* that article of the treaty of Pretoria of 1881, by which certain special rights to the internal and external relations of the State of Transvaal were reserved to Her Majesty and to the British Resident, liberty is left to the government of the South African Republic to administrate the country without interference, *to direct its diplomatic intercourse and foreign policy under the sole condition* mentioned in Article IV of the new treaty, that no treaty with a foreign power shall be valid without the sanction of the Queen."

Article III declares:—

"If a British officer is appointed to reside at Pretoria or elsewhere within the South African Republic, to discharge functions analogous to those of a *Consular* officer, he will receive the protection and assistance of the Republic."

Now this is clear. No state under suzerainty, such as Egypt under that of the Porte, is allowed to have diplomatic representation. Lord Derby explicitly conceded that right to the South African Republic, and in fact, since the treaty, it has had a minister-plenipotentiary at Berlin, Dr. von Blokland, who is officially mentioned as a member of the diplomatic body, just as is the ambassador of Great Britain or of France. The British representative in the Transvaal has the

<sup>1</sup> Blue Book C. 3914.



official title of "diplomatic agent," and ranks with the other ministers accredited to the President. Now, if this is not independence, I know not what may be termed so. One special condition reserved to another state does not alter the fact of sovereignty. Belgium also, by the treaty of 1831 which constituted it, was forbidden to enter into treaty engagements which might jeopardize the neutral character imposed upon it, but is it therefore less a sovereign state? All the noise of the English press, then, is utterly without foundation. The Emperor has simply sent a message to the President of another independent state, congratulating him on having put down a lawless inroad of foreign adventurers. If the President had been obliged to appeal for help to friendly states, he would have had a perfect right to do so, as such a course would not involve the question of the reserved veto against a treaty. But this has not been done, and the talk of a German protectorate over the South African Republic is idle. Neither of the parties thinks of it, and the brave Boers are quite able to take care of themselves.

President Krüger, throughout the whole affair, has acted with energy and moderation. He put down the rebellion, compelled the Uitlanders at Johannesburg to disarm, and has not summarily shot Jameson and the captured prisoners, as he had a perfect right to do,—they being nothing better than pirates. On the contrary, he brought them before a court-martial and has not confirmed that court's sentence of death, but simply sent the prisoners away to Natal. The truth lying at the bottom of the excitement of British opinion is that the "mad adventure" of Jameson did not succeed because it was undertaken with totally inadequate means. If these "Elizabethan adventurers," as the "Saturday Review" calls them, had been successful in overrunning the hated Boer state, which is considered as a thorn in the side of that party which wants to rule over the whole of South Africa, they would have been overwhelmed with applause.

The present excitement will probably soon subside, but if England should be inclined to take this opportunity of provoking a quarrel with Germany, she would soon find out that Germany would not stand alone.

F. H. GEFFCKEN.

MUNICH, *January 1, 1896.*



## THE SPIRIT OF RACING IN AMERICA.

THE racing of horses in the United States became during the last quarter of a century one of our most popular forms of sport. In the aggregate many thousands of persons were attracted to the race meetings in the various parts of the country every day during the racing season, which was generally considered to begin in May and end in November. To build and equip the race-courses, to breed and train the horses that contested, required the investment of many millions of money. Hence racing as an institution became more than a sport,—it is now a vast business in which thousands of men are regularly employed. It has long been recognized, however, by the legislators in several States of the Union as a hazardous business, on account of the betting inseparable from it, and has therefore generally been regulated by special laws defining the length of the meetings and also imposing upon it a tax determined by the amount received for admissions. Until within the last ten years the associations which held race meetings in the United States were nearly always controlled by gentlemen of high social standing,—men above reproach. These men were sportsmen who contributed time and money to these ventures out of pure love for the noble sport. To them horse-racing was as much a sport as yachting is to its devotees, and the gratification of their taste was as a rule a source of outlay rather than revenue.

When racing had become so popular that great crowds could be depended upon to attend all the meetings, and when there was a great revenue from the bookmakers who paid a heavy license fee for the privilege of publicly betting on the courses, another class of men were attracted to the business, who engaged in it for the money that was to be made from the various sources of revenue. They corresponded in a great measure to the amusement purveyors who have taken possession of the theatres in America, and they have usually been designated as “sporting-men.” A sporting-man is one who lives by the sport which engages his attention and he is very nearly the opposite of the sportsman. The latter is an amateur and the former is a professional: one takes an interest in racing for the love of it, the



other for the profit which accrues. These terms will be used in the remainder of this article without further definition. When the sporting-men had secured the control of many small tracks in the neighborhood of such large cities as New York, Philadelphia, and Chicago, they extended the time of racing from year's end to year's end and horses were flogged through slush and snow and spurred over the frozen ground. With this kind of racing the sportsmen of the country had nothing whatever to do; on the contrary they held it in detestation and made rules for the government of associations still under their control prohibiting owners who raced their horses over these "outlaw" tracks from participating in the sport over the courses of the high-class associations.

The action of the sportsmen was not effective enough to satisfy the popular demand for reform. This desire for reform was not the outgrowth of a disgust at the cruelty of a sport persisted in out of season, but because the craze for betting on the races had become, in the opinion of the reformers, a menace to the morals of the people. Men and women who wanted to bet on the races, whether they were run in St. Louis, Chicago, New Orleans, Louisville, or in New York, did not have to go to the race tracks to lay their wagers. They could be accommodated at any one of hundreds of "pool-rooms,"—gambling places which became, by 1892, almost as numerous as the inevitable corner liquor saloon. It was the gambling that the reformers were aiming at when they secured such adverse legislation in New Jersey that racing was completely stopped in that State. It was also gambling that they opposed when they secured an amendment to the constitution in New York, placing in the fundamental law of the State an inhibition of gambling, betting, pool-selling, lotteries, and all games of chance. I shall recur to this part of my subject presently after I have traced quite briefly the history of horse-racing in America and enumerated the benefits which the country has derived from the sport.

Horse-racing as we practise it in America is of English origin, and when it first found foothold on this continent the fringe of settlements on the Atlantic seaboard were English colonies, peopled by English subjects, governed by English gentlemen. That the favorite English sport should have been transplanted here soon after the rescue of a considerable domain from the universal forest was inevitable. It was also quite natural that this sport should have been first indulged in in those sections where planting on a large scale was profitable, rather than in the more northern colonies that lived in a great measure by trade.



The first racing that we had in this country was therefore in Virginia and South Carolina; indeed the first Jockey Club established in the world was the one in South Carolina which was organized in 1734. The British Jockey Club, according to the Hon. Francis Lawley, a recognized authority, was not organized until 1750. These sportsmen in Virginia and South Carolina imported horses from England for racing and for breeding, and the blood of some of the best horses in America to-day—notably those in Kentucky—may be traced back to these pre-revolutionary thoroughbreds from across the sea.

Racing in this country, in that era and up to the end of the civil war—that is for one hundred and thirty-one years,—was distinctly the sport of gentlemen, the sportsmen controlling the race meetings and seeing that the rules were enforced. There were sporting-men even then, however, and the race-courses were favorite places at which they plied their various crafts. The games of chance to ensnare the unwary were numerous and surely profitable for the professionals. And the cock-fight was almost as much a matter of course as the bar at which the visitors could satisfy their thirst. But the games and the gambling on the races did not extend beyond the race tracks, and those who had neither time nor money to go to these places were barred from any participation in any of the various forms of sport.

Before the war of the Revolution the English officers quartered about New York had established a race-course on Long Island, and ever since then there has been racing in the neighborhood of the metropolis,—now without question the racing centre of the United States. In the old-time races there was nearly always a deal of sentiment, this often taking a sectional form,—as for instance when “Eclipse” represented the North and “Henry” the South in a race at four-mile heats on Long Island in 1823. From the journal of Josiah Quincy we learn that one hundred thousand persons were spectators of this race, and that he was so interested in the sport that he sat in the sun till one of his cheeks was blistered without at the time being conscious of the intense heat. At this race it is interesting to recall that John Randolph of Roanoke sat just in front of Mr. Quincy, who said of the Virginian:—

“Apart from his intense sectional pride, he had personal interest at the turn things were taking; for he had bet heavily on the contest, and, it was said, proposed to sail for Europe upon clearing enough to pay his expenses.”

This was after “Henry” had won the first heat. For in the next heat when “Eclipse’s” proper rider, Purdy, was in the saddle, the tables



were turned, and the race went to "Eclipse." Of the race Mr. Quincy wrote :

"There was never contest more exciting. Sectional feeling and heavy pecuniary stakes were both involved. The length of time before it was decided, the change of riders, the varying fortunes, all intensified the interest. I have seen the great Derby races ; but they finish almost as soon as they begin, and were tame enough in comparison to this. Here for nearly two hours there was no abatement in the strain. I was unconscious of everything else, and found, when the race was concluded, that the sun had actually blistered my cheek without my perceiving it. The victors were of course exultant, and Purdy mounted on 'Eclipse' was led up to the judges' stand, the band playing 'See the Conquering Hero Comes.' The Southerners bore their losses like gentlemen, and with a good grace. It was suggested that the comparative chances of Adams and Jackson at the approaching Presidential election should be tested by the gathering. 'Ah,' said Mr. Randolph, 'if the question of the Presidency could be settled by this assembly there would be no opposition ; Mr. Purdy would go to the White House by acclamation.'"

I quote Mr. Quincy thus at length because we are not accustomed in this country to get sporting evidence from such a source. And then again he shows that, at this historic race at least, some of our great men were interested spectators. The other historic races which are inevitably recalled when one thinks of the racing of the past are those between "Wagner" and "Grey Eagle" at Louisville, and between "Lexington" and "Lecompte" at New Orleans. All the great contests in ante-bellum days were at four-mile heats. Unless a horse could stay a distance and repeat, he was not considered worthy of any high consideration. Great speed over short distances was well in its way, but the ability to stay, with a measure of speed in reserve, was what the breeders and the trainers aimed at. And they unquestionably attained their object. In attaining it they have improved all the families of horses in those sections where breeding for racing has long been customary.

Whenever a law is made by a legislature authorizing races the preamble invariably says that the law or charter is in the interest of the improvement of the breeding of the horse. Many ignorant persons, in their opposition to racing, appear to believe that this consideration for the improvement of the horse is an empty pretence. But it is genuine in intention and admirable in result. The English horse is a very different animal from that of days previous to the era of racing ; now it is likely that the horses of England are the best in the world.

In countries where racing is not a great institution the governments are obliged to maintain great breeding stables so as to mount their



cavalry. In this country, even with only a few regiments of mounted troops, it is difficult to get high class horses. Of recent years, whenever practicable, the horses for the United States cavalry are bought in the Blue Grass section of Kentucky, where pretty nearly every horse bred has in his blood some high and noble strain. Very nearly every farmer in this particular section is ambitious to breed a winner on the turf and this accounts for the universality of good blood in all the horses. It is a well-known fact that when two troops of cavalry have been sent on a hard campaign together, with one troop mounted on Kentucky horses and the other on horses say from Indiana or Ohio, the Kentucky horses have invariably worn the others completely out. This difference in endurance is one purely of blood. When the civil war began it was almost impossible to mount the cavalry of the Federal army, while the Confederate cavalry from Virginia, South Carolina, Kentucky, and Tennessee—States where horses had long been bred for racing—were very superior, and the early successes of the Confederates in the field—successes which lasted until they were very greatly outnumbered—were in a great measure due to the superiority of the mounted forces of the South. The achievements of Forrest seemed almost miraculous, while Morgan and his Kentuckians for several years went whithersoever they pleased. This was merely a matter of horses. When the Confederates invaded Pennsylvania, in that famous campaign of which Gettysburg was the climax, the artillerymen and cavalrymen could not resist the temptation to exchange their apparently worn out and half starved horses for the sleek fat animals they found on the Pennsylvania farms. It was not many days, however, before they repented the exchange in sadness. The blood of their own horses as a rule was leavened by a mixture of some strain of the thoroughbred: this gave them courage and endurance. The wretched draught-horses from the Pennsylvania farms were useless except at a moderate pace on a good road. There are those who believe, with entire sincerity, that if racing had been as generally practised in the Northern States as it was in Kentucky before the war, the war would have ended two years before it did and scores of thousands of lives been saved, together with billions of money.

There are so few people in the world who believe we will soon realize such Utopian conditions as the abolition of war that at this time we may eliminate such conditions from consideration. We may concede therefore that it is our duty to be prepared for war. We cannot make such preparations without knowing where we are to get the



necessary horses. We cannot breed them after war is declared. There is but one way and that is to have the horses that are in general use of such a high class that they will be fit for use in the army whenever needed. It is true the Government might go into the breeding business, but I scarcely think such an idea attractive enough to discuss. Now as to raising the high standard of horses generally there has hitherto been but one way,—through the spirit of emulation and rivalry occasioned by racing. Very few persons object to racing *per se* or see anything wrong in it. Moralists generally only see wrong in it because the sport provokes betting, that is, gambling. Now those who have given the greatest attention to racing and have looked at it with the best intelligence say very frankly that we cannot possibly have racing without betting. They maintain that racing and betting are inseparable, and they moreover maintain that betting would surely survive even though racing were killed. Why kill a sport, they ask, which affords a very healthy form of out-door amusement and which leads to such splendid results in the improvement of the breed of horses, merely because men bet on races? Men will continue to bet whether there are races or not. They will bet on the rise and fall in the price of cotton, coffee, pork, wheat, corn, stocks, bonds—they will bet and do bet on every conceivable thing. So why select the one form of betting on horses and place it under the ban?

It is very much easier to ask these questions than it is to answer them, and I for one shall make no attempt, as I see no difference whatever in the morality of a transaction with a broker from that of a wager with a bookmaker. But in the constitution of the State of New York and in the statutes of many other States speculation on the result of a horse-race is put under the ban. If public opinion really coincided with this legal inhibition there could be no betting on the races; but public opinion is evidently interested only in the regulation of such gambling so that society may not become demoralized through universal participation in it. When public opinion became excited on the subject three or four years ago the betting on the races had become, in New York and many other cities, so well-nigh universal that industry was menaced and well established habits of thrift overcome. At this time, though there were race-courses accessible in every urban neighborhood, this betting was not in great measure done at the race-courses but at the pool-rooms which flourished in all sections of all cities, and which were protected by the police according to a regular schedule of blackmail. All this was demoralizing without any doubt,



and it was well to have it stopped because it was doing harm. But to stop betting on races is another matter ; and it has not been stopped in the State of New York nor is it likely to be. Betting must, however, be done in a different way from of old and the only way that has been discovered—betting on credit—makes it quite impossible for those to participate in the speculation who formerly were most seriously injured by it.

Those who were interested in racing in New York went to the legislature and asked that the bills passed to make operative the constitutional prohibition against betting should be so framed that racing itself would not be attacked. Those gentlemen were listened to and three bills were passed, which have since been known as the Gray-Percy bills. In addition to prescribing heavy penalties for the doing of any act forbidden by the constitution, they stipulate that racing shall only be in the daytime and that it shall not begin earlier in the year than the middle of April nor continue longer than the middle of November. A State Racing Commission is also provided for, and each association proposing to hold running races must receive permission, in the form of a license, from this Commission. All racing must be done under the rules of the Jockey Club, and any association infringing these rules may have its license revoked. All pool selling, betting, or book-making is prohibited.

It was curious to see how these associations would get along under these laws. The bookmakers for years previous had paid \$100 each per day for the privilege of making books. This meant anywhere from \$2,500 to \$10,000 a day to the associations, and was the most certain part of their revenue. But the bookmakers evaded the book-making prohibition as easily as possible ; they did not publish the odds on slates, they did not cry them aloud, they gave no tickets as evidence of transactions, but they took the bets that were offered by men in whom they trusted and merely had a record made of the transaction by a man who stood by with a large pasteboard sheet. Then settlements were made the next day by the loser sending the winner a check for the amount of the loss. In cases where those who would bet do not have acquaintance with bookmakers they can, before the races,—preferably before going to the track,—make a deposit with the bookmaker with whom they wish to make wagers. This method of betting has been explained in an action in the Supreme Court in New York and the judge saw nothing in it opposed to either statutes or constitution. The transactions are very quickly made and they would be quite satis-



factory to those concerned except that there is as yet no place of settlement, and it is easier to "welch," without being made an object of scorn and contumely, than it is in England. On a beautiful day in the autumn of 1895 I went to Morris Park,—a well-known race-course near New York. The racing was excellent and two years before under such conditions there would probably have been 10,000 persons present. Now there were no more than 1,500 on the grounds. On inquiring of a well-known bookmaker why so few were present he informed me that the small attendance was due to the recent restrictions placed on betting.

The condition of racing affairs in New York is being carefully watched in all other parts of the country and if racing should thrive reasonably in the Empire State under the conditions imposed it is not at all unlikely that other States will enact similar laws. This would make racing conditions practically the same in the various parts of the country. Such a result would be in itself desirable. But racing under the New York conditions cannot be indulged in on so extensive a scale, for the profits from it as a business cannot be nearly so large. The restrictions to betting are such that thousands stay away from the race meetings who otherwise would go. This reduces the revenue of the associations in gate money; though the most considerable reduction is in the stoppage of license fees from the bookmakers. Under these circumstances the associations cannot afford to offer such great prizes for the horses, nor can they maintain the splendid courses recently built. These reductions limit the attractiveness of breeding and racing as businesses; but the reductions are not so considerable that breeding should become unprofitable or racing unattractive save to the sporting-men. It is not unlikely that the thoroughbred horse for breeding purposes, by reason of the extensive demand for his progeny, was valued at an unreasonably high figure. This might also be said of the brood mares. With the breeding stock valued fairly and sensibly and according to the price that racing animals will reasonably bring in the market the breeding of thoroughbreds would still be the most profitable business into which the horseman could go. Common horses are surely and steadily depreciating in value, but this is not the case with high-grade horses. The high-grade horses—notably the American trotters—are the result of a very considerable admixture of thoroughbred blood with the blood of horses comparatively common. The improvement of the general run of horses will probably be quickened if a good thoroughbred sire could be bought for a price within



the means of others than men of wealth. To be sure it would be silly to expect to improve the generality of horses by lowering the standard of the thoroughbred. The thoroughbred must be kept pure and he too should be improved. The inducement to keep him pure and to improve him as an animal is that he is of value in this great and exhilarating sport.

There has been much interesting discussion of late years as to whether the thoroughbred had not deteriorated on account of the taste for, and fashion of, very short races. The tendency was undoubtedly bad, though there is much question whether it has gone far enough as yet to do any considerable harm. The Jockey Club in New York has a rule against many short races and it may be that there is an intention in this to return to the old style of long-distance heat races. But surely no reform would go backwards very far. The short races, and many of them in a day, were undoubtedly in a measure occasioned by the demand of the bookmakers that they should be given as good opportunities as possible to get back from the general bettors the money they had paid for license fees. In this way the betting hurt the improvement of the horse; now, when the associations holding meetings receive nothing from the bookmakers, all consideration for them may be disregarded.

Neither sportsmen nor sporting-men are particularly pleased with the present condition of the laws as to racing and betting. The sporting-men, if the New York laws should become universal, would be very much reduced in number. But the sportsmen, it seems to me, purely as sportsmen, would be in a better position to control and enjoy the sport to which they are attached. And moreover the thoroughbred horse, his value not inflated unreasonably, might have a better chance to do the good he is specially qualified for,—in assisting to raise the grade of horses in this country so that there would in time be none of cold blood left. But the thoroughbred will not be kept pure without racing, and racing will languish and perish if betting be absolutely stopped.

JNO. GILMER SPEED.



## MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE BOERS.

OF late the newspapers have teemed with news from the Transvaal Republic of South Africa, but few people really know who the Boer is and what are his antecedents. It is the intention in this article to give a short history of the race which, for years, has stood like a rock in the way of British Imperial ambition in South Africa.

The Dutch Afrikanders are of pure European blood. Banished for their Protestant faith, they still cling with childlike simplicity to the religion and customs of their forefathers. With the Bible in one hand and the rifle in the other, enduring hardships which would blanch the cheeks of the bravest men, they have been pioneers of civilization to the great hordes of natives in darkest South Africa. The originators of the present Boer (farmer) republics in South Africa were, at first, chiefly French Huguenots driven from their country by Roman Catholic persecution. A few years before they reached the Cape, or southernmost extremity of Africa, a few Hollanders had taken possession of the country and formed a settlement. Stronger than the French in loyalty to their national habits, the language and customs of the latter gradually gave way to those of the Hollanders, and, to-day, beyond a French name here and there, there is no trace of the original French immigrant. Being in the way of British colonial progress, the Boers were driven successively into Natal and the higher regions along the Vaal and Orange rivers. Fighting step by step and inch by inch against the hated *Rooi Baetji* (red-coats), as they call the British soldiers, the Boer was, at last, forced to face the strongest native tribes. It was in the struggle with these that his true nature was shown. His courage, determination, and piety were developed and confirmed by the difficulties encountered. Gradually the small, compact band that faced the hardships of the Transvaal districts beat back the Zulus and earned for themselves a rich pastoral country. It is his ignorance and non-progressiveness, united to his phlegmatic, stubborn nature—a result of these years of hardship—which have made him hated by the Uitlanders (foreigners). The men of greater civilization revile his ignorance, but do not comprehend his virtues—his piety, simple living, patriotism and blind, unreasoning faith in God and His Word.



But it is with the manners and customs of the Boer that I wish more particularly to deal. Loving his country, the Boer loves his home and family still more. While he likes a neighbor, he does not care that he should live less than ten miles from his home. It has often been said that a Boer, while standing on his own porch, hates to see the smoke from his neighbor's chimney; and this is true, but there is a cause for it. Living, as many of them do, in a land not too favored by nature, where long droughts make it almost impossible to find pasture for their flocks and cattle, and often compelled to *trek* in search of water, they have a natural desire to be free from the inroads of near neighbors whose cattle would eat the grass necessary for their own flocks and herds.

The houses of the average Boer are all alike and that of a Dopper, or strict Calvinistic Boer, may be taken as a sample. The house is of one story and built mainly of mud liberally plastered within and around a thick loose stone wall; the roof is flat, in order to catch the rain water—the only means of supplying his family with this element in a fairly pure condition. The house seldom contains more than from four to six rooms—the kitchen, a storeroom, and a few bedrooms—and frequently has no doors except at the outer entrance. Close at hand will stand a rude out-house—a rough stable in which the master keeps his *trek* wagon and his few pet horses. A short distance from the house may be seen a thick wall of loose stones which on close inspection will prove to be a dam wall. The surrounding country slopes toward this wall and it is this natural watershed which is the sole supply of water to the farmer for himself and his herds for months at a time. Near the house may generally be seen one or two small huts, and in these sleep the herdsmen,—usually Hottentots or Kaffirs, taken as children in some raid and held in vassalage or mild slavery. These natives do all the work around and within the house, for the Boers of both sexes are not fond of farm work. Not far away may be seen a number of enclosures surrounded by low stone walls. These are the “kraals” in which the farmer keeps his herds and flocks at night, serving in time of danger as an admirable defence for the family. Herd- and hunting-dogs, more or less fierce, prowl around the premises and give warning of the approach of strangers or wild beasts.

One striking feature of Boer family life is the reverence paid by the juniors to their parents and seniors; even the married sons and their wives attending with reverence to the orders and advice of their parents and elders. The only reason that this is so—you are told if you ask—is that the Bible commands it.



The daily life of a Boer family is a simple one : At daylight, all the members assemble in the main room—the kitchen and eating room, although most of the food is cooked in the open air—where the head of the family reads reverently a chapter or two from the Bible,—generally the Old Testament,—a simple, manly prayer is then offered, followed by the observance of an ancient Bible custom. A colored handmaid enters the room with a basin of water and a towel. The guest is first approached, and invited to wash his hands and face. The head of the family is next approached and so on around the room, until all have been included in the ceremony. This constitutes the day's ablutions of the family. They all sit around the board while the father says a long grace, and a stranger not familiar with their table manners is apt to be left in the lurch. Each man, for the women eat alone, selects the particular piece of meat that strikes his fancy and as soon as the "Amen" is spoken, sticks his fork into the piece selected. It happens sometimes that two select the same piece ; then, the quickest man gets the booty. Dry bread, sometimes butter, and strong black coffee complete the bill of fare. It has been urged against the Boer that he is uncleanly, and this cannot be denied ; but there is an excuse for this in the scarcity of water.

The men dress in loose fustian coat and trousers, dispensing with waistcoat, collar, etc. Their stockingless feet are encased in yellow *veldt schoens*—raw-hide shoes—without heels. The women dress in loose, unshaped, wrapper-like gowns and are innocent of the use of corsets. The men, as a rule, are tall, large-limbed, and well-formed ; the women too are well-formed and tall.

The Boer never undresses on retiring to rest,—a habit contracted by reason of constant night alarms and attacks by native and other enemies, as well as by the constant need of being up and ready for the inroads of wild beasts on his herds and flocks. All his life has been one incessant preparation for attack from some quarter or another. His greatest friend—the rifle—lies by his side and at the slightest alarm the whole family are up and ready for defence. In fact his house is nothing more than a camp. Not a day goes by but young and old practise with the rifle, either on the deer that abound within short range of the house, or on inanimate targets. His one extravagance is in the purchase of a rifle. He will give large sums of money for a rifle that he fancies, and many hours are occupied in keeping his weapons clean. He always maintains a liberal supply of ammunition in the house, having been taught from long experience the necessity



of this single indulgence. The women can also shoot well, and in past history have defended the *laager* (fort) and homes in the absence of their male protectors. The small children are taught to load the guns and early become good shots. Ever since the great *trek* in 1834, when the Transvaal and Free State republics were formed, the hand of all races has been against them, and it is only by obstinate courage and invincible determination that the Boer has maintained his existence.

Courting among the race is a novel proceeding. A young man, having of course asked permission of his father to court the hand and heart of some neighboring damsel—by neighboring, I mean anywhere within fifty miles—proceeds to purchase the most loudly colored and decorated saddle-cloth for his horse that he can possibly find. He will spend large sums on this article of equine adornment, and one knowing the country can never mistake a young Boer going out courting. Mounted on his most spirited steed, he approaches the house of the father of his lady-love. Unlike the youth of more civilized life, he avoids the lady and seeks her father, from whom he reverentially asks permission to court his daughter. The old man returns no answer, but consults his *Vrou*, and the youth joins the young folks. No more notice is taken of him during the day, but if his request be agreeable to the parents, when the hour for retiring comes the mother solemnly approaches the young man and maiden with a long tallow candle in her hand. This she places on the table, lights, and bidding the couple an affectionate good-night, retires. This is the silent signal to the lover that his suit is successful. The young couple are permitted to sit up together in the kitchen so long as the candle lasts, when the lady retires to the one dormitory of herself and sisters and the youth shares the bed of the brothers or male portion of the family.

With the exception of the home religious ceremony already referred to, the only public one is that of the "Nachtmaal." This takes place every three months in the chief town of each district. It is simply a week of public prayer and the taking of the sacrament, but it is made somewhat of a feast as well, for it is the only time when the families in the district congregate. The little church during this week is seldom empty; services are constantly held and most of the marriages and baptisms are performed then, the rites being those of the Dutch Reformed Church. No music is used except in a very few of the churches, the hymns and chants being led by a clerk, but there can be no doubt of the simple reverence and earnestness of the worshippers. Atheism and its teachings are unknown to this little community of Christians.



and to cast a doubt on the teaching of the minister, generally a Hollander by birth, would be looked upon as a sacrilege.

A Boer marriage is an amusing affair. The lady is generally resplendent in a wedding dress, hired for the occasion at one of the few stores in the nearest town. At the town where I resided for some time, there were two rival stores and each had a wedding dress; it was always known by the color of the dress from which store it came. In the same way, the groom hires his suit. At the close of the ceremony the bride and groom kneel to the parents of each and receive a blessing. A married son generally builds on his father's land and is given a portion of the herds and cattle. At other times he *treks* to the frontier and "squats" for himself.

The historian Froude, in one of the few true assertions he made in his account of South Africa, stated that the Boer lived the nomadic life of Abraham and the forefathers. But this is only partially true. The Boer has a passionate love of home, and the nomadic life is at times forced upon him, as I have before stated, by frequent long droughts. At such times the huge tented *trek* wagon is drawn out of the stable; the household supplies are loaded into it, with the bedding, and all the horses are saddled. A long line of oxen is inspanned to the wagon, and, driving his herds and flocks before him, the Boer, as Father Abraham did, seeks with his family new pastures, in more favored spots. At the first heavy rains he returns to his home. A Boer family thus "on the *trek*" may frequently be met with, and the European traveller seeing it believes it to be their general mode of life.

Twice each year he loads his wagon with skins or wool, travels over the Drakensberg Mountains, and seeks the seaport of Natal, to dispose of his produce and purchase his few necessities. It has been urged against the Boers that they are dishonest and invariably try to cheat the trader. This is true, but it must be remembered that it is only a defensive measure against the greater cheating of the more skilful and educated trader. For years, the simple Boers were terribly fleeced, so much so that it was common talk and a matter of boasting among the storekeepers. The Boer at length discovered this, and, in defence, assumed the weapons of the wily storekeeper. Stones were put in the centre of wool bales to increase the weight, and other such practices indulged in. To such an extent has Boer thieving in stores been carried that detectives are placed there with instructions to watch every movement of the purchaser and his family. The storekeeper never charges them with theft, but the article taken is added



to the bill at three times its original value, and the poor Boer dares not object. It must be remembered that his dishonesty has been forced upon him by those who are now deriding his want of honesty. In daily life among themselves, the Boers are strictly honest. Their love of fair play and strict sense of justice are admitted by all unbiassed travellers. It has been strongly exemplified in their generous treatment of Dr. Jameson, as they know he is not the head but only the servant of others in carrying out his unsuccessful raid.

Cowardice has also been charged against the Boer. His fight against the British, in 1881, one would think, had settled this question. Men who have made the history that these men have, should receive more consideration. Six hundred Boers, with nothing but muzzle-loading *Roers* (old rifles), faced twelve thousand Zulus from behind their simple wagon defences and destroyed for years the power of that nation. The fact that they killed more than three thousand shows how stern the battle must have been. Even now the Uitlanders keep up the cry of cowardice against them; but their character is misunderstood. The European idea of bravery is to charge upon the foe in the open; but the Boer calls such bravery fool-hardiness and with scorn points out that if he and his forefathers had done the same there would be no Transvaal Republic to-day. He considers useless exposure of life a crime, and useless killing as irreligious. Thus while in ordinary cases his shrinking from battle would be part of his religion, in a holy war for the defence of his country and its institutions he can become brave even to recklessness.

The military system adopted by the nation is simple, and yet perfect in its way. Each district is commanded by a field cornet whose duty it is in case of alarm to issue notices to all in the district. An alarm is generally brought in by some herdsman or native hunter, who has accidentally run upon the enemy or heard some rumor of his approach. Mounted men at top speed are instantly despatched to all quarters of the district and in a short time every family, with household gear and herds, are *trekking* as quickly as possible to the district town in which is situated the *laager*. It takes but a comparatively short time for every white man, woman, and child to be safely ensconced. The defence attended to, riders are despatched to meet the foe and to bring news of his approach. Messengers are spurred to the capital to alarm the Government and within a few hours thousands of the finest shots and best equipped horsemen in the world have assembled in defence of their fatherland. The Boers seldom attack the foe;



their general plan is, as in the late Jameson raid, to hover around until a convenient piece of country is found, when, trusting to their prowess as shots and to the excellence of their horses to keep out of harm's way, they pour a deluge of lead on the foe from long distance. Hardly a man is to be seen, for every hiding-place is taken advantage of, and the well-trained horse, which comes at call, invariably conveys its rider out of danger when necessary. As to the excellence of their method of defensive warfare against large hordes of natives, it is only necessary to say that the British soldier in fighting the Zulu was defeated every time until he adopted the Boer's defence. This war-*laager* or defence deserves some explanation: When a Boer army advances into an enemy's country, it is accompanied by a long train of large wagons, containing the supplies, each drawn by from sixteen to eighteen oxen. Naturally, the progress is slow and whenever the natural outline of the country permits it, the enemy will ambush the train. The danger to such slow-moving vehicles and the ease with which they can be cut off by a large body of the enemy are easily seen; but the Boers found a method of defeating such attempts. Out-riders give notice of the approach of the enemy and immediately a hollow square, made by the wagons being drawn up together with the oxen on the inside, is formed; openings for the horsemen are left and in an inconceivably short space of time a defence is made which has always proved successful in Boer warfare against natives. This, it will be seen, is a defence not only for the army, but also for the oxen and supplies.

Much has been said of the inhospitality of the Boers, and it is the fashion for recent writers to linger upon what they call this defect in his character. This is doing him a great wrong. Formerly, the Boer, in his rough, uncouth manner, was as hospitable as any race on the face of the earth; he had not much to give, but that which he had he gave, after the fashion taught by the Scriptures, with his whole heart; it was part of his religion to feed the stranger within his gates. So long as a white man rode to his door on horseback he was welcome, no matter what his race; but no feeling was shown for a man on foot, as, in accordance with the Boer habit of thought, a man unable to obtain a horse to ride could not be a reputable man. So far did their hospitality to the stranger extend that it was a mark of honor and trust, if no other bed were at hand, to permit the guest to sleep on the same mattress with the children of the host. This was before the discovery of diamonds. Subsequently, the seizure of those fields by the English and the consequent hatred engendered, the rush of deserting



sailors and soldiers, and adventurers of all descriptions in search of wealth, the frequent robberies and other outrages committed by these men on their way to the diamond-fields naturally caused the Boer to depart from his previous hospitality,—so that from being the most generous of hosts he became the most niggardly. At the same time, while he would turn the Englishman from his door,—the Scotchman and the Irishman, having also been treated unfairly by the English, were always welcome guests.

The extent of the Boer's reading is his Bible. Books and newspapers, to the majority, are an abomination. They hate everything that does not contribute directly to the prosperity of the family circle. Their houses are bare of all but absolutely necessary furniture; music is ignored and all refining influences are unknown in the house. Stock-breeding, native politics, psalm-singing, and hunting comprise the extent of their pleasures. How little interest these people take in their country, except as their fatherland, is shown by the fact that the great mineral wealth of the country was not discovered by them. Indeed great anger was expressed by some that gold and other minerals had been found by the Uitlanders. The children are now taught to read and to write, but beyond that all education is abhorred. The Boer is wife-ridden as well as priest-ridden. The wife is generally the better educated and, in matters of religion, war, and politics, controls her husband to a great extent. She is more advanced in ideas and more independent and it is doubtful if the late war of independence which ended at Majuba Hill would have been undertaken had it not been for the influence of the women of the country. No native-born Transvaaler ever keeps a store, the local trade being done entirely by the Uitlanders. The Boers hate trade and despise those who live by it. While little produce is grown, except for family consumption, the natural fertility of the country in the lower plains enables them to grow many fruits and luxuries with little labor; the orange grows almost everywhere, while tobacco, beautiful flowers of many varieties, corn, and other productions can be had for the simple turning over of the soil. This work is generally done by the native apprentices or slaves.

In referring to slavery, I would say that the most decided objection to the Boer—made by those who desire the establishment of British rule—is that slavery abounds in the Transvaal. Not only is this false, but I can witness to the fact that more slavery exists to-day under the British Government in Africa than under the republics. While the Boer exercises a mild sort of ownership over the children taken in



battle or on forays, the men and women so taken never consider themselves slaves. They are well treated, except, of course, in occasional cases, and never feel the badge of servitude; on the other hand, in the British colonies the brutal native law is permitted and has the sanction of the Government. In Natal, for example, although the natives are accepted as British subjects and pay tribute to the crown, every wife is purchased from her father for ten head of cattle, the price being regulated by the Legislative Council of the country and approved by the governor. A girl so sold has no redress, and I have seen girls praying the resident magistrates of districts to defend them from some old native with many wives, to whom they had been sold, while the magistrate has stood willing but unable to aid them.

This sketch would be incomplete without a few words about President Krüger, who has of late come so prominently before the world. He is now seventy-two years old but active and healthy. In his youth and middle age he was known as one of the strongest men in the republic, and many stories are told of *Oom* Paul's feats of strength and courage. His features are almost expressionless, but his small dark eyes show the honest, kindly, meditative character of the man. He is not without a certain dignity, however, that commands respect and confidence. President Krüger is not a finished diplomat and statesman, but, discarding diplomacy, he takes up an issue straightforwardly, and it is this that has enabled him to carry his country successfully through so many difficulties. European diplomats find themselves outmanœuvred by this man, and the British Government has learned to respect his opinions and ideas.

The newspapers lately have informed us that the Uitlanders are denied citizenship. This is one of the many false assertions made by those interested in destroying the autonomy of the nation. The whites, whether citizens by birth or naturalized, after five years' residence and on payment of £25 (about \$125), are entitled to take part in the election of the members of the Volksraad and of the President. For membership to the Raad and for the Presidency, only natives<sup>1</sup> or residents of fifteen years' standing, owners of real estate and professing the Protestant religion, are eligible. Since the British annexation and subsequent release of the country, all those who signed the petition for annexation to England are excluded from the right of suffrage

<sup>1</sup> At the present time the Transvaal has a population of about 500,000. Of this number more than 300,000 are black; 100,000 the floating gold-digging population, and the remainder Boers, with a few European traders and farmers.



and from holding public office. This is only what would be done to traitors in any country, perhaps less than would be done in most.

Before closing this article, I would like to call attention to the oath signed by these so-called "barbarians" when, after two years of patient waiting, and despairing of justice from England, they reluctantly took up arms in the cause of liberty and right. This was signed by President Krüger and all the more prominent Boers previous to the war of 1881, which resulted in their present independence. It will strike most people that this is the oath of men who are to be respected, and who are likely to secure the sympathy of the great bulk of the civilized world. It reads as follows:—

"In the presence of Almighty God, the Searcher of hearts, and praying for His gracious assistance and mercy, we, burghers of the South African Republic, have solemnly agreed, for us and for our children, to unite in a holy covenant, which we confirm with a solemn oath. It is now forty years ago since our fathers left the Cape Colony to become a free and independent people. These forty years were forty years of sorrow and suffering. We have founded Natal, the Orange Free State, and the South African Republic, and three times has the English Government trampled upon our liberty. Our flag, baptised with the blood and tears of our fathers, has been pulled down. As by a thief in the night has our free Republic been stolen from us. We cannot suffer this and we may not. It is the will of God that the unity of our fathers and our love to our children should oblige us to deliver unto our children, unblemished, the heritage of our fathers. It is for this reason that we here unite, and give each other the hand as men and brethren, solemnly promising to be faithful to our country and people, and looking unto God, to work together unto death for the restoration of the liberty of our Republic. So truly help us God Almighty."

These men have been maligned. I am Afrikaner enough to know that the despatches daily appearing in the public prints are written in the interest of those who originated the present disturbances. Not one tenth of the assertions made in those despatches are true, and it will be seen, when time permits a retrospect, that the so-called "reforms" said to be needed in the gold-fields are nothing but a tissue of absurd claims by men, the majority of whom are non-residents of the Republic and are there simply in the interest of selfish gain. That the present uprising has an object is plain, and it is also apparent that Cecil Rhodes, who with his associates has already gobbled up the Griqualand West diamond-fields and Matabeleland, is at the bottom of it.

The question now arises: "What will be the next move of these conspirators?" To me, this seems evident: Cecil Rhodes is the leader of a large party in Cape Colony, Natal, the diamond-fields, and



especially Matabeleland, where the British South Africa Company reigns paramount. His desire is to seize the rich gold-fields for the chartered company, as he has already done the diamond-fields. Standing like a rock in his way is the Government of this little band of pioneers. Under Boer law, the natural increment of the soil cannot belong to individuals, but only to the Government. Individuals can dig, on payment of a tax on all that they obtain from the soil; but all minerals, until dug, belong to the Government. Of course, under such a law, it would be impossible for men to form a trust in this mineral. Rhodes sees this and his first object is to wipe out the Government that stands in his way. He knows that with the advent of British rule British laws will prevail and that it would take him and his rich associates but a short time to own the gold-fields. His scheme to obtain the aid of England has so far collapsed, but there is a deeper and broader one yet to be tried. Foiled by the English Government, he will now advocate an independent, united South Africa. It is safe to say that if Rhodes boldly takes this course, he will be supported by the majority of the residents of British South Africa as well as by a strong influence at home,—where numbers of the rich and aristocratic are interested in his financial adventures. Once the colonies are free from British rule, the subjection of the Boer republics will, of course, simply be a matter of time. It remains to be seen, if this plan be carried out, whether England will adhere to her promise to the Boer republics to maintain their independence on condition that she should hold control over them in the matter of foreign treaties.

If the South Africans desire independence, it is hard to see how England can refuse it; and if England refuses, it is equally hard to see how she can retain her influence. It must be remembered that the British colonist, as a rule, is well educated and progressive, imbued with a high opinion of the freedom that should be enjoyed by the Briton; and he would be the first to take up arms against any forced restraint imposed by the paternal Government. This may be looked upon as absurd reasoning, but time will show. I have had fourteen years' experience in Africa, and I know well the feeling of the residents of each state and colony.

T. LORAIN WHITE.



# The Forum

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APRIL, 1896.

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## DEFICIENCY OF REVENUE THE CAUSE OF OUR FINANCIAL ILLS.

THE President, in his annual message to Congress, confined himself to two important subjects—our foreign relations, and the condition of our national finances. He followed it by another message on the application of the Monroe Doctrine to the controversy between Great Britain and Venezuela.

While Congress has heartily, perhaps too hastily, but with entire unanimity, supported him in maintaining the interests and honor of our country in the field of diplomacy, it has not and will not approve his recommendations on the more important subject of our financial policy, and especially of our currency. He has mistaken the cause of our present financial condition in attributing it to the demand for gold for United States notes, instead of to the deficiency of revenue caused by the legislation of the last Congress. He places the effect before the cause. He proposes as a remedy the conversion of the United States notes and the Treasury notes into interest-bearing bonds, thus increasing the interest-bearing debt nearly \$500,000,000. He proposes a line of policy that will produce a sharp contraction of our currency, add greatly to the burden of existing debts, and arrest the progress of almost every American industry which now competes with foreign productions.

The President is supported in these views by Mr. Carlisle. It is with diffidence I undertake to controvert their opinions; but my convictions of their erroneousness are so decided that I hope the strength of the facts I will submit will convince every one that the true line of public policy is to supply the Government with ample means to meet

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current expenditures and to pay each year a portion of the public debt. The gold reserve provided for the redemption of United States notes can then be easily maintained not only without cost, except the loss of interest on the gold in the Treasury, but with a saving of interest on United States notes and Treasury notes of five times the interest lost by the gold held in reserve. A vastly greater benefit than saving interest is secured to our people by a national paper currency at par with coin, supported by the credit of the United States, and redeemed on demand in coin at the Treasury in the principal city of the United States.

The only difficulty in the way of an easy maintenance of our notes at par with coin is the fact that during this Administration the revenues of the Government have not been sufficient to meet the expenditures authorized by Congress. If Congress had provided necessary revenue, or if the President and Mr. Carlisle had refused to expend appropriations not mandatory in form, but permissive, so as to confine expenditures within receipts, there would have been no difficulty with the reserve. This would have been a stalwart act in harmony with the President's character and plainly within his power. All appropriations which are not provided to carry into effect existing law are permissive, but not mandatory, and his refusal to expend money in excess of the revenues of the Government would not only have been justified by public policy, but would have been heartily approved by the people of the United States. He knew as well as any one that, from the close of the civil war to the date of his inauguration, the expenditures of the Government had been less than its receipts. I have before me a table which shows the receipts and expenditures each year from 1866 to 1893. From this official statement it appears that for each and every year, during this long period, there was a surplus, which was applied to the reduction of the public debt bearing interest. This debt amounted August 31, 1865, to \$2,381,530,294. On March 1, 1893, it was \$585,034,260, thus showing a reduction of \$1,796,496,034 of the interest-bearing debt. The public faith was pledged to this reduction in our loan laws and by the act creating a sinking fund, and, though in some years we did not comply with the terms of the sinking fund, yet in other years we exceeded its requirements, and prior to this Administration the aggregate reduction of debt was greater than the law required. Now, for the first time since 1866, we have deficiencies of revenue. From March 1, 1893, to December 1, 1895, the national debt has been increased \$162,602,245.



The President, in his recent annual message, complained that the law of October 6, 1890, known as the McKinley act, was "inefficient for the purposes of revenue." That law, though it largely reduced taxation by placing many articles on the free list and granted a bounty for the production of sugar, yet did not reduce revenues below expenditures, but provided a surplus of \$37,239,762.57 on June 30, 1891, of \$9,914,453.66 on June 30, 1892, and of \$2,341,674.29 on June 30, 1893, when Mr. Cleveland was President and a Democratic majority in both Houses of Congress had been elected, all pledged to repeal the McKinley act and to reduce duties. That the McKinley act did not produce more revenue in 1893 and 1894 is not a matter of surprise. Any tariff law denounced by the party in power, with a promise to repeal it and to reduce duties, would prevent importations under the old law and thus lower the revenue.

Early in December, 1893, at the first regular session of Congress during Mr. Cleveland's term, a bill was formulated, and as soon as practicable passed the House of Representatives. That bill met the hearty approval of the President. If it had become a law as originally presented, the deficiency in revenue would have been much greater than now; but conservative Democratic Senators, with the aid of Republican Senators, greatly improved the House bill, added other duties, and changed the scope of the measure. With these amendments it became a law. The President refused to sign it, expressing his opposition to the Senate amendments, and yet now supports it when deficiencies have been greatly increased, when the public debt is increasing, and doubts are expressed as to the ability of the Government to maintain its notes at par with coin. The President makes no mention in his message of these deficiencies; no mention of the issue of interest-bearing bonds to meet them. The Secretary of the Treasury is more frank in his statement. He reports a deficiency of \$69,803,260.58 during the fiscal year ended June 30, 1894, and for the year ended June 30, 1895, \$42,805,223.18, and for the six months prior to December 1, 1895, \$17,613,539.24; in all, \$130,222,023.

No complaint was made that the McKinley law was "inefficient for the purposes of revenue" when the Wilson bill was pending. The objection to the McKinley law was that it was a "protective tariff," and the Wilson bill was a "revenue tariff." I have a statement before me showing the receipts and expenditures under each law each month,—the McKinley law from its passage to the election of Mr. Cleveland, and the Wilson law from its passage to December 1, 1895. During



the twenty-five months of the McKinley law (October, 1890-92) the average monthly surplus was \$1,129,821.<sup>1</sup> During the existence of the Wilson law (September, 1894, to December, 1895) the average monthly deficiency was \$4,699,603.<sup>2</sup> If the McKinley law was, in the opinion of the President, inefficient for revenue, he should have said of the Wilson law that it was bounteous in deficiencies.

During the first year of the Wilson law the agricultural imports, all of which are such as are produced in the United States, the most common products of our farms, were of the value of \$107,342,522. During the last year of the McKinley law the imports of the same farm products were of the value of \$51,414,844. So under the Wilson law the imports of agricultural products, which we produce in the greatest abundance, were doubled in amount as compared with the amount imported under the McKinley law.

Notably, during the same time, the importation of two articles (that we can produce in the United States) under the Wilson law were wool, valued at \$32,589,791, and hides, \$24,623,239. Under the McKinley law wool valued at \$6,299,934 and hides valued at \$10,480,562 were imported. Importations of wool were increased under the Wilson law sixfold. It is no wonder that our sheep are being destroyed. The importation of hides under the present act increased two and one half fold. The American farmer was thus deprived of his home market.

Other importations made during a year under the Wilson law, of articles which we can readily produce in this country, were valued at \$263,684,513, while under the McKinley law the value of the same articles imported was \$172,743,601.

The enormous importations under the Wilson law, for which we had to pay gold, necessarily diminished the exports of the United States. Our chief reliance in our foreign trade is to export our products, mainly agricultural, in sufficient quantity or more to pay for our imports, so that the balance of trade shall be in our favor. Under the Wilson law we exported in a year agricultural productions valued at \$301,578,885, while during the last year of the McKinley law we exported similar productions valued at \$371,125,299. It will thus be

<sup>1</sup> Total receipts under McKinley law October, 1890-92.....	\$759,456,825
Total expenditures under McKinley law October, 1890-92.....	731,211,184
Surplus .....	\$28,245,641

<sup>2</sup> Total receipts under Wilson law September, 1894, to December, 1895.....	\$373,790,648
Total expenditures under Wilson law September, 1894, to December, 1895.	444,290,693
Deficiency .....	\$70,500,044



seen that under the McKinley law we exported more and under the other law less, the difference amounting to about \$70,000,000. Therefore, the balance of trade necessarily turned against us.

I could pursue the analysis of these two laws further, but I have said enough to explain the preference of the Wilson bill by the President. He believes in large importations at the lowest cost, without regard to the industries and labor of our countrymen, while I believe in a careful discrimination and the imposition of such duties on articles that compete with home productions as will diversify our employments and protect and foster impartially all industries, whether of the farm, the workshop, the mine, the forest, or the sea. I have not been satisfied with any tariff law made during my public life, though I have shared in framing many. I prefer a law that will impartially protect and encourage all home industries, and I regard the McKinley law as infinitely better than the Wilson law, which I believe is the cause of all the evils we now encounter by adverse balance of trade, the exportation of gold, and the derangement of our monetary system. The Wilson law has produced a deficiency every hour and day that it has been on the statute book, while the McKinley law has always produced a surplus until after the incoming of this Administration, and if administered since that time by friendly agents would have furnished the Government all the revenue needed.

The deficiency of revenue was the primary cause of the demand for gold for United States notes. The gold hoarded for resumption purposes was not separated from the money received for current revenue, and, this revenue being insufficient to meet expenses, the gold accumulated for redemption purposes was drawn upon to make good the deficiencies. This created a doubt of the ability of the Government to maintain the parity of United States notes with coin, and led to their presentation for redemption in coin. The draft on the Treasury for coin during this Administration has been greater than the amount of deficiency of revenue during the same period. In every aspect in which the subject presents itself to my mind I come to no other conclusion than that the deficiency of revenue and the consequent encroachment upon the redemption fund are the causes of our present financial condition, and that the only remedies are either a radical reduction of expenditures or an increase of taxation, and perhaps both. I do not believe that the condition requires a suspension of public works or a postponement of measures now in progress to strengthen the army and navy.



It is strange that the President in dealing with our financial condition should ignore entirely the pregnant and controlling fact that during his term of office, thus far, three issues of bonds have been made, amounting in the aggregate to \$162,315,400, to meet current expenses in a time of profound peace. He attributes all our financial difficulties to the continued circulation of United States notes and Treasury notes—debts bearing no interest—amounting to nearly \$500,000,000. His statement of the origin and history of the United States notes is strongly tinged with prejudice, for though these notes were irredeemable for a time, they were convertible into bonds bearing interest payable in coin. They replaced notes issued by banks chartered by the several States. They were the best possible substitute for coin, and, in connection with the bonds of the United States, they furnished the means by which alone the army and navy could have been sustained during the war. After the war was over the question of the retirement of United States notes was mooted, but no party or section of our country demanded a cancellation of these notes, though there were differences of opinion as to the amount to be retained in circulation. The Democratic party then demanded the largest amount named, while a new party called the “Greenback party,” demanded an unlimited issue without any provision for their redemption in coin. The Republican party provided, by the resumption act of 1875, for the reduction of United States notes to \$300,000,000, and their redemption in coin on and after January 1, 1879. This reduction was arrested by Congress when they had been reduced to \$346,681,016, when both Houses of Congress had Democratic majorities. Provision was made for the redemption of the United States notes by coin on demand and for their reissue, and authority was given to sell United States bonds for that purpose.

From January 1, 1879, to the election of Mr. Cleveland in November, 1892, there was no disturbance of the orderly receipt and exchange of gold and currency. The gold deposited in the Treasury in exchange for bonds in the summer and fall of 1878 amounted to \$95,500,000. The ordinary current revenue in the Treasury conducted the vast operations of the Government without friction or trouble for nearly fourteen years. United States notes were at par with coin not only in every part of the United States, but in every country in the world. During all that long period they were presented for redemption, but in amounts comparatively insignificant. I have before me a table, prepared by the Treasury Department, by which it appears that during



thirteen years, from July 1, 1879, to July 1, 1892, the redemption of United States notes in gold averaged less than \$3,000,000 a year, while during the last three and one half years the redemption of United States notes and Treasury notes exceeded \$100,000,000 for each year. During the first thirteen years gold was exported in large quantities, yet it was not drawn from the reserve; but during the past three and a half years \$360,000,000 was drawn from the reserve and \$305,000,000 exported. The balance, with the domestic supply of gold, was hoarded in the United States.

The recent report of Secretary Carlisle shows that prior to 1891 the demand for coin for United States notes during a period of thirteen years, from July 1, 1879, to July 1, 1892, was only \$43,310,896, while the receipts of gold for United States notes during the same period amounted to \$160,000,000. Gold was deposited and any kind of paper money was demanded. The withdrawals from the Treasury from July 1, 1892, to December 1, 1895, have amounted to \$360,266,512. Mr. Carlisle in his report says:

“The withdrawals from the Treasury between July 1, 1879, and July 1, 1892, amounted to \$43,310,896, while the gross exports during the same time amounted to \$389,354,757, showing that \$346,043,861 was supplied from sources outside of the Treasury,”—[he is speaking of gold]—“but the withdrawals from July 1, 1892, to December 1, 1895, have amounted to \$360,266,512 and the gross exports have amounted to \$305,617,419, from which it appears that the Government has furnished a sum equal to the whole export and \$54,649,093 in addition. While the Government has thus been compelled during the last three and a half years not only to furnish gold from the Treasury for export to other countries, but also a large amount for the use of our people at home, its receipts of gold on account of customs and other taxes have been constantly diminishing since July 12, 1890, and have now entirely ceased.”

I have a graphic map attached to the Secretary's report of 1894, which shows the amount of gold in the Treasury from 1879 to July 1, 1894. It steadily and almost continuously increased from \$140,000,000 on January 1, 1879, to \$300,000,000 on January 1, 1891. It then steadily decreased to July 1, 1894, when it was reduced to \$125,000,000, and, though replenished by the large sale of bonds, it was reduced December 31, 1895, to the sum of \$64,204,651.

During the first term of Mr. Cleveland, when he was powerless to affect our currency and tariff policy,—the Senate being Republican,—the gold increased from \$240,000,000 on April 1, 1885, to \$320,000,000 on April 1, 1889. This gold came into the Treasury without cost in exchange for United States notes or gold certificates.



It is just to Mr. Carlisle to say that he attributes the withdrawal of gold to silver legislation, yet the Bland-Allison act was in force from 1878 to 1890, when the accumulation of gold occurred, and the great bulk of gold was withdrawn after the repeal of the act of July 14, 1890. In 1880, while I was Secretary of the Treasury, the Government received over \$60,000,000 of gold in exchange for silver certificates and United States notes; and yet this was done after the Bland-Allison act was in force and the silver certificates had been issued under that act. United States notes and silver certificates were more convenient to purchase cotton and corn, and when maintained at parity with coin will always be preferred in large commercial transactions as well as in the current business of life.

In view of these official facts, can any fair man doubt as to the cause of our financial condition? What other cause can be stated than that unwise legislation reduced our revenues below our expenditures, impaired confidence in our ability to maintain our currency at par, and compelled the Government to sell bonds provided for the redemption of United States notes in order to meet deficiencies? What other remedy is there for our financial difficulties except to borrow money on the best terms possible to pay current deficiencies and to provide additional revenue for future wants? To this extent and for these purposes I am willing to support this Administration, however much I may disagree with its general policy.

But the President is not satisfied. He demands the retirement and cancellation of all the United States notes and Treasury notes by the sale of bonds of the United States bearing interest. In his annual message he says:

“In anticipation of impending trouble, I had, on the 28th day of January, 1895, addressed a communication to the Congress fully setting forth our difficulties and dangerous position, and earnestly recommending that authority be given the Secretary of the Treasury to issue bonds bearing a low rate of interest, payable by their terms in gold, for the purpose of maintaining a sufficient gold reserve, and”—[here is the important part]—“also for the redemption and cancellation of outstanding United States notes and the Treasury notes issued for the purchase of silver under the law of 1890. This recommendation did not, however, meet with legislative approval.”

He might have said that it was rejected by both Houses of Congress, each containing a majority of his political friends. With the experience of fourteen years, the people of the United States, as well as their representatives, were almost unanimously in favor of a currency so easily maintained at par in coin by the promise of the United States



to pay it in coin, and by holding in the Treasury \$100,000,000 gold coin for its redemption when presented. No one contemplated that this reserve would be used to pay current expenditures. In all our legislation since the war ample means were provided to meet current expenditures without trenching upon this reserve, and it was not encroached upon until Mr. Cleveland became President. Instead of demanding more revenue, he urged the reduction of duties and secured the passage of a law which reduced the revenue and forced the Treasury to encroach upon the redemption fund to meet current obligations. If this policy has been adopted to compel the people of the United States to surrender the best paper currency they have ever enjoyed, it will fail. If revenue is wanted to meet current expenditures, it will be furnished, either by taxation or by borrowing, or by both.

Mr. Cleveland in his message complains that, when notes are presented for redemption and are redeemed, the law requires that they "shall belong to the United States, shall not be retired, cancelled, or destroyed, but shall be reissued and paid out again and kept in circulation." The right to reissue is a necessary incident to a circulating note. The United States does what every bank does. By this provision it furnishes a note for circulation better than any other yet devised by mortal man.

He also says :

"The Government was put in the anomalous situation of owing to the holders of its notes debts, payable in gold on demand, which could neither be retired by receiving such notes in discharge of obligations due the Government, nor cancelled by actual payment in gold. It was forced to redeem without redemption and to pay without acquittance."

It seems to me that when the Government redeems its note the former holder of the note has no right to say whether it shall be reissued or not. The last sentence is without meaning. If the United States redeems its note the holder has nothing more to say, and when the United States pays out a note it always takes a receipt, which is an acquittance.

The President says that "in April, 1893, for the first time since its establishment, this reserve amounted to less than \$100,000,000, containing at that date only \$97,011,330." This significant statement, made as to the earliest days of his Administration, should have incited in the mind of the President an inquiry into the cause of the reduction of the reserve. The real reserve for redemption purposes was the proceeds of \$95,500,000 bonds and no more. In addition to this re-



serve it is necessary to have on hand, to meet current expenditures, the sum of from twenty to forty million dollars. At certain periods a large balance is accumulated to pay the interest of the public debt and other large disbursements for the army and navy. Any excess should be at once applied to the reduction of the principal of the public debt. This line of public policy was continued from January 1, 1879, to March 4, 1893, including the first Administration of Mr. Cleveland. During this period many times more gold was deposited in the Treasury than was paid out. Large amounts of gold were deposited in the Treasury for gold certificates. The public debt was largely diminished. Not a shadow of doubt had been cast upon the ability of the Government to redeem its notes or to maintain its reserve. The minimum never fell below \$100,000,000. The reserve would not have fallen below the minimum of \$100,000,000 during and after 1893 but for the known policy of the President to reduce duties on imported goods, followed soon by the enactment of the tariff law now in force, resulting in a large reduction of revenue and in deficiencies that could be paid only out of the resumption fund.

It is but fair to state that the resumption act of 1875 did not segregate the resumption fund from the general balance, nor did it provide that notes redeemed should be held in place of the coin paid out. The then Secretary of the Treasury, in his annual report to Congress on December 6, 1880, pointed out these defects in the resumption law. He said :

“ The Secretary expresses the utmost confidence that without new legislation the entire amount of United States notes now authorized and outstanding can be easily maintained at par in coin, even if the present favorable financial condition should change ; but in order to accomplish this the coin reserve must be kept unimpaired, except by such payments as may be made from it in redemption of notes. Notes redeemed should be temporarily held, in place of the coin paid out, especially if it appears that the call for coin is greater in amount than the coin coming in due course into the Treasury or the mints. . . . It is suggested that Congress might define and set apart the coin reserve as a special fund for resumption purposes. The general available balance is now treated as such a fund ; but as this balance may, at the discretion of the Secretary of the Treasury, be unduly drawn upon for the purchase or payment of bonds, it would appear advisable that Congress prescribe the maximum and minimum of the fund.”

This advice, given in 1880, was not needed, at least until the present Administration came into power, and now it is very sorely needed by them. Congress neglected to enact into law the measures proposed, but neither the Congress nor the Secretary of the Treasury



anticipated that the time would come when this fund would be applied to pay current deficiencies in the revenue amounting in two and a half years to \$162,000,000. Both the President and the Secretary say that no provision has been made by law for such deficiencies and that their only resort was the general fund in the Treasury, composed of the resumption fund and the general balance in the Treasury. But it is due to truth to say that in February, 1893, a short time before the close of the Fifty-second Congress, when Mr. Carlisle was a member of the Committee on Finance of the Senate and it was known that he was to be Secretary of the Treasury, and when the probabilities of a deficiency became apparent, that committee, upon my motion, with the approbation of Mr. Carlisle, reported an amendment to an appropriation bill as follows:

“To enable the Secretary of the Treasury to provide for and to maintain the redemption of United States notes according to the provisions of the act approved January 14, 1875, entitled ‘An act to provide for the resumption of specie payments, \$50,000’; and, at the discretion of the Secretary, he is authorized to issue, sell, and dispose of, at not less than par in coin, either of the description of bonds authorized in said act, or bonds of the United States bearing interest not to exceed 3 per cent, payable semiannually and redeemable at the pleasure of the United States after five years from their date with like qualities, privileges, and exemptions provided in said act for the bonds therein authorized, to the extent necessary to carry said resumption act into full effect, and to use the proceeds thereof for the purposes provided in said act and none other.”

The amendment was adopted by the Senate. It went to the House of Representatives and was there referred, without a vote, to a committee of conference, which rejected it, and, as it was understood at the time, with the approval of Mr. Carlisle, who said it was unnecessary. No deficiency at that time existed, but it was manifest that the policy of the incoming Administration would create a deficiency. If that amendment had become a law the Secretary could easily have maintained the reserve and met deficiencies as they occurred by the proceeds of the bonds described in it.

Nor would deficiencies have occurred had not the President and both Houses of the Fifty-third Congress, then in political sympathy, united in passing a law reducing the revenue below expenditures for the first time since the close of the war, and compelled the Executive authorities to apply a fund created for the redemption of United States notes to meet the ordinary expenses of the Government. This demonstrated fact is the source of all our present financial difficulties.

I do not wish to criticise the sales of bonds authorized by the



resumption act to meet these deficiencies. Under the circumstances the Administration was justified in doing this, even to the impairment of the resumption fund, but it ought frankly to say that the cause of the invasion of the resumption fund was the deficiency of revenue created by faulty tariff legislation by the last Congress.

Such a deficiency is discreditable to the United States, with its vast wealth and resources. There is no difficulty in collecting by taxation all and more money than is necessary for its expenditures. The true remedy is to supply additional revenue by taxation in some form, and, until this can be effected, to borrow from the people of the United States enough money to cover past and future deficiencies. This done, gold will readily be exchanged for United States notes, as was done from January, 1879, to the election of Mr. Cleveland.

The two defects in existing law relating to redemption are mentioned by the President.

First. That the notes presented for redemption must be reissued. It seems that he has found the power to hold notes redeemed until they can be exchanged for coin, a discovery that he should have made sooner.

Second. That the resumption fund is a part of the general balance in the Treasury and may be applied to current expenditures.

Congress neglected to cure the defects pointed out by me as Secretary of the Treasury in December, 1880, but I hope will correct them now at the request of the President. It was not then anticipated that a deficiency of revenue would occur, or that, if it did occur, the Government would use a fund specially pledged for another purpose to meet current liabilities. Notes once redeemed should only be reissued for gold coin, and such reissues should be mandatory when coin is deposited in the Treasury. With this provision of law the scarcity of currency would create such a demand for it that coin would be freely deposited in exchange for the more portable and current notes of the United States.

The resumption fund should be segregated from all other moneys of the United States and paid out only in redemption of United States notes. With such provisions in the law the resumption fund could not be invaded to meet deficiencies in the revenue. These should be provided for by bonds or certificates of indebtedness of small denominations at a low rate of interest, which would be readily taken by the people through national banks, sub-treasuries, and post-offices.

There seems to be a misapprehension of the difficulties of main-



taining the redemption of United States notes. The nominal volume of these is \$346,681,016. This is the reduced volume from the maximum outstanding during the civil war of \$450,000,000. But this sum of \$346,000,000 includes all the notes lost and destroyed by casualty since the first issue in 1862. The amount thus lost has been estimated at from twenty to forty million dollars, reducing the notes outstanding to \$320,000,000, or less. The national banks in certain large cities are required to keep on hand in lawful money of the United States an amount equal to at least 25 per cent of the aggregate amount of their notes in circulation and of their deposits, and all other banking associations are required at all times to have on hand in lawful money of the United States an amount equal to at least 15 per cent of the aggregate amount of their notes in circulation and of their deposits. Under this law the national banks now hold for the redemption of their notes and the security of their deposits the sum of over \$93,000,000 in lawful money, almost exclusively in United States notes, and this money cannot be withdrawn by any bank without reducing their notes in circulation and their deposits from four to six times the amount of their withdrawal. The actual amount of United States notes now in circulation among the people cannot exceed \$227,000,000, and this is scattered among 65,000,000 people who cherish this money with confidence and faith as the best money they have ever had. With a provision in the law that notes redeemed with coin shall not be reissued except for coin, the value and stability of our currency can never be endangered.

As the term "lawful money" includes gold coin, there is a disposition by timid banks to convert their United States notes into coin, thus aiding in depleting the redemption reserve. This has been done to the extent of forty or fifty million dollars, and should be prevented by a provision of law that the bank reserve of lawful money shall be United States notes or Treasury notes only. The banks can redeem their notes with Treasury notes and United States notes, because the law expressly makes those notes a legal tender for that purpose. National banks are the creation and instruments of the Government and ought not to be allowed to discredit the money with which they can redeem their own notes, nor should the Government itself be permitted in any way to weaken the credit and confidence of the people in their paper money by using it for current expenses in excess of current revenues. It is nothing less than fraud for the Government to use these notes for such purposes, and it has never been done except during this



Administration. Every dollar thus taken is an impairment of the redemption fund. It is the misapplication of a fund specially created by law for another purpose. The effect is to destroy confidence in the credit and safety of our paper currency. It has led to the demand for gold coin for United States notes. I do not believe that was the design of the Executive branch of the Government, but that has been its effect, and it should be prevented by the immediate action of Congress. The resumption fund is the safeguard of the money of the people, and its use for any other purpose is a practical repudiation of the public faith.

The President complains that the notes are presented and paid, reissued, and paid again and again, making a continuous circuit. When did this circuit commence? The only answer is, When this Administration, supported by the last Congress, created a deficiency. Why does the circuit continue? It is because the deficiency continues. The Administration resorts to the financial policy of *Micawber*. It gives its bonds and thinks the debt paid. But the circuit continues. The money received for current revenue is paid to cover deficiencies and is returned for gold, and then more bonds. The Secretary hopes that in two or three years there will be no deficiency. What is the ground for this hope? It is that a new Administration will provide more revenue, and then the circuit will be broken. Why not apply the remedy now? If deficiencies occur Congress should immediately supply the means to meet them, and Congress, and not the Administration, must be the judge of the mode and manner of relief. The invasion and misapplication of the resumption fund are of infinitely greater injury to our people than the imposition of ten times the amount of taxation.

It is asserted that the continued reissue of United States notes is mandatory. This is not a fair construction of the law. The plain meaning of it is that their redemption shall not cause their cancellation. They are placed on the footing of bank notes. What solvent bank would reissue its notes when there was a run upon it? It would hold them until the demand ceased. The Government ought to exercise the same prudence. The President is of the opinion that the United States notes and Treasury notes should be retired and give place to bank notes. This is a question for Congress to decide. It is certainly not of that opinion now, nor was the last Congress of that opinion. Outside a few large cities, where banking facilities are abundant and business is conducted by checks and commercial paper,



there is no desire for the retirement of national paper money. It is not right for the Executive authorities to discredit this money by using it for current deficiencies. It was the use and dispersion of the redemption fund that created the circle of which he complains.

I believe that under existing law the aggregate sum of United States notes and Treasury notes issued under the act of 1890, amounting to about \$460,000,000, can be easily maintained at par with coin if the two amendments I have mentioned are adopted by Congress. These notes are a legal tender for all debts, public or private. They are a debt of the United States without interest and without other material cost to the Government than the interest on the cost of the coin or bullion held in the Treasury to redeem them. They are preferred by the people to any other form of paper money that has been devised. They have all the sanctions of law and all the security that has been or can be given to our bonds. They have the pledge of the public faith that they will be redeemed in coin. The substitution of these notes for State-bank paper money was one of the greatest benefits that has resulted from the civil war. These notes have all the sanction, protection, and security that has been or can be given to our national-bank notes, with the added benefit that the large saving derived from them inures to the people of the United States instead of to the bankers.

Another reason, founded upon belief, is that the national banking system could not long endure if the United States notes were withdrawn. I will not now discuss this, nor any other of the numerous financial questions involved,—such as the policy of requiring the duties on imports to be paid in gold. Imports are purchased with gold, are paid for in gold, and we may require gold for duties. The disposition of silver certificates is a much more serious problem. They are in express terms redeemable in silver dollars. Ought they not to be redeemed by silver dollars? While the silver dollars are maintained at par with gold it would seem that there was no injustice in paying the silver dollars for silver certificates. Then comes up the question of free coinage of silver, which I regard as the most dangerous policy.

All these are vital questions I do not wish to mingle with the pressing recommendation of the President in his last annual message “that authority be given the Secretary of the Treasury to issue bonds of the United States bearing a low rate of interest payable by their terms in gold for the purpose of maintaining a sufficient gold reserve and also for the redemption and cancellation of outstanding United



States notes and the Treasury notes issued for the purchase of silver under the law of 1890." He recommends the exchange of gold interest-bearing bonds for the legal-tender notes of the United States, and the substitution of national-bank notes as our only currency. He is supported in this by large and influential classes of our fellow-citizens, most of them engaged in banking or classed as capitalists. Their arguments mainly rest upon the difficulties encountered by this Administration in maintaining a reserve in coin to redeem United States notes. They forget that during a period of fourteen years when the revenues of the Government exceeded expenditures, and when the public debt was being reduced with unexampled rapidity, there was no difficulty in maintaining our notes at par with coin. There is scarcely a doubt but that, in all conditions of trade or finance except the contingency of war, the whole mass of United States notes and Treasury notes now in circulation can be maintained at par with coin, if it is supported by a reserve of gold coin or bullion or silver bullion at market value in due proportions equal to one third or one fourth of the amount of such notes.

A careful study of the systems of banking, currency, and coinage adopted by the principal nations of Europe convinces me that our system,—when cured of a few defects developed by time,—founded upon the bimetallic coinage of gold and silver maintained at par with each other; with free national banks established in every city and town of importance in the United States, issuing their notes secured beyond doubt by United States bonds or some equivalent security, and redeemable on demand in United States notes; and the issue of an amount of United States notes and Treasury notes equal to the amount now outstanding (with provision for a ratable increase with the increase of population), always redeemable in coin and supported by an ample reserve of coin in the Treasury, not to be invaded by deficiencies of revenue, and separated by the sub-treasury system from all connection with the receipts and expenditures of the Government—such a system would make our money current in commercial circles in every land and clime, better than the best that now exists in Europe, better than that of Great Britain, which now holds the purse strings of the world.

JOHN SHERMAN.



## TWO SOUTH AFRICAN CONSTITUTIONS.

THE phrase of the younger Pliny, "*Semper aliquid novi Africa affert*," which has been so frequently quoted of late years, strikes the student of politics as specially applicable when he finds that the two Dutch republics of South Africa are living under constitutions diverse from any of the three types to which all or nearly all the constitutions of modern states can be referred. The system established by these two instruments resembles neither the English, or so-called "cabinet," system of government,—which has been more or less imitated by the other free countries of Europe, and has been reproduced in the self-governing British colonies,—nor the American, or so-called "presidential," system, as it exists in the United States and the several States of the American Union. And although it bears some resemblance to the constitution of the Swiss Confederation and to those of the cantons of Switzerland, this resemblance is not a close one, and is evidently not due to conscious imitation, but to a certain similarity of phenomena suggesting similar devices. The constitutions of these two Dutch republics are the product—the pure and original product—of African conditions, having drawn comparatively little from the experience of older countries, or from the models their schemes of government afford. Moreover, these South African constitutions grew up upon a perfectly virgin soil. There was no pre-existing political organization, such as the old feudal politics supplied in some countries of Europe, out of which these republics could develop themselves. There were no charters of guilds or companies, such as those which gave their earliest form to the governments of many of the older American States. Nor was there any home pattern to be copied, as the British colonies have, by the aid of statutes of the imperial parliament, copied the constitution of the United Kingdom. The simple farmers, who drafted the documents which I propose to describe, knew very little about the systems either of Europe or of America. Few possessed any historical, still fewer any legal, knowledge. Many were uneducated men, though with plenty of rough sense and mother wit. They would have liked to get on without any government, and were resolved to have as little as possible. Cir-



cumstances, however, compelled them to have some sort of organization ; and in setting to work to form it, with little except their recollections of the local arrangements of Cape Colony to guide or to assist them, they came as near as any set of men ever have come to the situation which philosophers have so often imagined, but which has so rarely in fact occurred—that of free and independent persons uniting in an absolutely new social compact for mutual help and defence, and thereby creating a government whose authority has had, and can have had, no origin save in the consent of the governed.

A few preliminary words are needed to explain the circumstances under which the constitutions of the Orange Free State and of the South African Republic (commonly called the Transvaal) were drawn up.

As early as 1820 a certain number of farmers, mostly of Dutch origin, living in the northeastern part of Cape Colony, were in the habit of driving their flocks into the wilderness north of the Orange River, where they found good fresh pasture during and after the summer rains. About 1828 a few of these farmers established themselves permanently there, still of course remaining subjects of the British crown. In 1835, however, a much greater number of farmers migrated from the colony ; some in larger, some in smaller bodies. They felt aggrieved at the behavior of the British Government in abolishing slavery, while allotting to them what is now admitted to have been an inadequate compensation for their slaves ; and they were also displeased at its action in handing back to the Kafir tribes a portion of the territory conquered in a Kafir war from which the frontier colonists had suffered severely. During this and the two succeeding years a considerable number of these emigrants moved into the country beyond the Orange River, some remaining there, others pushing still further to the northeast into the hitherto unknown country beyond the Vaal River, while a third body, perhaps the largest, moved down into what is now the British colony of Natal. This is not the place in which to relate the striking story of their battles with the Zulu kings and of their struggle with the British Government for the possession of Natal. It is enough to say that they ultimately quitted Natal to join the emigrants north of the mountains ; and that, after many conflicts between those emigrants and the native tribes, and some serious difficulties with successive governors of Cape Colony, the British Government finally, by a convention signed at Sand River in 1852, recognized the autonomy of the settlers beyond the Vaal River, while, by a later convention signed at Bloemfontein in 1854, it renounced the sover-



eighty it had claimed over the country between the Orange River and the Vaal River, leaving the inhabitants of both these territories to settle their own form of government for themselves.

These two conventions are the legal and formal starting-points of the two republics in South Africa, and from them the history of those republics, as self-governing states, recognized in the community of nations by international law, takes its beginning. The emigrant farmers had, however, already been driven by the force of circumstances to establish some sort of government among themselves. As early as 1836 an assembly of one of the largest emigrant groups, then in the Orange River Territory, elected seven persons to constitute a body with legislative and judicial power. In 1838 the Natal emigrants established a *Volksraad* (council of the people) which consisted of twenty-four members, elected annually, who met every three months and had the general direction of the affairs of the community, acting during the intervals between the meetings by a small committee called the *Commissie Raad*. All important measures were, however, submitted to a general meeting called the *Publick*, in which all burghers were entitled to speak and vote. A somewhat similar system prevailed among the farmers settled in the country beyond the Vaal River. They too had a *Volksraad*, or sometimes—for they were from time to time divided into separate and practically independent republican communities—several *Volksraads*; and each district or republic had a *commandant-general*. Their organization was really more military than civil, and the *commandant-general* with his *Krygsraad* (council of war), consisting of the *commandants* and field cornets within the district, were the nearest approach to a regular executive. I have unfortunately been unable to obtain proper materials for the internal political history, if such a term can be used, of these communities before they proceeded to enact the constitutions to be presently described, and fear that such materials as do exist are very scanty. But, speaking broadly, it may be said that, in all the communities of the emigrant farmers, supreme power was deemed to be vested in an assembly of the whole male citizens, usually acting through a council of delegates, and that the permanent officials were generally a magistrate, called a *landroost*, in each village, a field cornet in each ward, and a *commandant* in each district. All these officials were chosen by the people.<sup>1</sup> In these primi-

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted for most of these facts regarding the early organization of the emigrants to Mr. G. M. Theal's "History of the Boers in South Africa," a book which, however, carries its narrative down only to 1854. It is a work of con-



tive arrangements consisted the materials out of which a constitutional government had to be built up.

From this point the history of the Orange River Territory,—which by the convention of 1854 was recognized as the Orange Free State,—and that of the Transvaal Territory, begin to diverge. In describing the constitutions of the republics, I take first that of the Orange Free State, because it dates from 1854, while the existing constitution of the Transvaal is four years younger, having been adopted in 1858. The former is also by far the simpler and shorter document.

When the British Government in 1854 voluntarily divested itself of its rights over the Orange River Territory, greatly against the will of many of its subjects there, the inhabitants of that territory were estimated at 15,000 Europeans, most of them of Dutch, the rest of British origin. The number of native Kafirs was much larger, but cannot now be estimated. The great majority were farmers, pasturing their sheep and cattle on large farms, but five small villages already existed, one of which, Bloemfontein, has grown to be a town of 5,800 people, and is now the capital. The Volksraad, or assembly of delegates of the people, framed, and on April 10, 1854, enacted, the constitution for the new republic. This constitution was revised and amended in 1866, and again in 1879, but the main features of the original instrument remain. I proceed to deal with it as it now stands.

The constitution, which is in the Dutch language, is a terse and straightforward document of sixty-two articles, most of which are only a few lines in length. It begins by defining the qualifications for citizenship and the exercise of the suffrage (articles 1–4), and incidentally imposes the obligation of military service on all citizens between the ages of sixteen and sixty. Only whites can be citizens. Newcomers may obtain citizenship if they have resided one year in the state and have real property to the value of at least £150 sterling, or if they have resided three successive years and have made a written promise of allegiance.

Articles 5–27 deal with the composition and functions of the Volksraad, or ruling assembly, which is declared to possess the supreme legislative authority. It consists of representatives (at present fifty-eight in number), one from each of the wards and from the chief town or village of each of the (at present nineteen) districts. They are of considerable merit and interest, though in places deformed (as it seems to me) by prejudice against the missionaries, with a corresponding disposition to extenuate the faults of the Boers in their dealings with the native races.



elected for four years, one half retiring every two years. Twelve constitute a quorum. Every citizen is eligible who has not been convicted of crime by a jury or been declared a bankrupt or insolvent, who has attained the age of twenty-five years, and who possesses fixed (*i. e.* real) unmortgaged property of the value of £500 at least.

The Volksraad is to meet annually in May, and may be summoned to an extra session by its chairman, as also by the president (§ 34), or by the president and the executive council (§ 45).

The Volksraad has power to depose the president if insolvent or convicted of crime, and may also itself try him on a charge of treason, bribery, or other grave crime; but the whole Volksraad must be present or have been duly summoned, and a majority of three to one is required for conviction. The sentence shall in these cases extend only to deposition from office and disqualification for public service in future, the president so deposed being liable to further criminal proceedings before the regular courts.

The votes of members of the Volksraad shall be recorded on a demand by one fifth of those present. The sittings are to be public, save where a special cause for a secret sitting exists.

The Volksraad shall make no law restricting the right of public meeting and petition.

It shall concern itself with the promotion of religion and education.

It shall promote and support the Dutch Reformed Church.

It may alter the constitution, but only by a majority of three fourths of the votes in two consecutive annual sessions.

It has power to regulate the administration and finances, levy taxes, borrow money, and provide for the public defence.

Articles 28 to 41 deal with the choice and functions of the president of the state.

He is to be elected by the whole body of citizens, the Volksraad, however, recommending one or more persons to the citizens.<sup>1</sup>

He is chosen for five years and is reeligible.

He is the head of the executive, charged with the supervision and regulation of the administrative departments and public service generally, and is responsible to the Volksraad, his acts being subject to an appeal to that body. He is to report annually to the Volksraad, to assist its deliberations by his advice, but without the right of voting, and, if necessary, to propose bills. He may fill vacancies in the public

<sup>1</sup> In practice, the recommendation of the majority of the Volksraad is looked upon as likely to ensure the election of the person so recommended.



offices that occur when the Volksraad is not sitting, but his appointments require its confirmation. He may also suspend public functionaries, but dismissal appears to require the consent of the Volksraad.

He may declare war and make peace and treaties, but in all cases only with the consent of the Volksraad.

Articles 42 to 46 deal with the executive council. The executive council consists of five members, besides the state president, who is *ex-officio* chairman, with a casting vote. Of these five, one is the landrost (magistrate) of Bloemfontein, another the state secretary, both these officials being appointed by the president and confirmed by the Volksraad; the remaining three are elected by the Volksraad. This council advises the president, reports its proceedings annually to the Volksraad, and has the rights, in conjunction with the president, of pardoning offenders and of declaring martial law.

Regarding the judicial power only two provisions require mention. Article 48 declares this power to be exclusively exercisable by the courts of law established by law. Article 49 secures trial by jury in all criminal causes in the superior courts.

Local government and military organization, subjects intimately connected in Dutch South Africa, occupy articles 50 to 56 inclusive.

A field cornet is elected by the citizens of each ward, a field commandant by those of each district, in both cases from among themselves. In case of war, all the commandants and cornets taken together elect a commandant-general, who thereupon receives his instructions from the president. Those who elected him may, with the consent of the president, dismiss him and choose another. Every field cornet and commandant must have landed property, the latter to the value of £200 at least.

Article 57 declares Roman Dutch law to be the common law of the state.<sup>1</sup>

Articles 58 and 59 declare that the law shall be administered without respect of persons and that every resident shall be held bound to obey it, while articles 60, 61, and 62 guarantee the rights of property, of personal liberty, and of press freedom.

It will be convenient to defer general criticisms upon the frame of government established by this constitution till we have examined that

<sup>1</sup> Roman Dutch law is the common law all over South Africa, even in the almost purely English colony of Natal (though of course not in Portuguese or German territory). It has of course been largely affected, especially in the two British colonies, by recent legislation.



of the sister republic of the Transvaal, which agrees with it in most respects. But we may here briefly note, before passing further, a few remarkable features of the present instrument.

1. It is a Rigid constitution, *i. e.*, one which cannot, as the British constitution, be changed in the same way and by the same authority as that whereby the ordinary law is changed, but which must be changed in some specially prescribed form—in this case, by a three fourths majority of the Volksraad in two successive sessions.

2. The body of the people do not come in as a voting power, save for the election of the president and commandant-general. All other powers, even that of amending the constitution, belong to the Volksraad.

3. There is only one legislative chamber.

4. The president has no veto on the acts of the legislature.

5. The president has the right of addressing the legislature.

6. The president's council is not of his own choosing, but is given him by the legislature.

7. The heads of the executive departments sit neither in the council nor in the legislature.

8. The legislature may apparently reverse any and every act of the president, save those (pardon of offences and declaration of martial law) specially given to him and the executive council.

American readers will have noted for themselves some points in this constitution drawn from that of the United States. Others are said to have been suggested by the constitution framed for the French Republic in 1848. Comparatively few controversies upon the construction of the constitution seem to have been debated with any warmth. One, which gave rise to a difference of opinion between the Volksraad and the supreme court of the state, arose upon the question whether the Volksraad has power to punish a citizen for contempt by committing him to prison for a long term. Public opinion eventually disapproved of the action of the Volksraad, which gave way.

The constitution of the South African Republic, or Transvaal State as it is popularly called, is a much longer, much less clear, and much less systematically arranged document. A considerable part of its contents is indeed unfit, as too minute, for a fundamental instrument of government; and, whatever the intention of its framers may have been, it has not in fact been treated as a fundamental instrument. Whether it is really such, in strict contemplation of law, is a question often discussed in professional circles in Pretoria and Johannesburg. I shall summarize the more important of its provisions—they occupy two



hundred and thirty-two articles—and endeavor therewith to present an outline of the frame of government which they establish.

The Grondwet (ground law) or constitution was drafted by a committee of an assembly of delegates and approved by the assembly itself in February, 1858. It is in Dutch, but an English translation—now difficult to obtain—was made and published in 1879.

Article 6 declares the territory of the republic open to every stranger who submits himself to the laws—a provision noteworthy in view of recent events—and declares all persons within the territory equally entitled to the protection of person and property.

Article 8 states, *inter alia*, that the people “permit the spread of the Gospel among the heathen, subject to prescribed provisions against the practice of fraud and deception”; a provision upon whose intention light is thrown by the hostility of the Boers to the missionaries.

Article 9 declares that “the people will not tolerate equality between colored and white inhabitants either in church or in state.”<sup>1</sup>

Article 10 forbids slavery or dealing in slaves.

Article 19 grants the liberty of the press.

Articles 20 to 23 declare that the people will maintain the principles of the doctrine of the Dutch Reformed Church, as fixed by the Synod of Dort in 1618 and 1619, that the Dutch Reformed Church shall be the church of the state, that no persons shall be elected to the Volksraad who are not members of that church, that no ecclesiastical authority shall be acknowledged save that of the consistories of that church, and that no Roman Catholic churches, nor any Protestant churches save those which teach the doctrine of the Heidelberg Catechism, shall be permitted within the republic.<sup>2</sup>

After these general provisions we come to the frame of government. Legislation is committed to a Volksraad, “the highest authority of the state.” It is to consist of at least twelve members (the number is at present twenty-four) who must be over thirty years of age and possess landed property. Each district returns an equal number of members. Residence within the district is not required of a candidate. The members are elected for two years, and one half retire annually. Every citizen who has reached the age of twenty-one enjoys the suf-

<sup>1</sup> The Boers are a genuinely religious people in their way, and read their Bibles. But they have shown little regard to 1 Corinthians xii, 13; Galatians iii, 28; and Colossians iii, 11.

<sup>2</sup> These provisions seem to have been repealed or allowed to fall into desuetude, except that members of the Volksraad are still required to belong to a Protestant church.



frage<sup>1</sup> (persons of color are of course incapable of voting or of being elected). "Any matters discussed shall be decided by three fourths of the votes." (*Sic.*) [This provision has been repealed.]

Three months are to be given to the people for intimating to the Volksraad their opinion on any proposed law, "except laws which admit of no delay" (§ 12), but laws may be discussed (apparently, however, not enacted) whether published three months before their introduction or introduced during the session of the Volksraad (§ 47). The sittings are to open and close with prayer, and are to be public, unless the chairman, or the president of the executive council, deems secrecy necessary.

If the high court of justice declares the president or any member of the executive council, or the commandant-general, unfit to fill his office, the Volksraad shall remove from office the person so declared unfit and shall provide for filling the vacant office.

The administration, as well as the proposal, of laws is entrusted to an executive council (§ 13). Its president is elected for five years by the citizens voting all over the country. He must have attained the age of thirty and be a member of the Dutch Reformed Church (§ 61). He is the highest officer of the state, and all public servants, except those who administer justice, are subordinate to him and under his supervision (§§ 62 and 81). In case of his death, dismissal, or inability to act, his functions devolve on the oldest member of the executive council till a new appointment is made. The Volksraad shall dismiss him on conviction of any serious offence. He is to propose laws to the Volksraad—"whether emanating from himself or sent in to him by the people"—and support them in that body either personally or through a member of the executive council. He has, however, no right to vote there. He recommends to the Volksraad persons for appointment to public posts; and may suspend public servants, saving his responsibility to the Volksraad. He submits an estimate of revenue and expenditure, reports on his own action during the past year and on the condition of the republic, visits annually all towns and villages where any public office exists to give due opportunity to the inhabitants of stating their wishes.

The executive council consists of four members besides the presi-

<sup>1</sup> The suffrage has by subsequent enactments been greatly restricted as respects immigrants and the sons of immigrants; and at present a person coming into the country cannot obtain full electoral rights till after a period of twelve years.



dent, namely, the government secretary, the commandant-general, and two other members. All except the commandant-general are elected by the Volksraad; the secretary for four years, the two members for three years. The commandant-general is elected by the voters of the whole republic for an unlimited time. All, including the president, are entitled to sit, but not to vote, in the Volksraad, and all must belong to the Dutch Reformed Church. The president and council carry on correspondence with foreign powers, and may commute or remit a penal sentence. A sentence of death requires the unanimous confirmation of the council. The president may, with the unanimous consent of the council, declare war and publish a war ordinance summoning all persons to serve (§§ 26, 70, 86).

The provisions relating to the military organization (§§ 96-126) are interesting, chiefly as indicating the highly militant character of the republic, which makes express provision not only for foreign war and for the maintenance of order at home, but also for the cases of native insurrection and of disaffection or civil war among the whites. The officers are all elected, the commandant-general by the whole body of voters, the commandants by the voters in each district, the field cornets and assistant field cornets in the wards. All are chosen for unlimited terms.

The judiciary (§§ 127-170) consists of landrosts (magistrates), heemraden (local councillors or assessors), and jurors. The provisions regarding the exercise of judicial power are minute and curious in their way, but have no great interest for constitutional purposes. The landrosts are proposed to the people by the executive council, two months being allowed the people for sending in objections to the names suggested. Very minute provisions regarding the oaths to be taken by these officials, their salaries and their duties, including the penalties they may inflict, fill the remaining articles. But the only guarantee for the independence of the courts is to be found in the general statement in article 15 that "the judicial power is vested in landrosts, heemraden, and jurors," and in the declaration (§ 62) that the judicial officers are to be "free and independent" of the president. A supreme court has subsequently, by enactments of 1877, 1881, and 1883, been established, consisting of a chief justice and four puisne judges.

The rest of the Grondwet consists of details relating to civil administration (which is primarily entrusted to the judicial officers, supported by the commandants and field cornets), and the revenue of the state, which was intended to be drawn chiefly from fees and licenses, the people having little disposition to be directly taxed. The farm



tax is not to exceed forty dollars, and the poll-tax, payable by persons without or with only one farm, is fixed at five dollars annually. Five dollars is the payment allowed to each member of the Volksraad for each day's attendance. The salary of the president of the council, which the Grondwet fixes at 5,333 dollars, 2 schellings, and 4 stuivers, to be increased as the revenue increases, now amounts to £7,000 sterling per annum, besides allowances.

The most considerable change made in this constitution, besides the creation of a supreme court already mentioned, has been the establishment, in 1890, of a chamber called the Second Volksraad, which is elected on a more liberal basis than the First Volksraad,—persons who have resided in the country for two years, have taken an oath of allegiance and have complied with divers other requirements, being admissible as voters. This assembly, however, enjoys little real power, for its competency is confined to a few specified matters, and its acts may be overruled by the First Raad, whereas the Second Raad has no power whatever of passing upon the resolutions or laws enacted by the First Raad. The Second Volksraad is, therefore, not a second chamber in the ordinary sense of the term, such as the Senate in American States or the House of Lords in England, but an appendage to the legislature proper. It was never intended to have substantial power, and was, in fact, nothing more than an unreal concession to the demands of the Uitlanders, or recent immigrants excluded from citizenship. To use a colloquial expression, it was a "tub thrown to the Uitlander whale."

A few general observations may be made on this constitution before we proceed to examine its legal character and effect.

It is a crude, untechnical document, showing little trace either of legal skill on the part of those who drafted it, or of a knowledge of other constitutions. The language is often vague, and many of the provisions are far too detailed to be fit for a fundamental law.

Although enacted by and for a pure democracy, it is based on inequality—inequality of whites and blacks, inequality of religious creeds. Not only is the Dutch Reformed Church declared to be established and endowed by the state, but Roman Catholic churches are forbidden to exist, and no Roman Catholic nor Jew nor Protestant of any other than the Dutch Reformed Church is eligible to the presidency, or to membership of the legislature or executive council. Some of these restrictions have now been removed. But the door is barred as firmly as ever against persons of color. No one whose



father or mother belonged to any native race, up to and including the fourth generation, can obtain any civic rights or hold land.

It contains little in the nature of a Bill of Rights, partly perhaps from an oversight on the part of its draftsmen, but partly also owing to the assumption—which the history of the republic, until within the last few years, amply verified,—that the government would be a weak one, unable to encroach upon the rights of private citizens.

The first legal question which arises upon an examination of this constitution relates to its stability and permanence. Is it a Rigid or a Flexible constitution? That is to say, can it, like the constitution of the Orange Free State, be altered only in some specially prescribed fashion? Or may it be altered by the ordinary legislature in the ordinary way, like any other part of the law?

In favor of the former alternative, that the constitution is a Rigid one, appeal has been made not only to the name *Grondwet* (ground law), but, which is of more consequence, to much of its language. The general declarations of the power of the people, the form in which they entrust power to the legislature, to the executive council, and to the judiciary respectively (as well as to the military authority), look as if they meant to constitute a triad of authorities, similar to that created by the constitutions of American States, no one of which may trespass on the province of the others. Some things seem intended to be secured against any alteration by the legislature, *e. g.*, article 9 declares that “the people will not allow of any equality between colored and white inhabitants”; article 11 declares that “the people reserve to themselves the exclusive right of protecting and defending the independence and inviolability of church and state, according to the laws.” Moreover, the *Grondwet*, although enacted by a body called a *Volksraad*, and never submitted to a popular vote, was enacted by a *Volksraad* specially elected *ad hoc*, not by the ordinary legislature of the republic; hence, it is urged, it ought, if altered, to be altered by a similar body.

On the other hand it is argued that the constitution must be deemed to be a Flexible one, because it contains no provision whereby it may be altered, otherwise than by the regular legislature of the country acting according to its usual legislative method. It can hardly be supposed that no change was intended ever to be made in the *Grondwet*. That supposition would be absurd in view of the very minute provisions on some trivial subjects which it contains. No distinction is drawn, by the terms of the instrument, between these minutiae and



the provisions of a more general and apparently permanent nature. *Ergo*, all must be alterable, and alterable by the only legislative authority, that is to say, the Volksraad. This view, moreover, is the view which the legislature has in fact taken, and in which the people seem to have acquiesced. Some changes have been made—such as the admission to the electoral franchise of persons not belonging to the Dutch Reformed Church, the creation of a new supreme court, and the establishment of a Second Volksraad,—which are not consistent with the Grondwet, but whose validity has not been seriously contested.

The difficulty which arises from the fact that, whereas the framers of the Grondwet appear to have desired to make parts of their work fundamental and unchangeable, they have nevertheless drawn no distinction between those parts and the rest, and have provided no specific security against the reckless change of the weightiest parts, may be explained by noting that they were not skilled jurists or politicians, alive to the delicacy of the task they had undertaken. They probably expected that the Volksraad would continue to be of the same mind as they were then, and would respect what they considered fundamental; they relied on the general opinion of the nation. They had, moreover, provided a method whereby the nation should always have an opportunity of expressing its opinion upon legislation, namely, the provision (§ 12) that the people should have a period of three months within which to “intimate to the Volksraad their views on any proposed law,” it being assumed that the Volksraad would obey any such intimation, although no means is provided for securing that it will do so.

This provision has given rise to a curious question. It excepts “those laws which admit of no delay.” Now the Volksraad has in fact neglected the general provision, and, instead of allowing the three months’ period, has frequently hastily passed enactments upon which the people have had no opportunity of expressing their opinion. Such enactments, which have in some instances purported to alter parts of the Grondwet itself, are called “resolutions,” as opposed to laws; and when objection has been taken to this mode of legislation, these resolutions seem to have been usually justified on the ground of urgency, although in fact many of them, though important, were by no means urgent. They have been treated as equally binding with laws passed in accordance with the provisions of the Grondwet (for article 12 has never been formally altered); and it is only recently that their validity has been seriously questioned in the courts. Those who support their validity argue that in passing such resolutions as laws, the Volksraad



must be taken to have implicitly, but decisively, repealed the provision of article 12; or that, if this be not so, still the Volksraad is under article 12 the sole judge of what is urgent, and can by its vote legally make things urgent which are, in fact, not so; or that, if both these arguments be unsound, then the unbroken usage of the Volksraad during a number of years, tacitly approved by the people, may, according to the doctrine of Roman Dutch law, be taken to have practically rendered obsolete the directions of article 12, as it is written. *In-veterata consuetudo pro lege custoditur . . . nam quid interest suffragio populus voluntatem suam declaret an rebus ipsis et factis?* (Digest I. 2, 32). To this, however, it is answered that the principle of obsolescence by contrary practice cannot, even in Roman law, fitly be applied where the statute is recent and express. Nor do I doubt that most American lawyers would conceive the arguments above stated to be insufficient, and would hold that these resolutions are not to be treated as equivalent to laws passed conformably to article 12.

On a review of the whole matter, which is of no small practical consequence, the true view would appear to be the following, though I state it with the diffidence becoming a stranger who is also imperfectly informed as to the constitutional history of the republic.

The Grondwet of the South African Republic, though probably intended by its framers to be treated, at least as regards its most important provisions, as a fundamental law not to be altered by the Volksraad in the exercise of its ordinary powers, is not really a Rigid constitution but a Flexible one. We have to look not so much at what the framers may have wished as at what their language actually conveys and imports; and the absence of any provision, such as that contained in the constitution of the Orange Free State, for a special and peculiar method of change, seems to be decisive. But article 12 is still in force, and the validity of all laws,—not dealing with matters which “admit of no delay,”—which have been passed as mere resolutions, ignoring article 12, is very doubtful. The question of what matters are or are not urgent can scarcely have been meant to be left to the absolute and unfettered discretion of the Volksraad, for this would destroy the value of the provision; and, if not left to that discretion, this question would seem to be a matter for the determination of the courts of law, when any question raising it comes before them. This is at any rate the kind of light in which an American or English lawyer, accustomed to construe strictly documents which contain or modify powers, would be disposed to regard the point. I



understand that in the Transvaal itself the validity of these enactments is deemed so far doubtful that a plan has been considered by the government for direct legislation, formally correct, to cure their defects.

This somewhat technical discussion will, I hope, be pardoned in the United States, where the fact that questions on the interpretation of constitutions have been debated very frequently and with inexhaustible skill and ingenuity emboldens a writer to treat of topics which the unprofessional reader cannot, in other countries, be supposed to care for. Such a reader may, however, even in the United States, be more willing to give his attention to a few observations upon the frame of government and the political system which these two constitutions have established in the two republics of South Africa.

That system is obviously a highly democratic one. It was intended so to be. Among the whites settled in these wide territories there prevailed a perfect social equality, a love of independence, and a strong sense of personal dignity. They were as little influenced by political theories as it was possible for any civilized men in this century to be. Their wish for a government purely popular, and indeed very little of any government at all, was due to their personal experience and the conditions under which they found themselves in the wilderness; and one may doubt whether they would have established any sort of government but for the dangers which threatened them from the warlike native tribes which surrounded them. Such sentiments as I have described would have disposed them, had they lived in a city, or in a small area like the cantons of Uri or Appenzell in Switzerland, to have kept legislation and the determination of all grave affairs in the hands of a general meeting of the citizens. But they lived scattered over a vast area, with no means of communication save ox-wagons which travel only some twelve miles a day. In the Orange River Territory when it became a state there were probably less than three thousand citizens, though its area was nearly that of England. Hence primary assemblies were impossible, and power had to be entrusted to a representative body.

The predominance of the legislature is the most conspicuous feature of both these constitutions. The Volksraad makes all the appointments to the civil service, for the president has only the right of proposing. It appoints a majority of the executive council which surrounds the president, to advise, but also to watch and check him. It has complete control of revenue and expenditure. It may change the constitution; though, in the Orange Free State, only by a pre-



scribed majority. The president has no veto on its acts; and it is not, as in most modern free countries, divided into two chambers likely to differ from and embarrass one another. Its vote,—its one vote,—given under no restrictions but those of its own making, is decisive.

The comparative feebleness of the other branches of government corresponds to the overwhelming strength of the legislature. The judiciary receives very faint recognition, and its independence was in fact, in the South African Republic, seriously threatened by the executive and legislature, and saved only by the exertions of the bench and bar, which aroused public opinion on its behalf. Its claim to be the proper and authoritative interpreter of the constitution, though clear upon principle, does not seem to have been formally admitted in either republic. And though the judges are in both republics appointed for life, their salaries are at the mercy of the legislature.

The executive head of the government has no doubt the advantage, as in an American State, of being directly chosen by the people, and not, as in France, by the legislature. But he has no veto on acts of the legislature, while his acts can be overruled by it, at least in the Orange Free State.

Its approval is required to any appointments he may suggest. He is fettered by an executive council which he has not himself selected, resembling in this respect an American State governor rather than the president of the Union. He has no military authority, such as that enjoyed by the British crown and its ministers, or by the American president, for that belongs to the commandant-general (though in the Orange Free State the commandant “receives instructions” from the president). Against all these sources of weakness there are only two things to set. The president can speak in the Volksraad, and he is reeligible any number of times. To these it may be added that in the Transvaal, though not in the Free State, the Volksraad cannot try him for any offence, though it may depose him if convicted by the regular courts.

The executive council, as already observed, seems intended to restrain the president, while purporting to aid and advise him. It may be compared to the privy council of mediæval England, with the important difference that it is appointed, not by the executive, but partly by the legislature, partly by the people. As we shall see presently, it has proved to be an unimportant part of the machinery of government.

In all these points the two constitutions present a close likeness. They are also similar in their recognition of a state church—an institu-



tion opposed to democratic ideas in America, and scarcely less so in Western Europe, and in their total exclusion of persons of color from any and every kind of political right. It would appear that upon this point there has never been any substantial difference of opinion in the two republics, although in Cape Colony persons of color are permitted to vote, and in some constituencies are pretty numerous. A republican form of government, therefore, does not necessarily appear to make for "human rights" in the American sense of that term.

Speaking generally, these two constitutions carry the principle of the omnipotence of the representative chamber to a maximum. This will be more clearly seen if we compare the system they create, first with the cabinet system of Britain and her self-governing colonies, and secondly with the presidential system of the United States.

The main difference between the South African scheme of government and the British may now be briefly stated.

The head of the executive is, in the South African republics, chosen directly by the people, whereas in Britain and her colonies the ministry is virtually chosen by the legislature, though nominally by the crown or its local representative.

In South Africa the ministry cannot, as under the British system, be dismissed by a vote of the legislature, nor on the other hand has the ministry the power of dissolving the legislature.

In South Africa the nominal is also the real and acting executive head, whereas in the British system a responsible ministry is interposed between the nominal head and the legislature.

In all the above-mentioned points the South African system bears a close resemblance to the American.

In South Africa the president's council need not consist of persons in agreement with his views of policy; it may even be hostile to him, as part of Warren Hastings's council at Calcutta was in permanent opposition to that governor. Nor does the executive council consist, like the British cabinet and United States federal cabinet, of the heads of the great administrative departments.

On the other hand the South African system agrees with the British in permitting the head of the working executive to speak in the legislature, a permission which has proved to be of the highest importance, and which neither the federal president<sup>1</sup> nor the governor in an American State enjoys.

<sup>1</sup> Although there is nothing in the federal constitution to prevent a president from addressing either House of Congress.



The chief differences between the South African and the American system are the following :

The president has, in the South African republics, far less independence than a federal president or the governor of a State. He has no veto on acts of the legislature, and much less power through the patronage at his disposal ; for though he can recommend persons for appointment to public office, and, at least in the Transvaal, signs the documents appointing them, the appointment itself would seem to be regarded as the act of the Volksraad. Moreover the one-chambered legislature is much stronger as against him than are the two-chambered legislatures of America, which may, and frequently do, differ in opinion, so that the executive can play off one against the other. Further, as already observed, an American federal president has a cabinet of advisers whom he has himself selected, and an American State governor has usually officials around him who, being elected by a party vote at the same election, are probably his political allies ; whereas a South African president may have an executive council of opponents forced on him by the Volksraad. And even in negotiations with foreign states, he cannot act apart from this executive council.

If we were to rely upon the legal aspect and effect of the provisions of these South African constitutions as enabling us to predict their practical working, we should expect to find them producing a despotism, perhaps a tyranny, of the representative assembly ; for few checks upon its power are to be found within the four corners of either instrument. We should be prepared to find party government develop itself in a pronounced form. Power would be concentrated in the party majority and its leaders. The executive would become the humble instrument of their will. The courts of law, especially in the Transvaal with its apparently Flexible constitution, would be unable to stem the tide of legislative violence. The president might perhaps attempt to resist by producing a deadlock over appointments ; and he would have a certain moral advantage in being the direct choice of the people. But the one-chambered legislature would in all probability prevail against him.

Is this what has in fact happened ? Far from it. Party government, in the English and American sense, has not made its appearance. The legislature has not become the predominant power, subjecting all others to itself. But in order to describe what has happened, I must, in a very few paragraphs, deal separately with the Orange Free State and the South African Republic, for though their constitutions are



similar and the origin of their respective populations nearly identical,<sup>1</sup> their history has been very different.

The Orange Free State has had, during recent years, a comparatively tranquil and uneventful career. One native war inflicted some injury upon it, but the result of that war was to give it a strip of valuable territory. It has maintained friendly relations with the two British colonies, has extended the franchise to immigrants on easy terms, and has at all times been recognized as absolutely independent by the British Government. Internally its development, if not rapid, has been steady and healthful. There is no poverty among the people, and hardly any wealth. No exciting questions have arisen to divide the citizens, and no political parties have grown up. The legislature, although too large, is a sensible, business-like body, which wastes no more time than is compatible with its being a legislature. From 1863 to 1888 it was guided by the counsels of President Brand, whom the people elected for five successive terms, and whose power of sitting in it and addressing it proved of the utmost value, for his judgment and patriotism inspired perfect confidence. His successor, who has just been obliged by ill-health to retire from office, enjoyed equal respect and almost equal influence, when he chose to exert it, with the Volksraad, and things went smoothly under him, as they promise to do under the president who has been chosen as I write these lines, for the latter also is believed to possess the qualities which endeared his predecessors to the community. The executive council has not proved to be a very valuable part of the scheme of government; and some judicious observers think the constitution ought to be amended by strengthening the position of the courts and introducing some popular vote on constitutional amendments, such as exists in American States and in Switzerland. But, on the whole, the system of government works well; the legislature is pure, and the people seem content with their institutions.

Very different have been the annals of the South African Republic. Soon after the Grondwet was adopted in 1858, a civil war broke out; and from that time onward factions and troubles of all kinds have seldom been wanting. In 1877 the country, then gravely threatened by native enemies, was annexed to the British dominions: in 1881 its autonomy was restored, subject to British suzerainty.<sup>2</sup> Its government, however, continued to be pressed by financial and other

<sup>1</sup> The British element is larger in the Orange Free State than in the Transvaal.

<sup>2</sup> A further convention was made in 1884, whose effect has been recently matter of controversy.



difficulties, till the discovery of rich gold-fields in 1884-6, while suddenly increasing the revenue, drew in a stream of immigrants which has steadily continued to flow, and therewith raised that new crop of political troubles of which the world has lately heard so much. The result has been that the constitution has never had any period of comparative peace in which its working could be fairly tested. If it has not worked as smoothly as that of the Free State, this may be due not merely to its inherent defects but to the strain which civil and foreign wars have placed upon it. The legislature, however, has not played the leading part. President Burgers, who held office from 1872 till 1877, was, like President M. W. Pretorius before him, practically more powerful than the Volksraad; and since 1881 President Krüger, who has been twice reelected, has been the ruling force in the politics of the country. By his influence over the people, by his constant presence and incessant speeches in the Volksraad, he has thrown its leaders entirely into the shade, and probably now exerts more actual power than the chief magistrate of any other republic, though there is scarcely any other chief magistrate whose legal authority is confined within such narrow limits. So much do economic and social facts,—and so much do the qualities of individual men,—affect and modify and prevail over the formal rules and constitutional machinery of government. The legislature, therefore, has not had in the Transvaal that career of encroachment upon and triumph over the other authorities in the state which might have been predicted for it. Its turn will come if and when external relations are tranquil, and a man deficient in force or tact or ambition fills the presidential chair.

How far either of these constitutions deserves praise or blame, or has added anything of permanent value to the constitutional treasures of mankind, is a matter not yet ripe for determination. The experience of each has been too short to warrant positive conclusions. One has had a generally bright, the other a more checkered, course; but in both cases the surrounding circumstances may have had more to do with the result than the arrangements of the constitution itself. One may doubt whether either is as well suited for a community in which grave questions rouse warm feelings as the more flexible system of the British colonies. But we may learn much more from the experience of the next few years in both republics; and there is a constant interest in watching the different ways in which different peoples are trying to grapple with the perpetual, and certainly not diminishing, difficulties of popular government.

JAMES BRYCE.



## THE CATHODE RAY,—ITS CHARACTER AND EFFECTS.

It is seldom, in the history of science, that a discovery equally excites the interest of scientific investigators, and of those occupied with other pursuits. But when such an event reveals a new and unsuspected play of forces, and brings to light a multitude of novel phenomena which stand in an intimate relation to the conditions of every-day experience, it appeals in no ordinary way to the attention of every one. It is not surprising, therefore, that the announcement of the remarkable results recently obtained by Prof. Röntgen, of Würzburg, should at once have aroused the greatest interest everywhere.

The history of the steps which have led to this discovery is a long one, but the principal events follow along the line of researches into the character of the electrical discharge, from Faraday to the present time. The passage of a spark between the poles of an electrical machine, or from the knob of a Leyden jar, is a very familiar occurrence in elementary science. Yet it is a phenomenon of which the full significance is even now but imperfectly comprehended. What is the direction of the motion, what the action that takes place, and where the seat of the forces therein displayed? These are some of the questions to which science can hardly yet give an unequivocal answer, though we appear to be approaching at least their partial solution.

If we surround the wires between which the electrical discharge occurs with a glass tube so firmly closed that no air can enter, and connect the tube with an efficient air-pump, it will be found that very great changes in the character of the spark will appear as the air is gradually withdrawn from the space enclosed by the tube. The narrow, tortuous, thread-like spark loses its definite outline, becomes enlarged, hazy in structure, and takes on a rosy purple tint. As the exhaustion proceeds it progressively expands, becomes more and more nebulous in its appearance, and its length may be very greatly augmented by increasing the interval between the wires. When the pressure of the gas within the tube has been reduced to something like the hundredth part of that of the atmosphere, the luminous haze fills the entire tube, and glows brightly with tints varying with the kind of gas



enclosed, and often very beautiful. Already, long before this point has been reached, the discharge at the negative pole, or cathode, has begun to show its individuality, first, by the creeping of the luminous stream backward, so as to form a kind of sheath or envelope of the wire, of a characteristic bluish color, then, as the exhaustion proceeds, by becoming independent of the position of the positive wire, or anode, and extending outward from the wire in every direction. These are the first steps in the development of the cathode ray.

Such tubes as have been described, provided with wires of platinum sealed into the glass, for the conveyance of the electrical discharge within, are commonly known as vacuum-tubes. They were formerly sometimes called Plücker's tubes, from the name of the distinguished German physicist who first made use of certain forms of them in researches upon the electrical discharge in rarefied gases, and sometimes Geissler's tubes, from the name of the very skilful German glass-blower who, working at first under Plücker's direction, afterward gave them a great variety of forms, to exhibit in a striking manner the beautiful effects of which they are capable.

Plücker's researches anticipated much of the more recent work, which, in many points, has merely emphasized and developed his results. Later he was associated in this work with Hittorf, who possessed great experimental skill, in which Plücker was somewhat deficient. Hittorf first called attention to some of the peculiarities of the discharge from the cathode in an exhausted tube. He discovered that it takes place perpendicularly to the surface of the cathode, that it travels in straight lines, is independent of the position of the anode, and is capable of deflection by a magnet. The metal of the cathode is also dissipated by the discharge, and, where the degree of exhaustion is sufficient, is deposited upon the walls of the tube. This effect showed itself very early in the history of the vacuum-tube by the discoloration which it produced upon the glass. More recently a study of the conditions under which it takes place has been made, and the varying effects, when different metals are used as the cathode, examined in detail. It has been found that, when the operation is properly conducted, the metal is carried to the glass in such a way as to form a coherent film, very transparent when sufficiently thin, and having a brilliant lustre, so that the process is available for the production of small mirrors of admirable reflecting power.

The invention of the mercury air-pump made it possible to carry the exhaustion of a tube to almost any desired extent. It had already



been used with great success by Geissler, but a new step was taken by Crookes, which proved to be of great importance, and led to the discovery of many curious effects. Mr. Crookes experimented with tubes in which the exhaustion was pushed to an extreme degree, so far, indeed, that the slight remnant of gas left behind possessed a tension of only a few millionths of an atmosphere. At this pressure the former luminous appearance of the tube no longer manifests itself, and there is little or no visible trace of the discharge stream from the cathode or elsewhere. The glass, however, now glows with a green fluorescence where the stream comes in contact with it, and suitably selected objects in its path, within the tube, glow with vivid colors, forming a most brilliant spectacle.

These experiments attracted immediate attention, especially in Germany, where great progress has been made in the study of the cathode discharge. Passing over many valuable contributions of others, we come to the work of Philipp Lenard, the pupil and successor of Hertz, at the University of Bonn, who published two papers in "*Wiedemann's Annalen*," in January, 1894, and October, 1895, which may be justly considered as the real origin of the recent revelations concerning the production of photographic pictures by the cathode rays. Lenard employed the ingenious device of making a window in the vacuum-tube, closed with a thin sheet of aluminium. This metal is very pervious to the rays, and this property enabled him, for the first time, to obtain them in the air outside the tube, where they could be conveniently subjected to experiment. He found that they readily penetrated a great variety of substances, even those opaque to light, and that, in a general way, they traversed substances without regard to the kind of matter in their path, but approximately in the order of the density. From this he drew the conclusion that they are phenomena of the ether. He obtained photographic pictures by their action, and this in an opaque metallic box, one side of which was closed with sheet aluminium. Many other questions were studied by him, and the newspapers abound with accounts of significant experiments and valuable results. His work was widely recognized, and it has been the starting-point of many researches on the part of others.

Prof. Röntgen appears to have been one of those who followed in the line of experiment indicated by Lenard, for he describes methods such as would naturally be used by any one studying the character of the new rays. His account, published in the "*Journal of the Physical and Medical Society*" of Würzburg, in the latter part of 1895,



is admirably concise and lucid, and is full of noteworthy particulars. He has been the first to show the astonishing power of the rays to produce effects upon the photographic plate, after having traversed considerable masses of material opaque to light, thus revealing their hidden structure, where any want of homogeneity produced a difference of effect. In this way it has been found easily possible to obtain pictures of various portions of the human body, in which the bones are clearly and strongly depicted in their proper form amid the fainter image of the fleshy parts. These, with many similar results, were so startling in their character, that they immediately aroused, throughout the civilized world, an intensity of interest such as has rarely been equalled in the whole history of science.

He further expressed the opinion that the rays which produce these results are not the same as the cathode rays within the tube, but something essentially different, suggesting, but with cautious reserve, that they may be longitudinal waves in the ether. It may be briefly explained, without going into the details of a very technical subject, that ordinary light is regarded as due to vibrations which are at right angles to the direction in which the ray travels, but that, in the mathematical theories of light, other vibrations, in the direction of the ray, are indicated, though wholly unknown in experience hitherto. If the new rays prove in fact to be of this character, so as to realize indeed the long-sought longitudinal vibration, the discovery is of the first importance in science, and will hardly find its equal in interest since the discovery of the law of gravitation; for it reveals a new mode of action of force, governing a wide range of phenomena and effects which, until now, have lain entirely outside the bounds of our cognizance.

The name of Prof. Röntgen was one already well known in connection with many scientific researches, fruitful of valuable results. His work has a certain individuality and boldness of conception, ingenuity of method, and fertility of experimental resources. The personality of the man shows itself in the aspect of novelty which he has given to the facts already practically acquired by the researches of others, and the quick perception and realization of the possibilities which lay in them. His views as to the nature of the rays may not be sustained, as there is much to indicate that they may differ from the cathode rays in degree only, and not in kind, or that they are merely the cathode rays rendered less complex, or more homogeneous, by traversing the walls of the vacuum tube. This is a question to be settled by future research,



and it may prove one not to be solved without much persevering labor. However this may be, there can be but one opinion as to the value of the practical applications of the new discovery, especially in surgery and pathology, and of the benefits which they may bring to suffering humanity.

For the production of the cathode pictures a high-vacuum tube is used, excited by an energetic induction-coil, and so placed that the negative electrode is directed toward a photographic plate situated a few inches from the tube. This is the position usually given the tube, though recent experiments appear to indicate that the rays may possibly emanate from parts of the glass struck by the cathode stream, and that the orientation of the tube admits of some variation. The sensitive plate may be enclosed in the case ordinarily used for containing it, and covered by the slide of ebonite employed to protect the sensitive surface from the light; for this material, while practically opaque to luminous rays, is traversed with great facility by the cathode rays. The objects to be subjected to the influence of the rays are placed upon the slide, and leave their impress upon the plate by partially intercepting the rays, thus forming a shadow-like picture. But it is more than a shadow; for every difference in the power of the various parts of the object to transmit the rays is productive of a corresponding depth of tint in the picture, which thus, to some extent, discloses the interior and invisible structure of the body tested. Wood, paper, and other organic substances are very transparent to the new rays, and metal or mineral substances, enclosed in cases of these materials, are strongly shown in the pictures in consequence of their greater opacity. This property of the rays cannot fail to find many useful practical applications.

In their action upon the tissues of animal bodies the rays show great variety of effect. The flesh and soft parts of the body are much more freely traversed than the bones, so that, if the exposure is continued for a sufficiently long time, the bones are very prominently shown in all details of form, while the fleshy parts leave only a comparatively faint impression. The importance of this result in medical and surgical practice can hardly be overestimated. Malformations, dislocations, and imperfectly adjusted fractures of the bones can be studied in the cathode picture almost as readily as in the skeleton. The softer tissues of the body are so nearly alike in transparency, for the rays, that they are much less clearly differentiated. Yet even here something is shown. The cartilages and tendons are distinguished



from the muscular parts by their greater opacity, and even the nerves and blood-vessels are to some extent revealed. How far abnormal growths or pathologic modifications of these tissues can be detected remains to be discovered; but the presence in them of foreign substances, such as various forms of calculus, bullets, pieces of glass, needles, and the like, can readily be determined. In this direction many successful applications are already reported.

Thus far investigation has been limited, as a general rule, by the inability to obtain photographs by the rays through masses of the body thicker than the hand, foot, or fore-arm, without an inconveniently long exposure, though some good results are reported as obtained in comparatively short periods. It is too early to determine the most efficient means of applying the discovery, but many investigators are at work, and it is to be expected that substantial progress will very speedily result from their efforts.

Scientifically considered, the rays, whether or not their true nature be ere long definitely ascertained, will unquestionably prove to be a very valuable and powerful instrument of electrical research.

One of the most interesting features of the new discovery is the illustration it affords of the great power of modern scientific methods in tracing the effects of subtle influences which for a long time had completely eluded observation. The mere production of these curious pictures is a matter of extreme simplicity,—now that we know the secret,—and it seems a marvel, almost commensurate with the discovery itself, that it was not found out by accident long ago. Yet it is the logical outcome of a long course of patient and persistent labors by many skilful investigators. Waves of inductive action have undoubtedly attended electrical discharges wherever they occurred, and have passed unheeded, undetected. Maxwell had divined their existence, but the genius of Hertz revealed their presence, subjected them to measurement, and opened a new chapter in the theory of light. So it comes to pass that the blue haze around the negative electrode of a vacuum-tube,—first noticed as a curious peculiarity, then studied as a possible clue to the nature of electrical discharges under certain conditions, now disclosing a series of novel effects and a mode of operation of natural force hitherto unknown—reveals a wide and most promising field of scientific research.

ARTHUR W. WRIGHT.



## TEACHING,—A TRADE OR A PROFESSION? <sup>1</sup>

THE end of education is the actualization of the capacities of the human soul. It is in fact nothing less than the perfecting of manhood—the realization in each pupil of what each has it in him to become. But the child is not a chaos of potencies; he is an economy, an organization of faculties, of which reason and conscience are the crowning glory and the controlling authority. The teacher's peculiar work, therefore, is to develop, or rather to use those means which will incite the child to develop, his moral and rational self-activity. In the discharge of this function the teacher's own character is an element of even greater importance than his scholarship, though with defective scholarship no teacher can ever succeed. It is possible in mechanical pursuits to separate the workman from his work; in spiritual callings it is impossible. And in none is there greater or closer intimacy and contact between the agent and the object upon which he operates, than in the case of the schoolmaster. He teaches not only by his sayings and doings, but by the unvoiced and unwilled influence of his whole personality. Whether he will or no, his character in due time will mould the character of his pupils.

"The essential principle of education," said Pestalozzi, "is not teaching, it is love." In other words, the ideal teacher must have a heart as well as an intellect. It is soul that kindles soul. How subtle, but how real, is the contagious influence of personality. The disciple is not above his master; and if parents and teachers would see their children and pupils modest, polite, veracious, kind, just, loving, and loyal, their own characters must be established, their own lives animated, by the rule and spirit of these principles and sentiments. Dr. Arnold was right in insisting that the Rugby master should be "a Christian and a gentleman, an active man, and one who has common sense and understands boys." First the man, then the schoolmaster! The elevating and inspiring personality is hidden behind, or rather beams through, every great educator. A sound character, a loving

<sup>1</sup> From an address delivered February 18th before the National Educational Association, Department of Superintendence, at Jacksonville, Florida.



heart, and an enthusiastic soul are the spiritual roots, as an active brain and a level head are the intellectual roots, which nourish that substantive manhood required for the making of teachers.

I put these native endowments of heart and mind, and especially the ethical graces, in the foreground of our picture of the ideal teacher. Nevertheless I lay very great stress upon the scholastic and pedagogical qualifications. Though they are secondary, though they are subsidiary to the ethical attributes of heart and character which I have already mentioned, yet they are the only attainments by which a candidate's fitness to assume the functions of teaching may be subjected to any sort of test. It is at this point, and this point alone, that the public is in a position to protect itself from the presumptuous incapacity of those blind leaders who would otherwise undertake the education of the rising generation.

Let us then address ourselves to the very heart of our problem, and see what, in the public interest, we have a right to demand of young men and women in the way of knowledge and skill as a prerequisite for the exercise of the teaching function. This inquiry will lead us into some observations on the present condition of the teaching profession, in the course of which I shall compare it with the kindred vocations—the so-called “learned professions”—of law, medicine, and theology. Though the instruction of youth has become a public function, it is still as difficult to find properly qualified teachers as it was in those days of private and domestic tutoring when Socrates put his memorable question to Callias, the son of Hipponicus. With a shrewd irony that cut to the heart of things Socrates asked his enlightened townsman:—“Callias, if your two sons were foals or calves, there would be no difficulty in finding some one to put over them; we should hire a trainer of horses, or a farmer probably, who would improve and perfect them in their own proper virtue and excellence; but, as they are human beings, whom are you thinking of placing over them?”<sup>1</sup> *As they are human beings!* Everybody conceded that an expert was needed to train a foal; but the Athenian people had not yet attained the philosopher's insight that the education of human minds still more imperatively demands qualifications of a rare and special order.

Have the American people reached this higher point of view? They send 15,400,000 pupils to their schools, public and private; and for their public schools alone they engage 383,010 teachers and incur

<sup>1</sup> Plato's “Apology,” p. 20.



an annual expenditure of \$163,000,000.<sup>1</sup> These figures show the vast significance for us of the problem raised by Socrates. No longer a question of one tutor, one family, and one salary, it is here and now a question of hundreds of thousands of teachers, millions of pupils, and hundreds of millions of dollars. "Whom are you thinking of placing over them?"—this innumerable throng of boys and girls—is an inquiry of vital concern to every parent in the United States. Indeed, it touches the life-blood of our Republic and is one with the spirit of our civilization.

In the complexity of modern society, with its method of legislation and administration by means of selected officials, the individual citizen has little direct influence upon routine public affairs. Of course the machine which grinds out the people's business may be controlled either by altering its structure or changing the mechanics. Still it takes time to make these modifications, which, as a rule, are brought about only by an appeal to public opinion. To-morrow may be in our hands, but to-day has already gone out from beyond the control of any private citizen. This is why the liberty and safety of a people are so dependent upon their laws and institutions. If the system is good, it is harder for officials to pervert it from its own ends. Excellence of organization must, therefore, always be the chief aim of a free people who will not surrender their freedom. Nor is there any part of the administration of public affairs which can be exempted from the operation of this maxim. To the system of public instruction it is especially applicable. For, in the first place, modern democracies compel parents to send their children to school; then, the training of youthful minds is the most important thing in the world; and, finally, as the individual parent can have no direct voice in the selection of teachers, he has the right to demand that the board of education, to which the community has entrusted the task, shall be guided by a system which is calculated to secure competent, efficient, and well-trained instructors. To put children to poor schools is not a right inherent in any commonwealth. Responsibility determines the limit of right; and the right of a state to have the children of its citizens educated is commensurate with the responsibility of the state to provide them with good teachers and protect them from professional incapacity and malpractice.

I cannot say, however, that teaching has amongst us attained the dignity of a profession. But, in virtue of the intellectual character of

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 2-3 of the last "Report of the Commissioner of Education," just issued. Though dated 1895, its statistics are of 1892-3.



the work, the special qualifications demanded of the teacher, and the indispensable need of the public to be protected against educational incompetence, teaching, if not yet an actual, is at any rate a potential, profession, which is destined at no distant day to put on its own proper rights, dignities, and prerogatives. When we reflect upon the circumstances which justify and even necessitate the establishment of guilds to which admittance is gained only upon the presentation of a certificate of competence, we must acknowledge that teaching is not less entitled to professional sanctions than law or medicine.

In practice, however, this vocation has one serious drawback from which no other learned profession suffers. The lawyer, the engineer, the physician, the architect, the clergyman, all expect to remain in their respective professions. Though changes do sometimes occur they are, as it were, accidental; they were not planned from the first; they are unexpected and unpremeditated. But with the teacher his work is often and will continue to be a mere stepping-stone to something else. Teaching is not so much his vocation as his avocation. This is not only a matter of common and almost proverbial observation, but is also susceptible of statistical demonstration. The increase in the total number of teachers in the United States from June 1891 to June 1892 was less than 2 per cent; but during that same year nearly 17 per cent of the teachers were wholly inexperienced beginners.<sup>1</sup> There had been an exodus, therefore, from the profession of about 15 per cent of its members during the year. Of these not more than 2 per cent would be accounted for by death. Consequently, if it were safe to generalize from data drawn from the experience of a single year, we should infer that the average length of the professional career of the American teacher is between seven and eight years. Fortunately, we have a partial verification of this conclusion, as one State, New Jersey, records the terms of service of its teachers. In that State the average time of service has been found to be seven years and eight months.<sup>2</sup> Of these Jersey teachers only 30.7 per cent have taught ten years or over, and only 3.9 per cent twenty-five years or over. That this rapid disappearance of teachers of experience must be due to local and national causes is evident from the fact that in the *Volksschulen* of Prussia 55.4 per cent of the whole number of teachers have served ten years and upward and 20.4 per cent twenty-five years and upward.

<sup>1</sup> Calculated from column 7 of table 13 (p. 60) in combination with the figures of diagram 9 (p. 55) of the "Report of the Commissioner of Education" for 1894 (which deals with the statistics of 1891-2).

<sup>2</sup> Ibid, p. 61.



With the development of our civilization on its higher sides, and with consequent improvements in the position of our intellectual workers, we are pretty certain to see a falling off in the recurring decimation of the ranks of our teachers. But, after all allowance is made for preventable changes, it must still be admitted that the teaching profession will always have a more or less fluctuating membership. In the first place, young men and women who have completed their own education often need to earn money by teaching; and, if they are competent to teach, as some of them even without prolonged professional training are competent—sympathy with children and natural aptness giving them an intuitive skill—they will always find positions, and it would be a distinct loss and a great folly for the community to forego the advantage of such services solely because they were not to be rendered for life. But, secondly, the most potent agent in the disruption of the teaching corps is matrimony. Men can marry and teach; women cannot. Now two thirds of all the teachers in the United States are women. In Massachusetts and New Hampshire more than nine tenths of the teachers are women; in the rest of the New England States and in New York and New Jersey more than five sixths are women. The absolute number of male teachers in the entire country was not as great when the last census was taken as it was in 1880. In 1880-1 there were 293,860 teachers in the United States and in 1891-2 there were 374,460; of the former number 122,511 were men, of the latter 121,638. Even in 1892-3, when the total number of teachers had increased to 383,010, the male teachers (122,056) were not so numerous as in 1880, while since that date the number of female teachers has increased about 70 per cent.

I see no reason for thinking that the uninterrupted gain, relative and absolute, in the number of women teachers since 1880 is not destined to continue. And, considering the large part which the teacher plays in forming the mind and character of the rising generation, I regard it of good augury that woman's sympathy, quick intuition, purity and piety of heart have been so increasingly enlisted in the noble art of teaching, especially in the primary schools. If she is thoroughly trained, her services, though liable at any time to be cut short, are of inestimable value in the education of our children.

But, if the ordinances of nature make it impossible for most members of the teaching profession to serve for life, it is all the more incumbent on society to see that all who do enlist, whether for longer or shorter periods, shall be thoroughly qualified for the service. It



now remains to consider how this requirement shall be met. In the light of all that has been said it is perfectly clear that the sole hope of the profession of teaching lies in the insistence upon high standards of qualification for the office.

The condition for admittance to any learned profession is that the candidates shall have some general education and some special training. I say "some"; for even in the case of the older professions the amounts are fluctuating and indeterminate. The ideal clergyman, lawyer, and physician is no doubt one who, along with his other qualifications, has had a college education and a subsequent training in a professional school,—the whole occupying a period of six or seven years. I need not say that in practice the breach of this rule is more frequent than its observance. In 1891-2 there were in the United States 25,954 students of medicine in all its branches, and of these only 1,342 were reported as having literary or scientific degrees. The showing for law and theology, bad though it is, is not so bad as for medicine. Out of 6,073 law students 1,118 had literary or scientific degrees, and out of 7,729 divinity students 1,961. That is to say, only 25 per cent of our theological, only 18 per cent of our legal, and only 5 per cent of our medical students have received a liberal education.

We have no means of ascertaining how many persons enter these callings without any professional education; but the number is not inconsiderable, and the majority of them are, I imagine, without a liberal education as well. Some kind of course—at least a year of six months—is generally required for admission to the medical profession; and this minimum has accredited many an American *Æsculapius*. But the present day is witnessing splendid improvements in medical instruction, and requirements for graduation have been greatly advanced. The regulations for admission to the ministry are as varied as religious denominations are numerous; but there can be no doubt that a goodly company of persons of undoubted piety, but of zeal untempered with knowledge, annually reach the pulpit by other avenues than the doors of the college and theological seminary. As to the legal profession, it must be remembered that the founding of schools of law is the work of this generation; and as in the past it was not possible, so at present it is not imperative for the future lawyer to secure a professional training. But the custom is rapidly spreading. And as an indication of the progress already made it may be mentioned that at the examinations for admission to the New York State Bar the questions set by the examiners are, I am informed, of such a



character that only candidates thoroughly trained in schools of law are qualified to grapple with them.

I shall say nothing of the liberal education and the special training demanded by the newer professions of engineering, architecture, and the like, for the reason that statistics, which are sadly inadequate in the case of the older professions, are here absolutely non-existent. I simply desire to raise the question whether, taking the country as a whole, these professions, which some anachronistic seats of learning still fail to recognize, are not, in virtue of the solid and prolonged training which their members receive in the technological schools, better entitled to the designation of "learned" than, in their present status, the venerable trinity of law, medicine, and theology.

When we compare the teacher's profession with those just mentioned, we become aware that neither in ideal nor yet in practice or in tendency does it make even as high demands as the least meritorious of them. It has been thought that any one who was willing to undertake the drudgery could keep school. We have not insisted strenuously, because we have not felt strongly, upon the indispensableness either of a thorough knowledge of the subjects to be taught or of a trained skill in the art and method of teaching them. In one of his letters to Motley, John Stuart Mill, that English friend of the United States, deplored "the fatal belief of your public that anybody is fit for anything."<sup>1</sup> This optimistic conceit was no doubt developed by the practice of the earlier Americans who turned their hands to anything, and, thanks to the bounty of a virgin continent, generally with good results. But progress has given rise to specialization, and the American, like the European, has become a specialist. He is learning to do one thing well. Already the "fatal belief" deprecated by Mill has disappeared from business, where it means ruin and bankruptcy, and from manufacturing and transportation, where it means arson and murder. But it still survives in our administration of public affairs, where the evil consequences, though greater, are not so strongly felt because they are less personal, less tangible, and more widely diffused. I hesitate to say that anything is or could be worse than our unreformed civil service, yet I suspect the baneful character of what Mill calls that "fatal belief" is most strikingly revealed in our administration of education.

It is at this point that reform must begin. As Professor Laurie has well said, "the education question, now at least, is a question of the

<sup>1</sup> Motley's "Life and Letters," Vol. II., p. 115.



qualification of public school teachers.”<sup>1</sup> I am not insensible to the value of the admirable reports on various subjects made to the National Educational Association and to the Department of Superintendence by the Committee of Ten and the Committee of Fifteen. But at the present time I consider all other educational questions subordinate to the primary and fundamental problem of securing competent teachers. Nor can I doubt that this problem is to be solved by fixing a worthy standard both of liberal scholarship and of professional training for every grade of teacher.

As regards the scholastic attainments of the teacher I need not say they are indispensable. No one can teach what he does not know. But this is only half the truth. The other half, though less obvious, is more important. No one can teach all he knows. Much is lost in the friction of expression and transmission. You can convey to another mind only a small fraction of what is in your own mind. Try to repeat a train of reasoning you have just followed, or a story at which you have just laughed, and you will verify in your own experience the point I am now insisting upon; for you will find that the sequence of thought, links of association, and turns and tricks of expression,—if not the very substance of the subject,—will not repeat themselves in your rehearsal, though you thought in the beginning that nothing was wanting. It is clear, therefore, that the teacher must know a good deal more than his most advanced pupil. A safe working rule is that *the teacher of a common school must have passed through a high school and the teacher of a high school must have graduated at college*. The practical observance of this rule would do more than any other single reform, not only to dignify the teaching profession, but to elevate and improve the schools.

I hasten to add that this requirement has the endorsement of the Committee of Fifteen, whose report was adopted at the last meeting of the association of American superintendents. And I cannot think it unreasonable to demand of school authorities that, in the appointment of teachers, they shall be governed by a rule which is based on the laws of mind and which is accepted and endorsed by such practical educators as the school superintendents of the United States. This is a matter of capital importance. The insuperable obstacle in the way of a better education for the boys and girls of America is the baneful belief of their parents that any one who has been at school is fitted to teach school. Folly and presumption! He who has passed through a primary school is not fitted to teach a primary school. He who has

<sup>1</sup> “Primary Instruction,” p. 13.



completed the course of a high school or academy is not qualified to teach a high school or academy. He who has been trained at a normal school is not competent to teach a normal school. In every case the teacher must be a graduate of an institution of a higher grade than that which he teaches: he must be at least four years ahead of his most advanced pupils. Teachers of elementary schools must have completed the course of the secondary schools; teachers of high schools, academies, and normal schools must be college graduates, and the day has now arrived when the same demands must be made of superintendents.

Let us look next at the professional training of teachers; and, first, of elementary teachers.

There are no statistics to show how many primary teachers have completed a high school course and received professional training before entering upon their career. But only 15 per cent of all teachers in the United States have passed through normal schools.<sup>1</sup> This fact measures the distance which still separates us from the ideal training of elementary teachers. If my estimate is correct, not one sixth of our primary teachers come up to the minimum limit of scholarship and professional knowledge and skill. Nor is this all. Studies fitted to yield a liberal education fail of that effect if the pupil's mind is distracted from the subject by thinking of the technical use to which it may be put. Now the very notion of a normal school is the accentuation of method. Consequently the pupil who goes to the normal school both for academic instruction and professional training runs an imminent risk of missing literary and scientific culture in his intent quest of a method which, in the absence of such intellectual nurture, is a delusion and a futility, if not indeed a positive menace. The fact is that professionalism is fatal to generous education, and meagre scholarship is a dangerous soil for pedagogical doctrine and method. Yet the normal schools are the creatures of their organization and environment. If, instead of trained intelligence, they too often produce routine, the fault is not theirs. They are making the best of a pernicious system. It is we who are to blame: the public who have demanded of the normal schools concurrent academic instruction and technical training. We require them to achieve simultaneously ends which are mutually incompatible. The remedy is to relieve the normal schools of the task of furnishing a liberal education. Leave them to their original and

<sup>1</sup> A rough estimate from the figures given in column 4 of table 13 (p. 60) of the 1894 "Report of the Commissioner of Education."



legitimate function of training primary school teachers in the theory, method, and practice of teaching. Let the secondary instruction which the normal schools now undertake be delegated to the high schools and academies, to which alone it properly belongs. Or, if the normal schools are to retain it, let pupils finish the academic course before entering upon the professional course. First a logical knowledge of the subject, then a pedagogical manipulation of it; first the spontaneous attitude of the learner, then the reflective art of the teacher.

Let us turn now to the professional training of the secondary teachers and superintendents of schools. Bear in mind the vital function which they discharge in the economy of public instruction. Coming themselves from the colleges, it is their duty and prerogative to educate the teachers of the common schools. If they are not the "cerebrum" of the educational system, they are at any rate the adjacent centres which send out active messengers to every part of the organism. It is true that our secondary schools are outnumbered a score of times by our elementary schools, which, in their primary and grammar grades, enroll more than 96 per cent of our entire school population. Still, when we remember that it is the function of the secondary schools to educate teachers for this vast army of elementary pupils, we shall recognize that they have a unique importance in the system of public instruction and deserve a consideration and fostering care far above anything to which they might be entitled on the score of their numerical proportions alone. The schools of the people cannot be efficient if the high schools and academies, in which their teachers must be educated, are not also efficient. There is no educational question of such momentous significance to-day as the culture and training of those young men and women who are to become teachers in our high schools, academies, and normal schools, or who are to become superintendents of schools.

So far as general scholarship is concerned the requirement has been already stated. No one is qualified to teach a high school or academy who has not substantially completed a college course or its equivalent. But this rule needs further limitations. There are colleges and colleges. The better the institution the stronger is the presumption in favor of its diploma. But there are courses and courses; and a modern degree in arts, letters, philosophy, or science, has no definite significance. It seems to me that the graduate should have devoted at least half his time during the four years of his college course to that group of subjects (Latin and Greek, or Mathematics and Physics, or English



and History) which he proposes to teach in the secondary school. Lastly, there are scholars and scholars. And I should think it hazardous to recommend any graduate for appointment as a secondary teacher who had not maintained, at least for the latter part of his college course, a first-class standing in the subjects he "professes."

What now of the professional training of the prospective teachers of our high schools and academies? We send bachelors of arts or of science who desire to enter the legal or medical or engineering profession to schools of law or medicine or technology for professional training. Without such technical preparation we deem them unfit to assume those vocations. What then is the corresponding institution to which those college graduates must repair whose intention it is to devote themselves to the higher grades of educational work, whether as normal or high school teachers or as superintendents of schools?

For the professional training of this class of candidates no pedagogical institute has yet been established in America. The existing normal schools are designed for pupils of much less intellectual maturity and culture. Our normal schools train primary teachers in their art and generally also give them such liberal education as they possess. If the normal schools continue to discharge both functions they must resist the almost irresistible temptation, which is inseparable from such an arrangement, of sacrificing knowledge of subjects to skill in the art of presenting them to pupils. But, even though the normal schools did perfect work for the primary grade of teachers, it lies in the nature of the case that they cannot train young men and women who, on graduation at colleges and universities, desire to qualify themselves by high professional education to become teachers of high schools, academies and normal schools, and superintendents of schools. Yet, in this age of specialization and professional training, the state cannot afford to leave secondary teachers and superintendents behind. There must be seminaries for training them, to which they shall be admitted as soon as they have graduated in the branch or branches of knowledge they desire to teach.

A training college for secondary teachers should not, however, be an isolated institution. Its true place is among the professional schools of the university. Teaching, like law and medicine, being a learned profession, needs the support and recognition of the university, apart from which no professional school of high grade has ever been able to maintain an existence. This is a point on which the most distinguished educational writers and practitioners of all



countries are agreed. I merely cite as typical authorities the weighty names of Dr. W. M. Payne in this country, of Dr. J. G. Fitch in England, and of Dr. S. S. Laurie in Scotland; whose writings are among the classics of the theory and practice of education.<sup>1</sup> But I desire to call special attention to the fact that the establishment, at the great universities, of institutions for the training of secondary teachers is one of the most important recommendations made by the British Royal Commission on Secondary Education, whose report, in eight volumes, has within the last few months been given to the public. Indeed it would seem from the fifth volume<sup>2</sup> of that report, which is made up of memoranda and answers to questions from experts consulted by the Commission, that the most distinguished educational workers of Great Britain consider the foundation of post-graduate pedagogical schools at Oxford and Cambridge for the professional training of secondary teachers as the greatest desideratum and the most hopeful reform of the present day.

The establishment of a pedagogical school, open only to college graduates who desire to prepare for the work of high school teaching or of school superintendence, and ranking with graduate schools of law or medicine, is, I know, a novel proposal. But, if it is reasonable, it will not be rejected because it is new. And I think I have shown that such an advanced institution is demanded by the development of our educational life and work. The universities have attempted to meet the need by the foundation of chairs of pedagogy. Legal instruction has gone through the very same history. At first some college, recognizing that law was a science, and seeing the need of thoroughly trained lawyers, established a professorship of law. Many years later the first fully organized school of law appeared. In New York State the late Professor Dwight united these two stages of development in his own life and work. I have no doubt that the moment is now ripe for the corresponding transformation, at some American university, of the single professorship of pedagogy into a school of pedagogy fully organized with a faculty, as large as that of law or medicine, for instruction and investigation in all that pertains to the theory and history

<sup>1</sup> See Payne's "Contributions to the Science of Education," pp. 269-70; Fitch's "Lectures on Teaching," pp. 18-19; and Laurie's "Teachers' Guild Addresses," pp. 209-212, 217.

<sup>2</sup> See the statement of Oscar Browning on p. 141, of H. T. Gerrans on p. 161, of W. W. Jackson on p. 183, of Agnes C. Maitland on p. 193, of A. Sidgwick on pp. 241-2, of T. H. Warren on pp. 256-7, of Canon Daniel on pp. 402-3, of H. C. Bowen on pp. 462-3, and of James Sully on pp. 472-6.



of teaching, and for observation and practice of the art itself in schools which shall be to the prospective teacher what clinics are to the prospective physician.

This school of pedagogy should have a two-years' course of professional study,—which, however, should be open to juniors and seniors in the courses of liberal arts and sciences for electives—aggregating not more than one year of pedagogical work. For graduation at college and at the pedagogical school the shortest time would, therefore, be five years. As in a school of medicine, the professional course would be partly theoretical and partly practical. The practical work would consist of observation and practice in teaching. It would be carried on, either in a school connected with the pedagogical college, or by special arrangement with the authorities in the schools of the neighborhood. The theoretical work would embrace an exhaustive study of the subject with which every teacher has to deal—mind, including both its fundamental operations and laws and the varied modes of its development, normal and abnormal, in children and adolescents, as well as the physical and physiological circumstances by which its growth is conditioned.

Psychology is the basal science in the curriculum; it is to the school of pedagogy what the subject of contracts is to the school of law, or physiology to the school of medicine. But besides psychology, which would be taught with special reference to its educational uses, two other subjects may be singled out for mention on account of their fundamental importance. One is the history and philosophy of education,—a study of educational ideals and methods, both systematically and in connection with the writings of great educational reformers; and the other is school economy, under which are included such practical topics as the organization of schools, examinations, functions of superintendents and principals, school laws, school buildings, furniture, etc. From two thirds to three fourths of the student's time should be devoted to theoretical instruction; the rest should be given to experimental teaching, observation of teaching, and the colloquies and criticisms arising out of this employment. Those who complete the course in the pedagogical college should receive from superintendents of public instruction all the rights and privileges now conceded to graduates of normal schools, and whatever additional prerogatives might be thought due to such a prolonged and thorough course of liberal scholarship and professional education.

The hope of the teaching craft is with the university. It is a new



illustration both of the unity of all education and of the logical pre-eminence of the university that, as in its collegiate department the university educates teachers for the secondary schools, so among its graduate or professional departments there must be a normal or pedagogical institute to give the secondary teachers professional training. I predict that the next development in our universities will be the establishment of a graduate school of pedagogy—not a chair, but a fully organized school—which shall be open only to college graduates or persons of similar scholastic standing, and which will uplift, ennoble, and liberalize the teaching profession,—which is in constant danger of degenerating into a sorry trade,—as schools of law, medicine, and technology have already dignified the callings of the lawyer, the doctor, and the engineer.

I have said that the reform I propose is a novel one. But as a matter of history I find that the idea of a teachers' college as a department of a university was struck out by a schoolmaster of the age of Queen Elizabeth, no less a personage than Richard Mulcaster, who was master of Edmund Spenser and whom Shakespeare, it has been conjectured, had in mind when he wrote "*Love's Labour's Lost*." Some of the reasons given by Mulcaster have, as Mr. Quick truly says, not gone out of date with his English:—

"I conclude therefore that this trade requireth a particular college, for these four causes. First, for the subject being the mean to make or mar the whole fry of our State. Secondly, for the number, whether of them that are to learn, or of them that are to teach. Thirdly, for the necessity of the profession, which may not be spared. Fourthly, for the matter of their study, which is comparable to the greatest professions."<sup>1</sup>

If this suggestion of Mulcaster's, made and ably defended three hundred years ago, had been carried out, how different, not merely in England, but in America, would have been the condition of the teaching profession at the present day! It is an historic fact that law, medicine, theology, and even engineering owe their strength and dignity as professions to their organic connection with universities. We can only imagine what gain would have accrued to the teaching profession if post-graduate schools of the science and art of teaching had, in a somewhat similar fashion, found their appropriate place in the organization of the universities. As it is, we have lost the inspiration and guidance which should have come from our highest seats of learning to the humblest teachers of our rural schools by indirect radiation through

<sup>1</sup> Quick's "*Educational Reformers*," pp. 100-101.



superintendents and teachers of high schools and normal schools, in whose liberal education and special professional training the spirit and influence of the university ought to be continuously active. Indeed we had almost forgotten, until Dr. Tappan and Dr. Fitch reminded us of it, that the pre-eminent function of the university is to teach and to supply the world with its teachers. Every one knows the result. As wisdom is justified of her children, so the neglect of wisdom brings the irrevocable Nemesis. It is a thankless task to make criticisms and expose defects, and I prefer to leave the office to a foreign observer, a keen, though fair-minded and friendly German.

We have scarcely yet ceased to laud and magnify our great World's Fair at Chicago. As an exhibition of material civilization in vast structures of pure and classic beauty, no praise can be too high for it. But our foreign visitors did not carry away such exalted impressions of our attainments in those things of the spirit which alone give to human life its worth and dignity. Here we are concerned only with education. And this is what one of the most competent of European experts—Dr. E. Schlee, Director of the Real-Gymnasium at Altona—thought of our system and its results:—

“If in every office the chief factor is the man, and in school the teacher, we have come to the weakest point in the American school system—professional teachers are wanting. That is to say, most teachers are deficient in the requisite scientific and pedagogic preparation for their vocation.”<sup>1</sup>

The scheme of reform I have advocated would remove this reproach from our profession. We need for our secondary schools teachers with more knowledge of their subjects and with the best professional training a post-graduate school of pedagogy at a good university can furnish; the same qualifications must be demanded of superintendents; and when these workers in the higher grades are thoroughly equipped with knowledge and professional skill, their influence will extend in all directions till it permeates and leavens the great body of elementary teachers. As inspiration must always come from above, it is imperative that reforms shall begin with the educational workers in the higher spheres. This is the quickest and most effective way of reaching the entire corps. No apology, therefore, is needed for urgent advocacy of the reform outlined in this article. For the rest I hold, with Plato, that the business of reforming education is the chief work of every man.

J. G. SCHURMAN.

<sup>1</sup> “Report of the Commissioner of Education,” p. 544.



## FOIBLES OF THE NEW WOMAN.

WHEN woman revolts against her normal functions and sphere of action, desiring instead to usurp man's prerogatives, she entails upon herself the inevitable penalty of such irregular conduct, and, while losing the womanliness which she apparently scorns, fails to attain the manliness for which she strives. But, unmindful of the frowns of her observers, she is unto herself a perpetual delight, calling herself and her kind by the epithets "new," "awakened," and "superior," and speaking disdainfully of women who differ from her in what, to her judgment, is the all-important question of life—"Shall women vote or not?" To enumerate her foibles is a dangerous task, for what she asserts to-day she will deny to-morrow. She is a stranger to logic, and when consistency was given to mortals the New Woman was conspicuously absent. Her egotism is boundless. She boasts that she has discovered herself, and says it is the greatest discovery of the century. She has christened herself the "new," but when her opponent speaks of her by that name she replies with characteristic contrariety that the New Woman, like the sea-serpent, is largely an imaginary creature. Nevertheless, in the next sentence, she will refer to herself by her favorite cognomen. She has made many strange statements, and one question she often asks is, "What has changed woman's outlook so that she now desires that of which her grandmother did not dream?"

Within the past forty years woman has demanded of man much that he has graciously granted her. She wanted equality with him, and it has been given her in all things for which she is fitted and which will not lower the high standard of womanhood that he desires for her. This she accepts without relinquishing any of the chivalrous attentions which man always bestows upon her. The New Woman tells us that "an ounce of justice is of more value to woman than a ton of chivalry." But, when she obtains her "ounce of justice," she apparently still makes rigorous demands that her "ton of chivalry" be not omitted. Woman asked to work by man's side and on his level; and to-day she has the chance of so doing. The fields of knowledge and opportunity have been opened to her; and she still "desires that of



which her grandmother did not dream," because, like an over-indulged child, so long as she is denied one privilege, that privilege she desires above all others. She has decided that without the ballot she can do nothing, for, in her vocabulary, ballot is synonymous with power.

The New Woman is oftentimes the victim of strange hallucinations. She persists in calling herself a "slave," despite her high position and great opportunities; and she maintains that, because she cannot vote, she is classed with lunatics and idiots,—until those who are weary of hearing her constant iterations of these themes feel that, if the classification were true, it might not be unjust. Still, it has not been clearly shown that withholding the ballot from woman, in common with lunatics and idiots, necessarily makes her one. Women and cripples are exempt from working on roads; does it follow that all women are cripples? Is a woman a bird because she walks on two legs? This hackneyed cry about lunatics and idiots, which has been uttered by nearly all writers and speakers favoring woman suffrage, appeals to prejudice rather than intelligence. If the would-be female politicians—ignoring woman's great opportunities, especial privileges, and the silent testimony of countless happy wives,—choose to consider themselves "slaves," and to announce whenever they speak that they are classed with lunatics and idiots because they are denied the ballot, they are certainly entitled to all the enjoyment they can get out of the delusion. Sensible people know that such statements are false.

The New Woman says that a "mother's prerogative ends at the garden gate"; but common sense replies that no mother's prerogative ends there. A mother's prerogative is to govern and direct her child; and there is no child that does not carry through life his or her mother's influence. Let that influence be good or bad, it is always present. Any mother can make, if she will, her power over her child "stronger than the seas of earth, and purer than the air of heaven"; and she needs no especial legislative act to accomplish her work. If woman does not make the laws, she trains and educates those who do, and thus is indirectly responsible for all legislation.

The plea which these women make, that they need the ballot for the protection of their homes, is self-contradictory. Has the New Woman never heard that "to teach early is to engrave on marble"? If she would devote some of the time in which she struggles to obtain the ballot to rational reflection on the influence a woman has over the pre-natal life of a child, and would then consider what a mother may do with a plastic human life,—say during the first seven years of its



existence and before it goes out to be contaminated by the evil influences of the world,—she would then find that ballots are not what women need for the protection of their homes. But the faculty of logically reasoning from cause to effect has never been characteristic of the New Woman.

She laments because government is deprived, by lack of equal suffrage, of the “keen moral sense that is native to women as a class.” Since all the people in the world are born of women and trained by women, it is difficult to see how government, or anything else, lacks woman’s “keen moral sense.” Can women make no use of their moral sense without the ballot?

It is a chronic grievance with the New Woman that she is taxed without representation. She scorns to be represented by the sons she has reared, or by the men who come under her immediate influence. These she pronounces unworthy and considers incapable of doing her justice. But when she is told that, if women vote, they should also bear the burdens of war in case of necessity, she replies with her usual inconsistency, “She who bears soldiers need not bear arms.” She has not the aversion to being represented by men on the field of battle that she has to being represented by them in legislative halls and at the ballot-box. She greatly deprecates man’s selfishness and tyranny, as exhibited in human history. But she has come vaunting into the arena with “woman’s clubs” and “conventions” and “leagues” and “tribunes” and “signals.” If a periodical be not wholly devoted to women, they demand that it must at least have its “woman’s column” wherein they may chronicle the most insignificant acts of the sex.

The New Woman tells us that the present century is her own; and, indeed, she approaches the truth in this instance. She has promised us a “Woman’s Bible,” and she has shown that even the Infinite Father does not escape her jealousy, for she has discovered that we should pray to a “Heavenly Mother” as well as to a Heavenly Father. She informs us that the Pilgrim Fathers are no more, and adds, “There stepped on Plymouth Rock, on the bleak shores of New England, thirty-two women accompanied by sixty-nine men and children.” At expositions she must have a “woman’s building,” wherein she may glorify the work of her brain and hand. No work done by man can be placed beside hers for examination or competition. Surely she furnishes a noteworthy example of modesty and self-abnegation for the benefit of the tyrant man!

An illustration of the New Woman’s fallacious judgment is shown



by her belief that all opponents of equal suffrage are controlled by brewers and liquor dealers. "Sold to the liquor interest" is the cry she always utters when she detects a note of opposition. Now, it is entirely probable that some may object to the extension of the franchise to women and, at the same time, lead thoroughly temperate lives and work for the promotion of temperance. The word temperance means more than total abstinence from intoxicating drinks, and the New Woman has not yet proved that a vote by a woman means a vote for temperance principles.

"Woman's vote will purify politics." This is her favorite cry. Not long since a prominent equal-suffrage lecturer, while earnestly setting forth this claim, and enlarging on the shameless manner in which men conduct elections, declared that woman's chaste and refined influence was the only thing that could change the present undesirable condition of affairs. She was not ashamed, however, to relate, before the close of her lecture, that, a short time previous, her sister had induced the family's hired man to vote for a certain measure by presenting him, on the eve of election, with a half-dozen new shirts, made by her own hands. The absurdity of this incident reached a climax when it was noticed that, in a large audience of women, few saw anything wrong in female bribery. The fair speaker omitted to inform her audience whether or not this was to be the prevailing mode of political purification, when one half of the burdens of state rest on female shoulders. But, as women never lack expedients, some purifying process, less laborious than shirt-making, may soon be devised.

The New Woman requests that the opponents of equal suffrage open their "dust-covered histories" and therein read of examples of famous women of the past whose lives forever silence all arguments against granting the ballot to woman. Let it be remembered that the New Woman's greatest grievance, since her earliest advent, is the lack of woman's power. Without the ballot woman can do nothing. "Bricks without straw,—that has been the doom of woman throughout the ages," is her disconsolate wail. An extremely brilliant New Woman rarely makes a speech without saying, "Women will enter every place on the round earth, and they will purify every place they enter." With these statements in mind, by all means let the "dust-covered histories" be opened so that we may see the "bricks without straw" which the women "without power" have made, and the manner in which they have purified every place they have entered.

Catherine de Medici prevailed on Charles IX of France to give the



order for the massacre of St. Bartholomew. This crime, which she boasted of to Catholics and excused to Protestants, greatly increased her power, which she used unscrupulously, even conniving at the murder of her own son when she considered him an obstacle to her advancement. She died amid the fierce strife of wars, which she had caused, her use of political power having been only an injury to the world.

Madame de Maintenon, using the power which she so long exercised over Louis XIV, instigated the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Its most odious features were her especial work. She had been false to her native creed; and she was determined that her fellow Protestants should be equally false. She drove from the shores of France many of its best and most intelligent people. All the bloody history of that period was the result of one woman's work.

During the reign of Louis XV of France the court was under the absolute dominion of women, yet none of the instances of ancient and modern immorality presents such an astounding display of individual and national corruption as do those of the time when Madame de Pompadour ruled the king of France. She did nothing for the alleviation of human wretchedness during those twenty years of power and splendid opportunity. She was largely to blame for the evils in church and state which caused the revolution and overturned all in one common ruin. It may be urged that no good woman would have been raised to power by such means as she accepted; and consequently no good could be hoped for from her. But she and her successor, Madame Du Barry, furnish proof that there are women whose advancement to high positions would only increase evil influences; and there are many such who would quickly seize the enlarged opportunities of suffrage, while many good women, engrossed with home cares, would be indifferent to the ballot.

Woman's record in the first French revolution was one of cruelty and horror. The "Patriot Knitters," as they were called, could shriek or knit according to the requirements of the case. They could also urge men to deeds of violence; and could themselves do violent deeds. Carlyle said that these women had exchanged the "distaff for the dagger." If they had kept the distaff and let the dagger alone France would have lost nothing in the way of political advancement, and might have been spared much of her horrifying history. There was an entire absence of any political purification in their influence.

There is no name in history of which women boast more than that of Queen Elizabeth, always quoting her in evidence of what women



might do, could they be intrusted with affairs of state. Froude, in summing up his exhaustive work on the time of Queen Elizabeth, wrote:—

“The great results of her reign were the fruits of a policy which was not her own, and which she starved and mutilated when energy and completeness were needed. She was remorseless when she ought to have been most forbearing, and lenient when she ought to have been stern. She owed her safety and success to the incapacity and divisions of her enemies, rather than to wisdom and resolution of her own.”

Humiliating as it may be to those women who clamor for a voice in national affairs, the historical truth is, that the splendors of the Elizabethan age were due to her ministers, Burleigh and Walsingham.

Catherine II of Russia is also a great favorite with the New Woman. One of them has said, “Next to the great Peter, she was the ablest administrator Russia has ever known.” In the life and reign of Catherine II, Empress of Russia—she who became such through the murder of her husband, in which crime she had borne full well her share,—there is but little to admire or emulate. She was unquestionably a woman of great talents and energy, but her morals were no better than Madame de Pompadour’s.

These examples and many more may be found in the “dust-covered histories.” But, if the New Woman will read history with honest eyes, she can never find that women have ever lacked power; neither can she prove that in the past they have purified all the places they have entered; what authority, then, has she for the statement that they would purify every place they may enter in the future? Woman was endowed by her Creator with marvellous power, and, from the time of our first parents until now, that power has been a “savour of life unto life, or of death unto death,” as has been eminently manifested in the teachings of history and the experience of human life.

The New Woman has a mania for reform movements. No sooner does she descry an evil than she immediately moves against it with some sort of an organized force. This is very noble of her,—if she have no other duties to perform. It would be more gratifying if her organizations met with greater success; but alas! her efforts, mighty as they are, usually represent just so much valuable time wasted. The evils remain, and continue to increase. She disdains to inquire into the cause of her numerous failures, and moves serenely on bent upon reforming everything she imagines to be wrong. When she gets the ballot all will be well with the world, and for that day she works and waits. But if the New Woman or any other woman neglects pri-



vate duties for public works, her reform efforts are not noble, but extremely unworthy of her; for the "duty which lies nearest" is still the most sacred of duties. Possibly the many *Mrs. Jellybys* of the present day and the undue interest in "*Borrioboola-gha*" may have something to do with so much being wrong in the average home and with the average individual. When we read of women assembling together, parading streets, and entering saloons to create, as they say, "a public sentiment for temperance," it is but natural to ask, What are the children of such mothers doing in the meantime? And it will not be strange if many of them become drunkards for the coming generation of reformers to struggle with. The New Woman refuses to believe that duty, like charity, begins at home, and cannot see that the most effectual way to keep clean is not to allow dirt to accumulate.

The New Woman professes to believe that all women are good and will use their influence for noble ends,—when they are allowed the right of suffrage. This theory is extremely pleasant, if it were only demonstrable; but here, as elsewhere, it is folly to ignore the incontrovertible facts. Woman cannot shirk her responsibility for the sins of the earth. It is easy for her to say that men are bad; that, as a class, they are worse than women. But who trained these bad men? Was it not woman? Herein lies the inconsistency of women—striving for a chance to do good when the opportunity is inherently theirs. It is only when they have neglected to train the saplings aright that the trees are misshapen.

It was the New Woman's earliest, and is her latest, foible that woman is superior to man. Perhaps she is. But the question is not one of superiority or inferiority. There is at bottom of all this talk about women nature's inexorable law. Man is man and woman is woman. That was the order of creation and it must so remain. It is idle to compare the sexes in similar things. It is a question of difference, and the "happiness and perfection of both depend on each asking and receiving from the other what the other only can give."

"For woman is not undeveloped man,  
But diverse: could we make her as the man,  
Sweet Love were slain: his dearest bond is this,  
Not like to like, but like in difference."

Sentimental and slavish as this may sound to many ears, it is as true as any of the unchanging laws governing the universe, and is the Creator's design for the reproduction and maintenance of the race.

ELLA W. WINSTON.



## THE PRESENT OUTLOOK OF SOCIALISM IN ENGLAND.

THE Whig revolution, which began on the fall of mediæval society and culminated in the French revolution, on the one hand, and the establishment of the factory organization of production amidst the ruins of handicraft, on the other, seemed in the first half of this century to have stranded the civilized world on a period of academical coma, having some analogy to the great period of the classical civilization inaugurated by the accession of Augustus. In England at any rate a *modus vivendi* had been established between the employers of labor and their "hands," and free-trade and the abolition of the corn laws had so greased the wheels of factory production that, though profits were not made on the extravagant scale which obtained in the earlier years of the century, they were still very large, and the result was to increase enormously the wealth, numbers, and consequent power of the middle classes. In politics the Whigs, under the new name of Liberals, were marching on triumphantly, and of feudal survivals all but the semblance was abolished; and modern democracy, on the basis of irresistible, nay unquestionable, commercialism, seemed to be on the very point of being firmly established. It is true that in Britain religion lagged behind, and that "freethinking," which had long been accepted as an essential part of the Whig revolution on the continent, was here revolutionary and unrespectable, as an open and expressed opinion, though even then almost universal amongst intelligent persons. For the deep-seated hypocrisy of our nation (and perhaps race), which has often, wrongly as I think, been dignified with the historical title of "Puritanism," would not allow facts to be faced openly on this side of things.

As to literature and the fine arts, there had been for some time a stirring amongst the dry bones in the first, and the nonentity of the eighteenth century, of which the dullard Pope was the high-priest, had been invaded early in the nineteenth century by the men of genius of the dawning Romantic school. Poetry began again and it became once more possible to forget the miseries of real life by burying oneself in the idealities of the great inventors.

But literature, less than any of the arts, depends on its surroundings,



and the imagination of those who have steeped themselves in the life of serious periods of history, as shown us by their still existing works, can free itself from the ugliness and trivialities of to-day and produce something which is not alien in idea from the living art of the past. Art, in its narrower sense, is not so fortunate, and on all hands can be oppressed by its surroundings. On this side, when the whole world is sick, the men of special talent or genius share the sickness in one way or other; either their sense of beauty is deadened, or they seek for expression of it in fierce antagonism to the life and thought of the passing time, and the present public either corrupts or neglects them. In this period of Whig ascendancy, therefore, art was, let us say, lying asleep, and its condition was not ill expressed by the stupidity and emptiness of the London Exhibition of 1851—the first of the series of advertising shows which have since cursed the world with their pretentious triviality. Even the painters of pictures, the producers of art who approach nearer than others to the men of inventive literature, were sunk low indeed. Here and there was a man who rose above his fellows into something like genius, though even his aims were not high, nor his scope wide, as Turner for instance; here and there a man of unquestionable industry and conscientiousness, as Maclise; but, as for the general body of “artists” as they were called, they were about worthy of the somewhat vulgar contempt showered upon them in Thackeray’s novels. In short, no man of sense ever troubled himself about “high art,” except as a matter of officialism, or as a piece of affectation which his position in society forced upon him.

As for architecture and its kindred arts, people scarcely knew of the existence of such things. Stupid ugliness was worshipped under the name of simplicity or gentlemanly restraint. Beauty or incident was not so much as thought of. Even the active hatred of beauty, which the Philistine cultivates with such single-minded ardor to-day, implies a somewhat better position for the arts than the sordid dulness of the triumphant Whiggery of the “fifties.”

Commerce, the one thing needful; politics, the slave of the markets; literature, existing only in rebellion; art forgotten, beauty dead: this, it seemed, was to be the ultimate gain of “The heir of all the ages in the foremost files of time.”

Seemed—but, slowly as the course of events in modern times crawls along, a change has begun to show within the last twenty years. In economics the principle of *laissez faire*, which in the period above spoken of seemed to have been accepted as irrevocable by statesman



and dustman alike, has been blown to the winds more in practice even than in theory, and collective action is admitted everywhere to be the machinery through which we must of necessity strive to make the best of our surroundings. In politics, if they have not become more democratic in the old sense of the word, the word itself has changed its meaning, and no longer signifies a consensus of the rich middle classes, but rather the gathering of opinion of the working classes, not, it must be admitted, for the purpose of enabling them to manage their own affairs (*i. e.* the best method for the production of common utilities), but at least to let the governing or possessing class find out what steps may be necessary to be taken to make the only useful class of the community temporarily contented.

In literature and the arts again there has been some stirring of the dry bones, though I cannot think it has been either deep or widely spread. Yet we have seen a man, whose poetry was once thought the very acme of wild eccentricity, dying a peer of the realm without having to make any considerable recantation; and the Romantic school so successful that it is now rather rebelled against than rebelling. In the arts, owing chiefly to the energy and genius of three young men—Rossetti, Holman Hunt, and Millais,—it is at least possible for painters of pictures to live by giving their genius free scope, if they have it in them, however sore the struggle may be against their isolated position which denies them the support of a reasonable unbroken tradition. Furthermore, owing to the genuine instinct for the study of history which is a birth of these latter days, there has grown up some appreciation of the great architectural works of the Middle Ages, and a certain number of highly educated and refined men have now for some time been struggling against the hideousness of our modern streets by designing buildings which they have striven honestly and not without success to make at once beautiful and useful: though it is true that these buildings must of necessity be more or less imitative of the work of past ages; and also that the movement that has had its rise in the study of historic art has borne with it the disadvantage that the public looks with favor on the preposterous attempt to “restore,” as it is called, our ancient monuments, which have suffered so much from the neglect and ignorance of the post-mediaeval period, to their (supposed) original state; for though we may have learned history enough to cease to look upon our ancestors as a set of savages whose lives and deeds sprang from no visible causes in the past, and led to no consequence in the future, we have not yet grasped the knowledge that



these monuments of art sprang from the conditions of society amidst which they were produced ; that the art of a people, as distinct from a few ingenious and gifted men living isolated from the people, must of necessity be an essential growth from the life of the epoch.

Indeed, it is because I have so thoroughly learned this lesson myself (as I think), that I must needs look upon the art and literature of these days as but matters by the way, and something without root or organic growth. I believe that they will flourish again, rising maybe from the scanty tradition left us, or maybe from a new birth,—which we now cannot so much as conceive of,—when a new society has been realized, the hope of which (as I deem), is the one bright spot in the century and is now growing clearer to us.

For even now at the bottom of the change above said in economics and politics, in literature and art, lies a great change in opinion, which has produced the visible new birth of Socialism ; a new birth dimly foreshadowed at the time of the French revolution by the opinions and attempts of such men as Babeuf and the Utopists. This public opinion points toward a new society founded on equality of condition, and the association of equals. The first of these has been mainly in abeyance since the time of the poverty of tribal society : the second, after playing a principal part in the development of society from the beginning of the great energy of the Middle Ages, fell with them under the triple attack of bureaucracy, political nationalism, and the lust for material advancement. But, unless they are once again to become the root principles of a true society, I for my part can see nothing for it but a continuous degradation of our false society until it disappears in a chaos caused by greed and suffering.

But I repeat that the assertion of these principles is already being made, not merely by small knots of Socialist preachers, but by the working-classes generally. Trades Unionism is losing its old narrowness, and is learning that it must not champion this or that trade or occupation against the general public ; that it must no longer be the carpenters against the public, or the miners against the public,—but the whole body of producers against the non-producers who exploit them ; that, in short, the producers must claim the right to manage their own affairs. When this lesson is learned thoroughly, I cannot see how the claim can be resisted ; and that more especially in a country like Great Britain, the very existence of which depends upon highly organized industries.

Meantime, I say, the lesson is being learned, doubtless in a rough



and unsystematic way enough; yet no one who is conversant with working-class politics can dispute that the attitude of the workmen toward Socialism has quite altered within the last twelve years, and that a claim for a recognition as citizens has been put forward by them, to which all classes of society have been forced to pay some attention. Both the theory and practice of even *ultra* Liberals as to the relation of the workmen of the organized industries in Great Britain to their employers, in the days when John Bright was regarded by the prosperous middle class as a dangerous democrat and tribune of the people, was that the workman, as workman, was a part of the machinery of profitable production, that there were certain laws of nature that governed the action of the machine,—always in the interest of those who owned and controlled it, the successful middle class to wit,—and that the members of the machine must submit patiently to any suffering which resulted from the action of those natural laws. There was little for the workmen to complain of in this, it was thought, because it was not difficult for any of them who were above the average to rise at least into the lower middle class, and most probably into the higher ranks of it; to become in short from a mere “hand” a foreman, the manager of a department, or often enough of a factory itself. As for what was below the average that was *its* lookout, and its complaints would not do anything to turn the course of the “natural law.” This, I say, was the theory or practice of such men as John Bright and his party; but the machine for the production of profits has protested against the action of the natural law—which must of necessity degrade every man who could not struggle up into the comparatively few places which were to be had amongst the superintendents of labor,—and by various revolts, strikes and so forth, the claim of citizenship has, as aforesaid, been made by workingmen as *living on weekly wages*, and not as workingmen whose savings gave them some share in the privilege of capital.

For a long time the struggle was blind and narrow, but within the last few years it has become a conscious strife for at least some recognition of the social rights of citizens on behalf of *all* workmen willing to exercise their labor power; and, on the other hand, the possessing classes have practically admitted the necessity of a “living wage” for the workmen, even though that must be taken from the profits of the employers. A higher standard of comfort, more leisure, less precarious employment; these things at least, it is admitted, must be granted by the present system to the working-classes,—if the present system



can do it—but can it? The answer to that must be found in the answer to another question: Are the interests of the employers and employed the same? No, must be the answer, they are opposed. And if that be the case, how can the vital questions be discussed and settled with the mutual assent of the two parties to the quarrel? It is clear that they cannot be. When I mentioned the *struggle* of the working classes for citizenship I meant to use the word literally and not metaphorically. The battle must be fought out between the privileged and the useful classes, before the latter can win any solid or lasting benefits for the whole mass. And I have no doubt that it will go on with ever-increasing stress. The concessions made by the privileged classes to the useful ones will grow greater and more important, as the working-men see clearer into their position, and know what it is essential for them to claim; the privileged will concede these with much the same amount of pressure as forces them to yield to present and unimportant demands, some of which at any rate are now used for little else than banners to which to rally those who are yet purblind to the necessities of a real new society. So it will go on till it will be found at last that everything essential has been yielded by privilege, and probably the last opposition will be feeble and formal, and will be easily thrust aside.

It must be remembered that, on the one hand, the tokens that this great change in society is on the way are no longer merely the spread of academic discussion, or the setting forth of Utopias with their roots in the air, but the attempts to deal with “practical” questions concerning the present daily life of the greater part of the population; while, on the other hand, the ideas of a Socialist society are pretty much accepted by those who can by any stretch of language be called thinking people (among whom I do not include the professional politicians). Almost the only opposition offered to them comes from sheer pessimists, or those who are not ashamed to confess their adherence to the sordid cynicism of greed. How can the new society founded on equality and association be brought about? is the real question which is asked by all those who wish for conditions of life in the civilized world which will enable all groups of society to live with self-respect and manly pleasure.

Now I have practically said that, broadly speaking, the change must come about by the useful classes getting gradually educated to a sense of their due claims and responsibilities, and, as a result, going on steadily beating down commercial and economic privilege, as their fore-



runners the Whigs, whose day culminated in the French revolution, beat down the survivals of feudal privilege.

As to what is going on obviously at present in the world of politics, a few words will be enough on that subject, as I cannot deem it to be of so much importance as many people think. We have recently gone through a general election in Great Britain, the results of which have made the grossest reactionists (the Tories) jubilant, and I suspect have given some pleasure, even amidst their defeat, to the ordinary Liberal politicians.

The overwhelming Tory victory has indeed seemed to some of our party to mean rather a defeat of the Whigs than of the Progressives ; but, though this seems plausible in view of some of the incidents of the contest, I should rather put down the victory to a strong rally of all that is reactionary against everything which seems progressive to the reactionists, from mere Whig Liberalism to definite Socialism,—which rally, if properly organized, was sure to be successful : so that it was rather the Liberals who were defeated along with the Socialists than the Socialists along with the Liberals. In other words there was, and is, an instinct amongst the reactionaries that the Socialists have been leading the Liberals and are the real enemies, and it is a true instinct, though politics, like poverty, makes strange bedfellows, and it is rather amusing to see some of our Whig friends dismissed from their seats on the ground of their being the allies of dangerous revolutionaries.

For the rest it was clear that whenever the reactionaries chose to administer such a check to Socialism they could do so with certainty of success, since there is no Socialist party in England ; it has indeed ceased to be merely a sect or a “ church ” as it was some fifteen years ago, but has never gained any organization ; its strength, as well as its weakness, lies in its being an *opinion* rather than a party. Yet it was largely the fear of the reactionists that it was becoming a party which caused the successful attack of the election on progress generally. And to my mind the answer to that attack should be to organize a real definite Socialist party, and, for the sake of the necessary gain, to accept the probable dangers of such a position. It is true that a wide-spread opinion cannot be defeated, and need not fear the temporary decision of the ballot-box ; but to such a decision it must come at last, unless it is contented to act indirectly through other parties, which may throw it over at any political exigency, and must always be doing hesitatingly and blindly.

To sum up therefore as to the Socialist outlook : There is no pro-



gress possible to European civilization save in the direction of Socialism; for the Whig or Individualist idea which destroyed the mediæval idea of association, and culminated in the French revolution and the rise of the great industries in England, has fulfilled its function or worked itself out.

The Socialistic idea has at last taken hold of the workmen, even in Great Britain, and they are pushing it forward practically, though in a vague and unorganized manner.

The governing classes feel themselves compelled to yield more or less to the vague demands of the workmen. But, on the other hand, the definitely reactionary forces of the country have woken up to the danger to privilege involved in those demands, and are attacking Socialism in front instead of passing it by in contemptuous silence.

The general idea of Socialism is widely accepted amongst the thoughtful part of the middle classes, even where their timidity prevents them from definitely joining the movement.

The old political parties have lost their traditional shibboleths, and are only hanging on till the new party (which can *only* be a Socialist one) is formed: the Whigs and Tories will then coalesce to oppose it; the Radicals will some of them join this reactionary party, and some will be absorbed by the Socialist ranks. That this process is already going on is shown by the last general election. Socialism has not yet formed a party in Great Britain, but it is essential that it should do so, and not become a mere tail of the Whig Liberal party, which will only use it for its own purposes and throw it over when it conveniently can.

This Socialist party must include the whole of the genuine labor movement, that is, whatever in it is founded on principle, and is not a mere temporary business squabble; it must also include all that is definitely Socialist amongst the middle class; and it must have a simple test in accordance with its one aim,—the realization of a new society founded on the practical equality of condition for all, and general association for the satisfaction of the needs of those equals.

The sooner this party is formed, and the reactionists find themselves face to face with the Socialists, the better. For whatever checks it may meet with on the way, it will get to its goal at last and *Socialism* will melt into *society*.

WILLIAM MORRIS.



## FRANCIS JOSEPH AND HIS REALM.

It is a matter of universal knowledge that our monarch is beloved and respected by his subjects, and that a sympathy both just and profound is extended to him from far beyond the limits of his own realm. This was not always so. There was a time when Francis Joseph had many opponents at home, and when public opinion in foreign countries was unfavorably disposed toward him. The severity with which the rebellion in Vienna, and more particularly those in Italy and Hungary, were suppressed after the year 1848, was attributed to him; and the defeats which attended the Austrian army throughout two wars, the errors of its administration, and the low status of the national credit, were ascribed to an unsuccessful system of government whose capabilities, though perhaps not its good intentions, were doubted by many. To-day all this is different. The change to a constitutional form of government brought out many valuable characteristics of the Emperor which had until then been concealed in the darkness of the cabinet system, and were known only to those who stood close to him. It is now conceded that without the conscientious, unflagging, and faithful devotion to duty on the part of the sovereign,—even while subjected to the severest blows of fate,—the revival of the monarchy could hardly have been effected.

To-day the monarchy has regained more than its former political, economic, and military credit, while it occupies a respected position among the great European Powers. For, by the constitution of Austria, the Emperor does not occupy a position similar to that of the Queen of England, in which the entire responsibility of the affairs of state is borne by parliament and the privy council. The personal government of the Austrian ruler, above and beyond the parliamentary representative bodies, has much wider scope: "*L'Empereur-roi régit, et il gouverne.*" Thus much depends upon the Emperor's personal characteristics. A study of the head of the state is therefore inconceivable without a historical glance at recent political developments as well as a careful consideration of the people.

Francis Joseph's rule began in the year of the revolution, 1848,



when Metternich's rotten supports for Austria suddenly gave way. Revolt, inspired by the idea of national unity, broke out in Lombardy and Venice. In Hungary, where the ancient feudal constitution had been rescued from Austrian absolutism, a Liberal opposition urged complete independence of Vienna and a modern constitution. In the capital of the realm, at the seat of government, there was a general desire that the people should share in legislation and in the long-wished-for freedom of the citizen. In Bohemia, the Slavs murmured against German rule, and the Poles, who had rebelled two years before and were experienced in revolutionary movements, played the part of mentor. The revolt was universal; everywhere the people armed themselves against the authorities; they extorted the dismissal of Metternich, and wrested various concessions from the weak government of the weaker-minded Ferdinand I. After the Landtag had abolished the jurisdiction of the nobles and their exemption from taxation, and also the subjection of the peasants, a responsible ministry was granted to Hungary, while the franchise in the parliament of Pesth was confined to a small number of deputies. A constitutional parliament, granted to the German Slavs, met soon after in Vienna, and at once, though not without violence, abolished the socage service of the peasants, with compensation to the landowners. In Italy, the Sardinians had espoused the cause of the rebels, and entangled Austria in a war. In Vienna, as the result of leaving the direction of the revolution to immature political elements—the students of the University and schools,—mob violence ensued, through which the minister of war, Count Latour, lost his life. In Pesth, where Kossuth continued to urge a complete separation from Austria, the mob lynched the royal governor. In Prague, the Princess Windischgrätz was shot by a fanatic. This state of anarchy was, however, controlled by military force: Radetzky was victorious in Italy, Prague soon quieted, and Vienna besieged and occupied. In Hungary alone was the revolution able, in a war of alternating successes, to effect a more lasting opposition.

Under the influence of this environment the young Archduke Francis Joseph (born August 18, 1830) attained his eighteenth year, and according to Austrian law his majority. He had every prospect of ascending the throne, since his uncle, the Emperor, was childless, and his father, the Archduke Francis Charles, though good-hearted, possessed too little decision of character. His clever and energetic mother, the Archduchess Sophia, was full of reactionary ideas, and,



with a keen appreciation of his prospects, she caused her first-born, who inherited her many talents and steadiness of nerve, to be carefully educated. His clear and practical understanding, prudent judgment, remarkable memory, sound sense of duty, and pre-eminent talent for languages, were an inestimable aid to his teachers, among whom Lichtenfels, a distinguished advocate, and Hauslab, an intelligent and accomplished officer, laid a thorough foundation for a legal and military education. In the spring of 1848 it was intended that the archduke should become Viceroy of Bohemia: this, however, was not realized, and he joined Radetzky in Italy, where, as later in the Hungarian campaigns, he was distinguished for valor. In the autumn, when the court fled to Olmütz to escape the mob at Vienna, he accompanied his parents thither, and there the change of sovereigns was seriously considered. The Emperor Ferdinand, having been forced to make various concessions and promises to the revolutionary party, resigned, in order to give his successor full freedom of action. On December 2, 1848, Ferdinand I abdicated, Francis Charles withdrew his claims, and the young archduke became Emperor of Austria.

The young Emperor's rule was not at first independent, for he was largely under the immediate influence of his mother and of Prince Felix Schwarzenberg, who, as president of the cabinet, directed affairs of state, and, as the revolutionary movement subsided, strove to establish absolutism. The central parliament, with the exception of the Hungarian branch, was dissolved; the problem of nationalities, with its federalistic tendencies, had become more prominent, while the intention of the government was to oppose with all its power any leaning toward centrifugal nationalism. A manifesto issued by the young Emperor, whose motto was "*viribus unitis*," declared this to be his aim—"in harmony with the people, to consolidate all the countries and races of the monarchy into one great state-body." A chartered, centralized constitution was announced on May 4, 1849, but it existed only on paper; for December 31, 1851, saw it abolished, while a rigid system of absolutism was established in its place. The Hungarian insurrection was at last put down, although only with the assistance of a Russian army. In most of the other provinces the people, tired of political agitation, and aided by the predominant conservative element, demanded a vigorous administration. The Emperor, himself a thorough soldier, entertained a martial inclination which rendered him at the time unpopular, since the victory of the army had brought much soldierly insolence and brutality in its train. It became, in fact, necessary to put down



that "hyena of Brescia" as Marshal Haynau was called because of his despotism. The Emperor's invariable military dress angered the people, and his unpopularity was intensified by the insolent behavior of his adjutant-general, Count Grünne, to whom an all-powerful influence was attributed. Only in 1853, on the occasion of an attempt on his life by a Hungarian fanatic, was a sympathetic disposition manifested among the hitherto discontented factions, and when, in the following year, he brought home as his wife the beautiful Elizabeth of Bavaria, then in her sixteenth year, the expression of joyful sympathy became universal.

It was surely, then, an injustice to say that the Emperor chose an absolute and military form of government purely from preference or inclination. No. It was his conviction that the state, convulsed by the efforts for freedom, could be restored and strengthened only by the predominance of those elements—the army and the church—which had rendered those efforts futile; and, this necessity of the state once acknowledged, his duty as ruler was to aid in its realization. He retained the management of military affairs, and in 1855 concluded a concordat with the Pope by which the superintendence of schools and much inconvenient influence upon family life were given to the priests. This system—based on sword and cross, and supported by a pliant bureaucracy which prevailed in Austria between 1850 and 1859—proved not only a failure but a positive injury; yet it was not an indication of unconditional reaction. The prize for which the revolutionary party had fought—equality of the citizen before the law—was retained, while the socage service of the peasants remained abolished, to the annoyance of the landed aristocracy. The free exercise of religion was continued alike to Protestants, Hebrews, and every other religious association recognized by the state. A law recognized—although only academically, since it was never enforced—the right of communities to attend to their own interests. In the higher courts the administration of justice was freed from undue governmental interference; the patriarchal jurisdiction of the landed proprietor no longer existed. The state issued from its intellectual and economical seclusion to introduce—in imitation of the German system—a greater liberty of learning for both pupil and teacher, together with increased freedom of the students. With exemplary promptitude the high schools were reformed, and the "Chinese wall," which previous to 1848 hindered literary contact with foreign countries, was torn down. Guilds were abolished, and a greater freedom of industries established. Between Hungary and the western



countries the tariff barriers were removed : the prohibitive system was cast aside, thus permitting an easier entrance, by means of commercial treaties, into the trade of the world.

This great progress was made through the energetic co-operation of the sovereign. Francis Joseph had become more self-reliant since the death of Prince Schwarzenberg in 1852, and he now became wholly devoted to the public interest. Youthful pleasures were not permitted to interfere with duty. Though fond of society, and celebrated as an excellent dancer, he never detracted from the dignity of his position. The *grand seigneur* was not a mask to be assumed or cast off at will ; it was a part of himself. Devoted as he was and still is to the chase, he was never known to indulge his inclinations in this direction at the expense of duty. Diplomats who saw him in the *salons* of the Viennese aristocracy praised his "intuitive tact," and those who judge him to-day must acknowledge the sensitive discrimination which has manifested itself through the years in multifarious ways. Those determined traits of character which are the added structure of an earlier foundation are verified to-day by the same unbiassed witnesses. The Saxon ambassador, Count Vitzthum, wrote in the beginning of 1851 :

"The positive contempt for catching at popularity, the taciturnity, can only be complained of by the ambitious : the intuitive acuteness ; prodigious memory for names, places, and people ; the lively sense of duty, almost amounting to a painful conscientiousness ; the chivalry and generosity of character,—are virtues which fully justify the highest expectations."

In 1859 Francis Joseph encountered his first great disappointment. The foreign policy of the country had been unfortunately conducted : Schwarzenberg's design to unite the German Confederation with Austria in a single realm of sixty millions of people, with an assumption of the chief rôle by the imperial government, had resulted in the complete estrangement of Prussia and of those whose wish it was to have a younger and more vigorous German Empire. The German princes refused to support Austria, with its accompaniment of Hungarian and Polish interests. After the end of the war which followed, Austria had expended immense sums on a fruitless armed neutrality, her ranks were decimated by sickness, and all prestige had been swept away through isolation. This condition was regarded by Sardinia and France as advantageous for an attack on Austria. Francis Joseph, with unfaltering faith in the capability of his army, prepared somewhat precipitately to meet the declaration of hostilities, but the war of 1859 showed him that he had been deceived. After the first battle had been lost through



inferior generalship, he assumed the position of commander-in-chief. When he saw the unfortunate condition of affairs (the assistance of Prussia and the German Confederation again failing), he determined to accept the peace proffered by Napoleon III, and to sacrifice Lombardy.

To relinquish absolutism had become an inexorable necessity of state, as Francis Joseph was not slow to perceive; and, difficult as it may have been, he sacrificed his personal inclinations to accomplish what appeared to be a duty. Having assumed his position as a "constitutional monarch," he knew how to make the fact manifest. His first speech from the throne was replete with pathos and a demonstrative amiability toward the deputies. But he was treading new ground of whose dangers he was ignorant. Numerous opposing interests sprang up whose expression had hitherto been suppressed by force. Unlike France or Italy, where various national aspirations interfere with those socialistic groups which have been added of late years, Austria is not a land whose interior politics sway in a line from right to left. In 1860, when Austria became a constitutional monarchy, three principal factors waxed confident—since the embarrassments entailed by the last war had to be considered: the Hungarians, who emphasized the duality of the ancient Hapsburg realm, and who wished for a renewal of their constitution of 1848; the Slavs, who formed the majority of the inhabitants in the larger Crown Lands (Bohemia, Galicia, Moravia, and Carniola), and therefore wished the political power transferred to the various national diets; and the progressive Germans, who in most of these lands, cultivated by their industry, desired centralization in order to escape being overpowered. Furthermore, the question of predominant power in Germany was yet unsettled, and the Italians in Venice and southern Tyrol ardently desired their independence from Austria.

To win over Hungary, Francis Joseph first attempted federal methods, and issued letters patent on October 20, 1860, whereby the central Reichsrath should control only the legislation of general affairs, the granting of new taxes and loans, and the examination of the budget; the diets of the different countries to control other matters as heretofore. At that time the prime minister was the Pole, Goluchowski, father of the present minister of foreign affairs. The Hungarians, however, were dissatisfied, and the German Liberals also feared a renewal of the old assembly as controlled by the nobility. To satisfy the latter a centralized constitution was introduced, February 26, 1861, which included the Hungarians in an enlarged council of



state. It was intended that Schmerling, the new minister, should oppose them. But the effort miscarried, as Poles and Czechs, dissatisfied with centralization, supported him, while the Germans caviled at the half-hearted liberalism of the cabinet till it fell. A circumstance which largely contributed to the overthrow of Schmerling was the attempt on the part of Francis Joseph to arrange the German question in a congress of princes which he had summoned to meet at Frankfurt in the summer of 1863, but which was rendered abortive by the absence of the King of Prussia. The futility of the step urged the non-Germanic races to make advances until the German question was definitely settled, which, however, was only possible by a conflict between the two great German Powers.

The result of the war of 1866 is well known. Notwithstanding the victories at Custozza and Lissa in the Bohemian campaign, Austria lost position and prestige in Germany and Italy. How this additional defeat must have grieved the grandson of Francis II, who had also worn the imperial crown! How painfully the rout of the armies must have touched his sense of military honor! It is said that he wept on hearing the fate of his northern army at Königgrätz. Austria was now even more deserted by all the world than in 1859: her comprehensive plans were frustrated, she was deeply in debt, and was shaken internally by constitutional struggles and unsettled conflicts.

As the result of Schmerling's fall in 1865 the Emperor abolished the much-attacked constitution, and lent an ear to strictly conservative advisers, particularly to Count Moritz Esterhazy, to whose hatred of the Prussians many errors of the following year can be ascribed. The negotiations with Hungary—which had been resumed only to be again interrupted by the war—once more demanded attention. To avoid giving preference to any one party the Emperor dismissed the feudal ministry of Balcredi, and called upon the Saxon minister, Count Beust, to become prime minister, and to adjust the confusion. Quick of decision, the new minister at once tranquilized the Hungarians, who had maintained that so long as Austria formed a part of the German Confederation, it was impossible for them to enter into closer relations with the monarchy, since foreign interests might force them into war. This obstacle was now removed. Francis Joseph granted the Hungarians the old constitution of 1848, with a parliament and ministry of their own. Advised by their excellent statesman, Francis Déak, the Hungarians consented that foreign affairs, war, and common expenditure should be controlled by delegates from the



parliaments of the two divisions of the realm, under whom the three imperial ministerial offices common to both—war, finance, and foreign affairs—were placed. Hungary also concluded a commercial agreement with Austria, renewable every ten years, and the division of expenses was settled. The realm known since 1804 as the “Austrian Empire” now became the “Austro-Hungarian Monarchy”; the monarch receiving the title of “Emperor of Austria, King of Hungary.” Unwilling openly to admit the reduction of older Austria by one half, he objected to the separation of titles into Austria and Hungary; and hence he was solemnly crowned at Pesth, June 18, 1868, swearing allegiance to the constitution.

The system of centralization was finally abandoned, and dualism formed the basis of the constitutional monarchy. Thus peace was restored to one half of the realm. It is true there exists to-day, as formerly, an Independent Magyar party which strives for mere personal union, and honors the exiled Kossuth as its intellectual head; but this faction has never been strong enough to disturb the peace. The Hungarian Slavs were outnumbered by the predominant Liberal party in the parliament, and, following a compromise with Croatia, were included in the Hungarian kingdom.

The Emperor appointed a German Liberal “burger-ministry,” which, by equitable laws for the public schools, substantially advanced higher culture in the state and greatly weakened the overpowering influence of the Catholic Church. That church had resolutely opposed the school laws; and it became necessary to nullify the concordat with Rome, rendered peculiarly opportune by the declaration of the infallibility of the Pope in 1870. The position assumed by the Emperor in this affair deserves the higher praise, because the Clerical party—which finds its most faithful adherents among the Austrian aristocracy and at court—spared no intrigues, lies, or insinuations to restrain the pious monarch from sanctioning the new laws,—a spectacle repeated when, in 1895, Hungary introduced a law for civil marriage and the civil registration of baptisms, marriages, and deaths. But, notwithstanding his conservative disposition and his disapproval of the “burger-ministry,” and in spite also of the imprecations of Pius IX,—which were a severe trial to his religious convictions,—Francis Joseph remained firm. He also deemed it expedient to give his son Rudolph an education in accordance with modern views, to which, later, the tragical end of this prince in 1889 was attributed.

The “burger-ministry” fell, owing to the strength of the Slavie



opposition, and because the Emperor by no means desired to repel the Slavic element. The reasons controlling the Emperor are shown by the prime minister, Hasner, in his memoirs, where he states that the Emperor thought it was easier to regulate the church questions with the Slavs than with the liberal-minded Germans, and furthermore, so late as the 'sixties, Francis Joseph desired a substitute—possible only among the eastern Slavs—for the lost Italian provinces. Hence it was necessary to induce the remaining Slavic divisions of the monarchy to accept a favorable view of the situation. This was difficult. To satisfy the Czechs, a federal constitution must be introduced by which relations with Austria—as yet hardly touched upon—would be regulated. The Magyars, who dominated the Slavs living in the kingdom, observed with reluctance the growth of the Slavic influence in Vienna, and—as they represented in the monarchy a political half of the dualism—by no means wished to see it reduced to a third. Hence the attempts of the Hohenwart ministry in 1871 to meet the federalizing intention of the Czechs were soon shattered, owing to the resistance of the Hungarian government, of which Count Andrassy was then the head. The minister, Count Beust, had suggested doubts about the foreign policy, to which the Emperor was not indifferent. Ignatieff had shown the Czar, Alexander II, how far such loosely aggregated elements as composed Austria would favor Russian interests. Francis Joseph permitted the fall of the Conservative federal cabinet of Hohenwart, and again appointed a Liberal constitutional ministry under Prince Adolf Auersperg, with whom he maintained the friendliest relations. He dismissed Beust, whose reasons against the federal tendency had been too tardily developed.

The new cabinet remained in office until 1879. A new regulation of the elections of 1873, which elected the Vienna Parliament by direct votes, instead of, as formerly, by deputies sent from the diets, ended the conflict over the constitution and secured a majority to the ministry in spite of the non-participation of the Czechs. This position was maintained until weakened through the desertion of the constitutional party. This last event is connected with a matter which demonstrates with peculiar clearness the weight of the personal element in the constitutional monarchy of Austria. After 1866 the Emperor's sentiments, although suppressed, were bitter against Prussia, notwithstanding the mutually amicable relations arranged by Count Andrassy (appointed in Beust's place) which were indicated by the journey to Berlin in 1872. In the same spirit the Emperor relinquished hostilities



against Italy, and in 1875 decided on a journey to Venice, which with consummate tact he chose as the city pre-eminently fitted to convince King Victor Emanuel of his own pacific intentions. His one thought—to find elsewhere a substitute for the lost Italian territories—had now assumed definite form. From Venice Francis Joseph journeyed to Dalmatia, where he continued several weeks. It is uncertain whether the question of the acquisition of Bosnia and Herzegovina was under discussion here,—perhaps it was mentioned in the personal interview held with the military governor, Rodich, and the confidential adjutant-general, Beck. For Dalmatia—an altogether too uncertain possession since the loss of the Upper Adriatic Italian coast—needed some territory to connect and hold it in accord with the monarchy. Three years later this favorite plan, initiated by the Emperor, was legalized by the mandate of the Berlin Congress. But an unexpected obstacle arose. The predominating party of the Vienna Reichsrath, the German Liberals, from whose ranks was formed the Auersperg cabinet, maintaining that the Slav element in the monarchy should not be strengthened, opposed the policy of occupation. A minority only were statesmen enough to avoid creating trouble for the monarchy in regard to European questions. As the result proved, the Berlin treaty was carried through the Vienna Reichsrath only by the aid of the Slavs and Clericals. Thus was the German Liberal cabinet overthrown, and the adherents of states-unity and progress continued for many years to be without a share in the government.

Francis Joseph now entrusted the government to the tried friend of his youth, Count Taaffe, a former member of the “burger-ministry,” who, evidently in response to the personal wishes of the monarch, by certain promises persuaded the feudal-clerical landed proprietors of Bohemia and the Czechs (still absent from the Reichsrath) to enter parliament and combine with the German Clericals, the Poles, and the southern Slavs in forming a Conservative majority. The Czechs, it is true, entered under protest, not renouncing on principle a change of the constitution in a federal sense, but hoping temporarily to attain their purpose by means of the government—namely, to become the ruling power in the three nations of Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia, which formerly constituted the kingdom of Bohemia, and to dominate the German element, as the Magyars had ruled over the Slavs in Hungary and the Poles over the Ruthenians. To this end they found support in the government, which in April, 1880, issued a decree compelling officials and judges in the discharge of their public duties to



be familiar with both the Bohemian and Moravian languages. This measure, and like concessions granted the Clericals and Slavs, incited the Liberal Germans to vigorous opposition, which the Emperor in vexation called "mutinous," although this was not the case. As the elections of 1885 strengthened the majority, as the national concessions to the Slavs were continued at the expense of the German element, and as, in January, 1889, the tragical death of the Liberal Crown Prince (who was favorably disposed toward the Germans) robbed them of one of their most valued hopes, more than a hundred of the Liberal Germans—the "Vereinigten Deutschen Linken"—considered the expediency of withdrawing from the Reichsrath. This displeased the Emperor, since it did not accord with his conception of the co-operation of all the state forces—"viribus unitis." He saw not only the danger of the national quarrel being communicated to the army, but a menace to its German administration and the Teutonic language of military command. Finally it seemed irrational to join Austria in a triple alliance with the German Empire and Italy, since this would deprive it of the combined German and Italian parliamentary support—a deprivation which had already been threatened by the southern Slavs. The Emperor ordered Count Taaffe to bring the Germans and Czechs into accord in Bohemia, and to arrest further action against the "Left." In 1890 a compromise in Bohemia was effected, though the Czechs again demanded a change in the constitution and the establishment of a special Bohemian autonomy. This party attained the ascendancy, the elections for the Reichsrath in 1891 brought its adherents into parliament, overthrew the majority of the Conservative government, and the national quarrel gained new strength. Moreover the Social Democrats among the laboring classes urgently demanded legislative participation.<sup>1</sup>

Universal suffrage has not yet been introduced into Austria. The three hundred and fifty-three deputies in the Vienna Reichsrath are elected from among the landed proprietors and the Chamber of Commerce: in the cities and rural communities the voters, since 1882, have been subjected to a tax of five gulden. To act for the interests of the laboring classes, the Liberal Germans in 1886 proposed to create a Chamber of Labor, from which deputies should be sent to parliament,—a measure opposed by Count Taaffe and the "Right." In 1893, however, the suffrage was extended, the Emperor consented to admit

<sup>1</sup> This by no means implies, however, that the laboring classes in Austria are, as a whole, organized on social-democratic principles: in point of fact only about one fourth of them are so organized.



the workman to share in the legislative power, and this Count Taaffe was to effectuate. His procedure was peculiar. He proposed an amendment to the suffrage which safeguarded the conservative interests of the landed proprietors and of the Chamber of Commerce intact, but introduced among the cities and the rural communities an almost universal suffrage, which in many districts would surely have displaced the existing deputies by others of the socialistic party. His intention, supported by this party as a solid and subservient government majority, was to force the national question, by means of the socialistic question, into the background, and thus make secure all the conservative parliamentary elements now threatened by a socialistic opposition. This design, however, incurred the opposition of the three great parliamentary parties. The German Liberal representatives combined with the Conservative deputies and the Polish National Unionists to effect the fall of the Taaffe cabinet. The Emperor worded the Count's dismissal in terms of great kindness, while he appointed as ministers, under Prince Windischgrätz, members of the three parties unified by the coalition. From the impossibility of arresting the national dispute for even so short a period, this system was broken down eighteen months later.

Under the administration of Count Taaffe the mutual aversions of the nationalities gathered strength until the truce resolved upon by the Slavs was dissolved, and the founding of a Slovenian high school in the Teutonic city of Cilli was enough to determine the German deputies to withdraw from the mutual coalition, which, moreover, was seriously threatened by a Czechic and anti-Semitic opposition. While these unceasing conflicts held sway between Germans and Czechs, Germans and Slovenes, Liberal Germans and Conservative Germans, two nations were gaining an advantage: the Hungarians on the one side and the Poles on this side of the river Leitha. Hungary, whose parliament is controlled by a strong Liberal majority which has been in power since 1868, is well-nigh exempt from national struggles, and is rapidly progressing in liberal culture and development. On the other hand, the Poles have attained a substantial political recognition, the result of skilful action and a just estimate both of their parliamentary power and the turning of every favorable opportunity to their own advantage. Although they comprise both Clerical and Liberal elements, in parliament they have been a united national party, and have obtained an undisputed autonomy for their country, together with many financial and social benefits for their people.



Since the accentuation of the tension between Russia and the Triple Alliance in the 'eighties, and the distribution of a large part of the Czar's army along the western provinces, the frontier of Galicia has assumed an unwonted importance in Austrian politics, necessitating a military strength corresponding to the Russian distribution. It became a serious undertaking for the Galician administration to provide for these immense bodies of troops in a land so thinly settled, and to-day it is easy to see, in the imperial confidence enjoyed by Count Badeni as prime minister, the result of his unremitting care for this army. Forced, as Austria was, to increase its power of defence by a reserve, it was foreseen that in the event of war by this new system the Galicians would be affected, but, in spite of this, the change was accepted by the Poles. Moreover, in the event of war with Russia, the sentiments of the Ruthenian populace must be taken into account; for their sympathies, urged by hatred of the Poles who practically governed them, had until recently inclined strongly toward their Russian kindred. It is said that some of the Ruthenian clergy had even incited a strong Russian sentiment among the peasantry. It now became important to conciliate this antagonism, and to find a *modus vivendi*. This was accomplished by the discreet policy of the Poles in the Galician Diet, acting in co-operation with the "young Ruthenian party," which, with the multiplication of its numbers and importance, favored an agreement with the Poles. As monarch and commander-in-chief of the army, Francis Joseph appreciates and recognizes the services rendered to the state, and he loses no opportunity to express these sentiments to the Poles. Who can deem it remarkable that the Austro-Hungarian monarchy has to-day a Polish minister of foreign affairs, or that, in one of the two divisions of the empire, the premier and the ministers of the interior and finance are also Poles? One may see herein an argument for the strength of the monarchical element in Austria. This authority has intensified the continual contention of national parties, none of which has a majority in the Reichsrath, and whose differentiation becomes constantly more accentuated. To-day there exist three Czechic, two Slovenic, two Liberal German, one Clerical German, one Christian Social German, and two Italian factions in the Reichsrath. Each one appeals to the sovereign, whose prestige has thus become so powerful that the last change of ministry was effected without the formal co-operation of the House of Deputies.

Such being the situation, the state is fortunate in possessing a sov-



ereign like Francis Joseph, who rules with impartiality, serving the dual interests of state and dynasty which he rightly considers as the mightiest links wherewith to hold the monarchy together. This quality has given the Emperor, especially since the death of the Crown Prince in 1889, universal popularity and respect. Moreover, it is the common opinion that this impartiality and severe subordination of personal inclination to the general welfare cannot be expected to a similar degree in the heir presumptive. Primarily, by his devotion to duty, the Emperor is entitled to the consideration he receives. The former prime minister, Hasner, in his memoirs, has without exaggeration described the sovereign as "the most industrious man in the realm." Bismarck, with every other diplomatist who has had relations with him, confirms this statement. Alike in summer and winter the Emperor rises early, and by five o'clock he is occupied at his standing desk. He examines all proposals laid before him, particularly such as relate to military or foreign affairs (the latter department he has himself directed since the withdrawal of Andrassy in 1879), and matters concerned with royal favors and pardons as well as the persons and property of members of the imperial family. He submits every detail to a careful consideration. Military manœuvres or travel make no difference to the Emperor, who has frequently, while on hunting-trips, attended to official business. Frequently the frugal mid-day repast is served to the Emperor at his desk. With astonishing accuracy he examines every subject—more particularly matters relating to important legislative designs—laid before him by the ministry. The former minister of justice, Glaser, mentions the fact that the Emperor in 1872 called his attention to a couple of contradictory statements in the draft of an extensive penal code, which had escaped the practised eye of the lawyer, and which the Emperor himself corrected. Likewise the Emperor, before permitting the introduction of ecclesiastical laws, subjects them to a severe scrutiny, after which his decision is unalterable. Actuated by a similar conscientiousness, he maturely reflected upon the proposition of Archduke Albrecht to continue the war against Prussia in 1866, before rejecting it. His knowledge of affairs, supported by a most tenacious memory, exacts a similar competent knowledge of his council in the several departments. It is related by a certain minister that, an insignificant subject coming before the council, the Emperor alone among his ministers recalled its previous treatment, a fact proved by referring to the protocols.

As the Emperor never forgets a person whom he has once seen or



spoken to, presentations are very seldom necessary—as, for instance, on the occasion of large receptions of the representative body, at great court festivals, exhibitions, etc. Those who converse with him on such occasions are impressed by his great personal affability, which loosens the most embarrassed tongue. His patience and perseverance are as astonishing as his faculty of readily saying something to each individual. The address to the Emperor by Baron Chlumecky, president of the Reichsrath, in the name of the Vienna Parliament, giving expression to their united admiration of the sovereign's unparalleled devotion to a multiplicity of difficult duties, was no empty ovation. Francis Joseph likes to be addressed frankly in short pregnant sentences. At the time of the Schmerling ministry he reproached the Hungarian archbishop, later Cardinal Haynald, for his discreditable behavior, observing that it was only a step removed from treason. "Very true, Sire," replied the quick-witted ecclesiastical prince, "but I shall never take that step." He won his cause by this remark. From the state functionaries who come into direct contact with him servility pleases him as little as a want of refinement. Negative characters are highly repugnant to him. He is most particular in every relation with his advisers, and demands from them a similar conduct. However freely he allows the minute discussion of affairs appertaining to business, criticism of the department of another is strictly forbidden. Directly a functionary—be his influence what it may—leaves office, discussion of departmental affairs ceases, since the Emperor would consider any other procedure an injustice to the newly-elected adviser.

This delicate perception of upright conduct is noticeable in the Emperor's every transaction. The publicist Orges, arriving in Vienna in 1860 on a special mission from Berlin, informed the Emperor that the higher Prussian circles greatly distrusted Austrian policy, and, in the event of an attack on the Rhine, were fearful of an invasion of Austrian troops into Silesia. Orges reports: "His Majesty's face flushed, while with the liveliest emotion he replied, 'How can people believe such infamous things of me!'" Five years later, on the abolition of the constitution, a newspaper article spoke of the mandate of Charles X,—a comparison which deeply hurt the Emperor, who exclaimed in exasperation, "I am not a Charles X." After all this it were folly to talk of an influential court party at Vienna. Court and Emperor are separate and distinct. Thoroughly conscious of the elevation of his office and mission, Francis Joseph is fully aware that it must be publicly sustained, and the court, by its traditional eti-



quette, pomp, and ceremony, in which the Emperor performs his part with conscientious punctuality, serves him to this end. Otherwise he is most retired and unassuming. Satisfied with the simplest of food and clothing, appearing invariably in uniform, he leads a regular and temperate life, his healthy organization thus retaining its vigorous strength. His recreations, when affairs permit, are hunting, a hard ride in the morning air, or now and again a journey to his daughter, Marie Valerie, who lives in Upper Austria and to whose children he is a devoted grandfather. In former years he found recreation in the society of the bookbinder Groner, from whose freedom of speech he obtained a reflection of popular sentiment; and he would also visit the Burg theatre. Latterly it has been his habit to make occasional morning visits to the renowned actress Frau Von Kiss-Schratt, with whom both the Emperor and the Empress stand in friendly relation. Many interesting stories are told of the imperial family life, particularly of the time when the children were small; how the parents shared in their sports and prepared the Christmas tree. The unhappy end of the Crown Prince plunged the imperial pair into the profoundest grief, but they found in each other mutual comfort and support.

Mention must be made of the Emperor's extraordinary generosity to the poor and needy. Numberless careers have been saved by his quick and liberal beneficence; unknown to the public, enormous sums find their way to the poor from his private purse. This benevolence has appreciably increased since, by the death of his uncle Ferdinand in 1875, the Emperor inherited the great family fortune, the substantial foundations of which were laid in the last century by Francis I, the husband of Maria Theresa.

Such is the sovereign. And the realm? Its transition to modern forms of government, begun under the system of absolutism, has been too often interrupted by the disadvantages which were the result of that system, by violent crises, by the deplorable financial condition, calamitous wars, and, lastly, by the embittered constitutional struggles, until, after the defeats of 1866, the lowest point of Austria's European position was finally reached. Then it was that the speech from the throne contained the following words: "Let not the secret thought of retaliation guide our measures; but let a nobler intention animate us, that animosity and disaffection may be turned into respect and affection." Austria-Hungary has, with mutual benefit, remained faithful to this programme of peace. Guided by the Emperor, popular education on a more elevated plane has enriched the state with a new and abun-



dant strength. The army has been reorganized, and no sacrifice has been considered too great to bring it, by a universal military training for all classes, up to a broad basis of equality with the other armies of Europe. The national debt has been consolidated, and the financial situation has been improved by methods of economy. The severe crisis of 1873 once weathered, prosperity increased. Instead of a deficit Austria and Hungary alike have for a number of years enjoyed a very considerable surplus: in 1893 that of Hungary reached \$35,890,000. Each country is considering the regulation of its currency and a withdrawal of the unfunded paper money, a remnant of the 'sixties. After the constitution was assured, each community obtained the right of self-government; in simple cases the state administration was separated from that of the judicial, a jury aiding the judge in penal cases and in such as concern the press; individual claims upon the state were transferred to higher courts. With the law concerning societies and meetings, the last remnant of the old police system was abolished. Trade, freed from the system of guilds, received a new impetus through museums of industrial arts in Vienna, Budapest, and the provinces, together with their associated schools; and speedily the products of Austrian industry compared favorably with those of foreign lands. A college and various normal schools of agriculture, largely subsidized by the state and with the instruction of specially appointed lecturers, paved the way to a more rational system of agronomics. The prosperity of the peasants, especially in Hungary, has greatly increased since their liberation.

The peculiar advantages of the industrial establishments have strengthened and developed the state, and particularly the two cities of Vienna and Budapest. Until well into the 'fifties the centre of Vienna was still surrounded by fortifications; the walls were then removed, and the town was beautified by handsome squares, streets, and imposing works of modern architecture. Budapest also expanded rapidly, with an extraordinary increase of commercial activity. National jealousy spurred on the capitals of the several Crown Lands, which, as in Prague and Lemberg, displayed a truly metropolitan life. Vienna, under Francis Joseph, the promoter of art, has increased its reputation as the home of good taste. The universities were reorganized, new institutes were added and fully equipped with all the resources demanded by modern science, and the technical high schools under the impetus of the general development in arts and sciences, were also forced to a corresponding reorganization. The energies of the people were directed



into new channels. Obstructions to the navigation of the Danube were removed, and railroads multiplied and extended despite the difficulties presented by mountainous regions—particularly in Austria,—until, in the north of Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia, they might be favorably compared with those of larger commercial countries. These roads largely became the property of the state, with an accompanying reduction in traffic rates. The presence of Francis Joseph at the opening of the Suez Canal was an expression of the part Austria-Hungary was preparing to assume in the world's intercourse.

Thus state and people have co-operated to realize the imperial programme. The vigorous expansion of the monarchy, and its credit, visible in the continual and very considerable appreciation of the national bonds; the indirect revenue; the consolidation of the constitution; the honest relinquishment of all ideas of retaliation; the policy of peace and internal invigoration,—dissipated disaffection and hostility and won respect and consideration. Germany and Italy sought alliance with the empire, and the international union proved far more advantageous than its former unfavorable condition in the German Confederation and in northern Italy. The commercial treaties recently concluded with the neighboring powers, have also aided the industrial interests of the empire in attaining a commendable stability. If, on the one hand, the monarchy does not quite occupy the leading position among European powers, as in Metternich's day, on the other hand, its present position rests on a more solid foundation than formerly. It is established upon the free and harmonious co-operation of sovereign and people, since both can contemplate with satisfaction the fruit of an untiring industry which has shrunk from no sacrifice.

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## ON PLEASING THE TASTE OF THE PUBLIC.

Two lines of the prologue for the opening of Drury Lane Theatre, which Dr. Johnson wrote to be spoken by his former pupil, David Garrick, still linger on our lips as a familiar quotation:—

“ The drama’s laws the drama’s patrons give,  
And we that live to please must please to live.”

This pair of rhymes is characterized by the robust common sense which at once limits Johnson’s criticism and gives it its chief value. Common sense kept the man who could thus compact a simple truth into a striking couplet from giving to his assertion an extension not warranted by his own long continued observation of the methods and the motives of men of letters. An absence of this caution has led later writers to ascribe the broad success of this or that author to the skill with which this or that author has gauged the popular taste at the moment of publication, artfully preparing his literary wares to meet a widespread demand which he has shrewdly foreseen.

This is a most unsatisfactory and a most unscientific attempt to explain away what seems often inexplicable,—the interest sometimes shown by the book-buying public in the writings of an author whose works are not esteemed by his fellow-craftsmen. As it is hard to prove a negative I will not maintain that no author has ever been clear-sighted enough to guess at the probable duration of the next swing of the pendulum; but I am certain that the lucky hits of this sort must be very far between and that any author who should rely mainly on his ability to guess at the kind of book the public was going to thirst after six months or a year later, would be very likely to go hungry himself.

And I venture to believe also that there is a fallacy concealed in the phrase which speaks of “the taste of the public,” for it assumes that there is a public,—*one* public, having a taste in common with all its members. I am inclined to think that, so far from there being only one public, the number of publics having widely divergent likes and dislikes is indefinite, not to say infinite. These smaller publics are no



two of them of the same size; and no doubt the membership of some of them is too limited for an author to hope to make his living by pleasing it. There are in fact as many different publics as there are separate authors; and there must be, since no two writers ever made precisely the same appeal to their readers. No two leaders in literature ever had exactly the same set of followers. The admirers of Byron when he burst forth first had been many of them the admirers of Scott; but the two circles had not the same radius; and they were intersecting and not concentric.

The broad reading public to which a popular author is supposed to address himself, is really rent in twain by the differences of its disputes over literary principles. Just as a man must take either the Hebraic view of life or the Hellenic, to use the distinction that Matthew Arnold borrowed from Heine, just as he must be either an Aristotelian or a Platonist, whether he knows it or not, so he is also (perhaps from inquiry and conviction but more probably from native temperament) either an Ancient or a Modern, either a Classicist or a Romanticist, either an Idealist or a Realist. The standards are opposed and the conflict is irrepressible. Whoever enlists under one of these banners is ready with the torch to torture those who volunteer to uphold the other. The very acrimony of these discussions is all the evidence anyone can demand before being assured that the public is not one, single, and indivisible.

The public is really but a congeries of warring factions; and sometimes these factions are representative of the degree of development to which those who compose it have attained. Each, as it rises a step higher in the scale of civilization, naturally despises that which remains below on the plane it has just abandoned, and it is in turn detested by that over which it boasts its new superiority. Probably a similar state of affairs is visible wherever there is progress; those who are going to the front looking back with contempt on those who linger in the rear,—a contempt which is repaid with frank and justifiable hatred. Perhaps as apt an illustration of this as any now available may be found in the present state of affairs existing among the vast body of men and women who are fond of the game of whist.

In Dr. Pole's calm and scientific discussion of the "Evolution of Whist, a Study of the Progressive Changes which the Game has passed through from its Origin to the Present Time," we are told that the development of whist has had four periods. In the first of these the player relied chiefly on his master-cards and his trumps, following suit



with any one of his low cards; and this Dr. Pole calls the Primitive Game. In the second stage the game was raised into a really intellectual pastime by Hoyle and his followers, and long whist gave way before short whist. The Game of Hoyle was the basis of the development taking place during the third period, during which there was evolved the Philosophical Game, indissolubly connected with the names of Clay and "Cavendish." The fourth period is that of the Latter-day Improvements, in which the American Leads have been adopted with other concomitant devices of like delicacy and subtlety.

As it happens there is a department of literature in which the development is singularly similar to the evolution of whist and in which we can also declare four chronological periods, the one following the other and flowering from it. This is the art of Fiction. In the beginning Fiction dealt with the Impossible,—with wonders, with mysteries, with the supernatural; and these are the staple of the "Arabian Nights," of Greek romances like the "Golden Ass," and of the tales of chivalry like "Amadis of Gaul." In the second stage the merely Improbable was substituted for the frankly Impossible; and the hero went through adventures in kind such as might befall anybody, but in quantity far more than are likely to happen to any single man, unless his name were *Gil Blas* or *Quentin Durward*, *Natty Bumppo*, or *d'Artagnan*. Then, in the course of years, the Improbable was superseded by the Probable; and it is by their adroit presentation of the Probable that Balzac and Thackeray hold their high places in the history of the art. But the craft of the novelist did not come to its climax with the masterpieces of Balzac and of Thackeray; its development continued perforce; and there arose story-tellers who preferred to deal rather with the Inevitable than with the Probable only; of this fourth stage of the evolution of fiction perhaps the most salient examples are the "Scarlet Letter" of Hawthorne and the "Romola" of George Eliot, the "Smoke" of Turgeneff and the "Anna Karénina" of Tolstoi.

"We have noticed four steps or stages marking the progress, and producing four varieties of game, all really Whist, but Whist in different stages of development," says Dr. Pole, and his words can be applied absolutely to the four varieties of Fiction also. "The later forms have, indeed, grown out of the earlier ones, but have not necessarily extinguished or abolished them,"—and this is true of fiction too. "The admirers of any late step are perfectly justified in showing its superiority to the one before it, but there is room enough in the world for both to continue to exist side by side"; and it is from this lofty



attitude of broad toleration thus recommended by Dr. Pole, that the late Professor Boyesen departed when he commented on the amazing predilection Mr. Andrew Lang had declared for the more primitive forms of Fiction. The novel-readers who prefer tales of the Impossible or of the Improbable resemble the whist-players who prefer the Primitive Game, which, so Dr. Pole informs us, is still—

“—played by enormous numbers of domestic players, who find incidents enough in it to amuse them for hours together. And though many of them would doubtless be able to learn and to enjoy a more intellectual form, there is no reason why it should be thrust upon them, or why they should be calumniated for adhering to their innocent form of entertainment. It is probable that they follow fairly the general mode of play in the infancy of the game.”

We all see that it was in the infancy of Fiction that it dealt with the Impossible and in its boyhood that it began to attempt the Improbable. Although the liking for the Impossible still survives among children and is likely to survive among them always, I am inclined to think that it is almost dead among men and women who have attained their majority. The bulk of the novel-readers of this last decade of the nineteenth century are either in the second stage of development or in the third; they have been wearied by the exploiting of the Impossible, but they are not yet ready to enjoy the discussion of the Inevitable; and they do not care much whether the incidents of the stories they lounge through negligently are doubtfully improbable or actually probable. But there is a certain portion of the public which takes its fiction seriously, which respects the art of narrative, which sees the possibilities now open before the novelist, and which holds the story-teller up to the highest standard. This portion of the public—welcoming warmly the fiction which gives the most truthful interpretation of life—is steadily gaining in numbers and in influence.

I fear that its swifter increase is not a little retarded by its own intolerance toward the novel-readers who yet delight in the Primitive Game. This attitude is easy to understand but none the less is it unfortunate. “We may take it for granted that, whatever may be the exclusive notions of the select Whist aristocracy, there will always be a large democratic body who will please themselves as to what sort of game they will play,” says Dr. Pole very pertinently. “The amiable lady who begins by playing out her aces, or the pleasant club-member who leads his lowest card from five, ought not to be upbraided for bad play. All that should be said is that they play varieties of the game differing from that recommended in ‘Cavendish’s’ latest edition.” In



like manner Prof. Boyesen should not have berated Mr. Lang for preferring Mr. Haggard's gory romances to Tolstoi's more serious discussions of human experience. The American critic should have contented himself with pointing out that his British colleague liked the Primitive Game better than the Latter-day Improvements. And really it was unreasonable in Prof. Boyesen to expect that Mr. Lang should appreciate the new American Leads, either in literature or in life.

Any movement forward by the more intelligent is like the sending ahead of skirmishers, and we have no right to expect to find the main body of the army close at the heels of the advance guard. The most we can hope is that the ground taken by the few pioneers yesterday shall be held in force to-day. Generally any improvement in taste makes its way slowly, and the bulk of the public must always lag long behind the keener intellects that delight to spy out a new land for themselves. In New York city, for instance, the last thirty years have seen a most extraordinary increase in the popular appreciation of music.

Toward the end of the 'sixties Mr. Theodore Thomas and his orchestra played every summer night in the old Central Park Garden and the programme was made up largely of medleys from Offenbach's operettas and of dance-music. Owing to Mr. Thomas's increasing efforts to give better and better music as he educated the New York concert-goer, and owing also to the labors of Dr. Damrosch and Mr. Seidl, there is now perhaps no city in the world where more music of the highest class is heard in the course of the year than in New York, and none where it is more delicately enjoyed. The finest of Wagner's music-dramas are not now too solid fare for the subscribers of the Metropolitan Opera House, who no longer find any satisfaction even in the most expensive performance of sugary trifles like the "Lucia" of Donizetti.

But though the subscribers of the Metropolitan Opera House have lost their liking for "Traviata" and for "Trovatore," the occasional experiments of other opera-companies in other New York theatres and in opera-houses in other cities of the Union seem to show that there are perhaps as many music-lovers as ever who have advanced just far enough to understand and enjoy these simple favorites of former days. The opera-goers of this class are like the whist-players who stick to the Primitive Game or the novel-readers who revel in romances of the Improbable. And I have no doubt that if a young conductor possessing such shrewdness and force as Mr. Thomas revealed, should give summer night concerts in New York, placing on his programme dance-tunes and medleys from operettas, he would have now quite as large a



following as Mr. Thomas had thirty years ago; and in time he could slowly lead on this portion of the public to the acceptance of music demanding a more careful appreciation.

There is ready at hand yet another example of the ease with which a portion of the public can be educated to have a relish for the finer forms of art. It was in the 'sixties that Mr. Thomas began his elevating work here in New York; and it was in the 'seventies that the American magazines began to seek for a fresher and a richer pictorial embellishment, a search which slowly brought into existence the illustrated monthly due to the loving co-operation of the editor, the artist, the engraver, and the printer. The best of these sumptuous publications, having gradually created the taste by which they were estimated, attained to an enormous circulation,—a fact which might seem to prove them to be precisely “the kind of periodical that the public wants.”

Yet early in the 'nineties we saw the appearance of a swarm of cheaper monthlies, filled with process-blocks from photographs; and some of these slight magazines also attained to an enormous circulation. But as the success of these new periodicals affected only a little (if at all) the sale of the older and solider magazines, it is obvious that “the kind of periodical that the public wants” is a question to which there are now two answers. In other words, while one segment of the reading circle has been led to develop a liking for the more substantial merits of the established magazines, another segment is attracted by the cheap tawdriness of the more flimsy novelties. And it is quite within the bounds of possibility that an inventive editor might now devise a third form of periodical which should also attain to an enormous circulation without interfering with the profits of either class of monthly now most in favor; he would be proving only the existence of a third segment of the reading circle.

So I return to the assertion made in an early paragraph of this paper; there is really no such entity as *the* public. There is *a* public ready to welcome everything which is good in its kind; and there are as many publics as there are different kinds of good things. Few of us are so limited in our likings as to belong to one public only. The extreme Wagnerite is often warmest in praise of a captivating waltz by Strauss; and the extreme veritist can acknowledge the charm of a romantic fantasy of Stevenson's. Perhaps a reader of extraordinary catholicity might belong almost to all the different publics.

Some of these publics are very large indeed and some of them are very small. “Hamlet,” for example, appeals to almost every type of



play-goer, while the performance of Ibsen's "Ghosts" pleases only a chosen few. In general, of course, the higher up the pyramid is cut, the smaller will be the area of the cross-section,—“Hamlet” being one of the rare works which are so nearly universal as rather to bisect the pyramid than to cut across it. When one has once grasped firmly the idea that the people at large are massed in a pyramid, one layer above the other, with the most intelligent at the apex, one cannot but see the futility of all assertions that “the public wants to be amused,” and “the public wants sensation and excitement,” and “the public does not want analysis and disquisition.” There is a public that wants to be amused; and perhaps the larger portion of this public wants sensation and excitement and does not want analysis and disquisition. But there is a public also which does want analysis and disquisition and does not want sensation and excitement. There is a segment of the reading circle with the keenest relish for airy fantasy and for delicate humor. There is another segment hungry for the naked truth. There is yet another which has no real liking for knowledge of itself and which therefore likes to hear over and over again the old outworn tales and to listen again and again to old outworn rhymes of *love* and *dove*, of *heart* and *part*.

This diversity of public taste has always existed—except perhaps in the compact community of Athens. In the prologue he wrote for the third performance of one of his comedies, Terence denounced the foolish spectators because at the first performance they were all excitement over an exhibition on the tight-rope which was to follow, and because at the second performance the theatre emptied itself suddenly in the middle of the play, when a rumor ran around the house that there were going to be gladiators elsewhere in the neighborhood. (If I may open a parenthesis here, I should like to drop the query as to whether Gresham's Law may not be as potent in art as it is in finance, the inferior product driving out the superior, as the bloody shows of the arena in Rome finally extinguished the Latin literary drama.) In England under Elizabeth the wooden theatres in which Shakespeare's sublimest tragedies were acted, served on other days of the week as a ring for the sport of bear-baiting. In the early part of the nineteenth century in London, when Sarah Siddons and John Philip Kemble were in the plenitude of their powers, they played often to the bare benches of Drury Lane, while the same night Covent Garden would be packed with people eager to behold a real elephant take part in a spectacular pantomime. The elephant and the bear-baiting and the



gladiators, each in their turn, pleased that part of the public which was still playing the Primitive Game—to use Dr. Pole's phrase—and which therefore was wholly incapable of understanding the Philosophical Game, so to speak, of Mrs. Siddons, of Shakespeare, and of Terence.

And yet that portion of the public which clings to the Primitive Game has at least one fine quality; it is perfectly sincere. It is not a humbug, or a sham. It knows what it likes and it is not ashamed of its prejudices. It makes no pretence of regard for the more advanced art it is unable to appreciate. It is frank and outspoken in its conviction that Hawthorne is slow and Turgeneff dull; and it makes no effort whatever to conceal its opinion that Ibsen is tiresome and that Mr. Howells is colorless. It is wholly without the snobbishness which induces not a few of those readers who really most enjoy the romances of Mr. Haggard to pretend that they prefer the novels of Mr. Meredith merely because there was once a Meredith cult among the cultured.

I am inclined to believe that the position of that portion of the public which retains its primitive taste in literature, is often misrepresented and even more often misunderstood. For one thing this portion of the public is composed of plain people who are not only sincere themselves in their literary likes and dislikes, but are also swift to detect insincerity in the authors who seek to interest them. They revolt at the slightest hint of condescension. They insist on being taken seriously;—and this is why Mr. Andrew Lang's ingenious sensational story "The Mark of Cain" fell flat, while hundreds of thousands were sold of the sensational stories of "Hugh Conway" who had not a tithe of Mr. Lang's cleverness.

Here we find a possible explanation of a problem which has puzzled more than one generation of literary critics;—why do the writings of certain authors have an immense vogue when these authors are seen to be without the really great qualities? Is success in literature only a lottery? Is the general public a fool then, easily to be led by the nose? As there is no effect without a cause, there must be a reason for the popularity which sometimes seems to us unaccountable. The real explanation of the welcome which was bestowed on the "Proverbial Philosophy" of the late Martin Farquhar Tupper, for example, or on the novels of the late E. P. Roe, is to be sought in the sincerity of these two writers. Neither was in any way a charlatan. Both of them gave the public the best they had in them; and, as it happened, they thus voiced the unformulated feelings of the segment of the reading circle to which they themselves belonged. So far from writing



*down* to the public taste, as they were accused of doing, they were, in fact, writing *up* to the taste of the portion of the public that welcomed their works. By their own birth and bringing up, both Mr. Tupper and Mr. Roe were in a measure representative of the "plain people," as Lincoln phrased it; and they could not help taking the plain people's point of view. This the plain people recognized promptly; and the writers had their reward on the spot. Their writings lacked the permanent qualities of literature, no doubt, and that is why their vogue was temporary only.

More accomplished men of letters than either Mr. Tupper or Mr. Roe have not taken this point of view naturally and thus they have failed to voice the feelings of the very segment of the reading circle they hoped to please. Indeed, I doubt if any author, who has tried to guess at the taste of the public that he might flatter it, has ever made a hit satisfactory to himself; and I am certain that no author who really despised his audience, as more than one author may have pretended to despise it, has ever really pleased those to whom he made his appeal thus cynically. It happens that I have met at one time or another many of the novelists and dramatists of France, of England, and of America, those whom the critics delight to honor and those also at whom the criticasters joy to gird; and the quality which the latter class seemed to me to have most abundantly was earnestness. They believed in their own work and they were doing it as well as in them lay. Their success was due to the fact that their best corresponded absolutely with the ideal of a certain segment of the reading circle or of a certain proportion of the play-goers. In other words, and to use another of Lincoln's always keen phrases, these popular novelists and dramatists were producing "just the kind of thing that a man would like who liked that kind of thing." And that is why they met with a far wider success than the far cleverer and far more accomplished men of letters whose merits might be vaunted by all who had so far progressed themselves in literature as to appreciate the Latter-day Developments, as Dr. Pole calls them. It is only now and again that there comes a rare writer able to delight at once his brethren of the craft and the plain people also; and he does this not by trying to please the public but rather by expressing himself and by doing always the best he knows how. His segment of the reading circle subtends a very wide angle because his art is as firm as his outlook on our common humanity is broad.

BRANDER MATTHEWS.



## HOLLAND'S CARE FOR ITS POOR.

THE conditions in Holland are such as to make economy absolutely necessary. There is but little waste that can be tolerated, hence the people are saving. But this enforced saving does not of necessity lead to wealth; it is essential to existence. The "laying by for a rainy day" and the tiding-over of some unexpected period of depression form such important features in the domestic economy of the Hollanders that the government has organized two institutions for the benefit and protection of its poorer classes,—the Postal Savings Bank and the Loaning or Pawn Bank.

The Postal Savings Bank had demonstrated its value in England, Belgium, and Italy before Holland saw its applicability to the needs of her people. Mr. Gladstone had declared these banks to be "the greatest and most important work ever undertaken by the government for the benefit of the nation"; the French economist Prévost regarded their conception as grand, and their administration as approaching perfection; while Engel and Elster advocated most earnestly their introduction into the postal systems of Germany and Austria.

Corporate savings banks in Holland had received such a severe blow by the numerous failures occasioned by the depreciation of public securities in 1830, 1848, and 1860, that the Netherlands delegate to the "Congrès International des Institutions de Prévoyance," at the meeting held in Paris during the early days of July, 1878, was obliged to say that the actual savings in Holland as shown by the banks during the past six years had been very slight. He attributed this unfortunate condition to two causes: first, the inaccessibility of the banks to the people (those in the cities being open only at hours when the working-man is employed, while the man in the country cannot make deposits except at great loss of time); and second, the insufficient security furnished by private corporations. This state of affairs was deemed so serious as to call for amelioration at the hands of the government. Consequently, on May 4, 1879, two projects were laid before the "Chambre des Députés": (1) to organize a system by which money



might be sent by mail, free of charge, to the savings banks; (2) to establish a postal savings bank. The second proposition was adopted May 24, 1880, and became effective April 1, 1881. In formulating the rules and elaborating the present method of conducting the routine work, the bank has had the benefit of the services of Dr. Sassen, who, as a professor of political economy, had studied the problem from its theoretical side, and now, as Director, devotes his zeal and energy to its administration. Dr. Sassen examined with great care the three national organizations already in existence, selected from them such features as he deemed adaptable to his own country, and then from his daily experience rounded out the system which I shall now describe.

Every post-office is a place of deposit, and the postmasters, together with a large number of special agents, are the authorized receivers. A person wishing to open an account must make application on a printed form, and hand it to the most convenient receiver. In return he obtains a pass-book free of cost, in which, when deposits are made, the amount must be entered in words and in figures, with the date. The postmaster, both as compensation and as an inducement for him to secure new depositors, receives five cents<sup>1</sup> for each new account opened, and one and a half cents for each entry. Persons living in the country at a distance of more than twenty minutes' walk from an authorized agency can have their deposits made by the mail-carrier.

No deposit of less than one florin is accepted, but, to encourage small savings, sheets of paper containing twenty blank spaces are furnished gratuitously, each space being intended for a five-cent postage-stamp. When this sheet is filled, it may be presented with the pass-book, and the depositor is credited with one florin, the receiver cancelling each stamp and placing the sheet on file. School-children and inmates of orphan asylums may obtain small leaflets with one hundred spaces to be filled with one-cent stamps, and to be likewise credited, on deposit, at the value of one florin. This may appear trivial, yet nearly 27,000 florins a year are deposited in this form.

Every five days the receivers report directly to the Ministry of Postal Affairs, stating the amount of receipts and disbursements during that period; and every ten days the balance is adjusted by the transfer of such other funds as they are required to transmit. Since the General Post-Office is the soul of this bank, every stamp cancelled

<sup>1</sup> All sums mentioned in this portion of the article referring to savings banks will be given in florins (of one hundred cents each), a florin being regarded as equivalent to forty cents in United States currency.



as part of a deposit represents a corresponding amount which the Post-Office has received through some stamp-selling agency. From all the ten-day reports thus received, the main office draws up a statement which is sent to the Director, informing him how much money he has to the credit of the bank. The detailed memoranda of receipts and disbursements are transmitted directly to the bank, where all individual accounts are kept. These accounts are balanced every ten days, and the balanced totals must agree with the statement made from the General Post-Office. There is also a check on the individual deposits. Periodically a statement is sent directly to each depositor, giving the amount standing to his credit, both as deposits and in the shape of interest.

As usual, there are two periods from which interest is reckoned—the 16th and the 1st of each month. All sums deposited during the first half of the month begin to draw interest on the 16th, and deposits made within the second half draw interest from the first of the following month. The rate of interest is 2.64 per cent,—apparently a peculiar number, but one purposely selected because, while being practically the highest rate which the bank could afford to pay, it had the great merit of being an exact multiple of 24, the number of semi-monthly interest-periods in a year. Thus on every thousand florins the interest is eleven cents for one period.

To earn this interest guaranteed by the State, the Director, knowing every ten days the amount standing to the credit of the bank, goes into the Exchange and buys such securities as the bank's charter will permit, and in such quantities as his judgment suggests to be wise. These permissible securities are State and municipal bonds, railway bonds that are guaranteed by the State, and, in general, such paper as the Netherland Bank—the depository of government funds—would accept as collateral. Of course the successful operation of the bank, having a fixed rate of interest for deposits, depends upon the wisdom shown in investments. The average rate paid in Holland has been decreasing for the past ten years, so that now the bank receives, on an average, 3.36 per cent. By good and economical management the expenses have been kept down. Last year they amounted to only 0.56 per cent of the amount on deposit at the close of the year. This, as will be seen, leaves a small margin of profit. The earned money goes toward forming a reserve fund, whose purpose is to provide at all times for any untoward run on the bank, and also to extend the limit of accounts as hereinafter described.



If a depositor desires to withdraw his money, he can do so at the office of deposit, provided the amount be less than twenty-five florins; for larger sums it is necessary to make application to the Director, who will issue to the appropriate office an order to pay the amount in full or in such installments as the bank's balance will permit. So far it has not been necessary to resort to the installment plan. In case of haste, the application and the permission can be sent by telegraph; and, since the telegraph is a part of the postal system, all transmission of despatches as well as mail are free of charge to the sender.

There are certain regulations, wrought out by experience, regarding the transfer of an account from one person to another, the withdrawal of the funds of a deceased depositor, and money deposited by minors and orphans. The one, however, which is the most striking, is the limit of accounts. No interest is paid to individuals on sums in excess of 1,200 florins, nor to societies or corporations on more than 1,500 florins. This rule practically fixes the limit of the account. It is an arbitrary regulation, but it is wisely founded. First of all, the withdrawal of a number of large accounts at once might embarrass the management while the reserve fund is such a small percentage of the deposits. As the former grows, the limit can be extended, as has been done once already. Then, again, the policy of the bank is to encourage its depositors to make permanent investments, which they can do to advantage with the sum defined by the present limit. As a further stimulus in this direction, the Director is authorized to purchase for depositors, upon their order, such securities as the bank itself regards as safe, and to deduct the cost price and commission from their credit with the bank.

The argument is sometimes made that savings banks are injurious, in that they tempt a man to deposit his money at a low rate of interest instead of loaning it to a neighbor or assisting a local enterprise, to the greater benefit of borrower, lender, and the community. This objection fails in the case of the bank under consideration. By fixing a limit to the income-yielding deposit, it practically tells the possessor of such a sum to seek an investment, while a person or enterprise in need of an amount less than this limit, and willing to pay a higher rate, would not be safe. Therefore if, in such cases, the government tempts the holders of small sums to trust their money in its bank, it is in reality protecting them against most probable loss under the alluring attraction of greater gains. There is also a very strong argument in favor of securing small savers against loss. If a man, after great pri-



vation, has been able to lay aside only a small sum, he is in general a person incapable of making safe loans, so that loss is quite imminent. The moral effect of loss on persons of that type is to discourage them in further attempts toward economizing, while suggesting at all times how much better it is to take life easier than to save money for another to spend. Although these losses may be few, still they are incurred by people who freely speak of their misfortunes, and thus many become influenced by the experience of one.

At this time safe investments in Holland are paying from 3 to 3½ per cent. Consequently any bank which will practically reach out its hands to the mechanic in his shop, the child at school, or the farmer at his work; which will collect their money in small or in large amounts, make it productive within two weeks, and pay 2.64 per cent interest, with the government guarantee for payment of interest and principal,—is not only profitable to the people: it is a blessing to the country, and a noble monument to its founders and to its administrator.

In order to show the growth of this bank I have obtained from the Director the following statistics, beginning with the first (entire) year of its existence.

Year	Number of accounts at end of year	Amount on deposit	Interest earned for depositors	Cost of administration
1882	23,411	<i>Fl.</i> 1,124,368	<i>Fl.</i> 34,093	2.74 %
1883	21,680	1,132,918	62,139	1.93
1884	22,876	1,334,318	93,478	1.58
1885	21,510	1,578,832	131,333	1.29
1886	27,681	2,305,014	184,119	1.04
1887	29,038	2,034,441	241,260	0.84
1888	32,736	2,509,633	304,973	0.71
1889	39,412	3,143,913	382,227	0.63
1890	40,695	3,234,054	473,529	0.57
1891	37,236	2,191,414	548,658	0.51
1892	39,377	2,897,159	622,965	0.45
1893	41,718	3,499,015	697,483	0.43

This table demonstrates that while the number of depositors has varied, and the amount on deposit at the close of each year has not in all cases been in excess of that of the preceding year, still the cost of administration per florin has gradually diminished, and the interest has uniformly increased,—these two last-named facts proving that the deposits are becoming more permanent, and the number of persistent savers is rapidly increasing. It is no small matter for the government to have saved twenty-eight millions of florins for its people in the



twelve years enumerated, and chiefly for that class of its people who, if left to themselves, would not have saved one-tenth of that sum.

"State Loaning Bank" is the name given to the official pawn establishments of Holland, although the word "official" in this connection might be omitted, since private pawnbrokerage is not permitted,—at least not openly. The law which created the "Stads Bank van Leening" declared that the conduct of private concerns of like character would be regarded as a misdemeanor; and since punishment in Holland follows sure and fast upon the infraction of a law, this particular statute is not frequently or flagrantly violated. There are a few persons who carry on a "sale and re-sale" business, and keep within the letter even if they overstep the spirit of the law. Such traders buy a proffered article from a needy person, and with the purchase-price give an agreement to resell the article to the holder within a certain time for a stipulated price.

It was the abuse of this as well as of the ordinary form of pawnbrokerage that prompted the government to take the matter in hand. The poor especially needed protection; for it is usually this class who demand advances, and their necessities are generally so great that no time can be spent in a search for advantageous terms. Thus it was that private brokers received from 40 to 60 per cent interest, with no chance of redemption on the part of the borrower after the expiration of the allotted time.

The government banks are conducted on business principles, and charge such rates as experience has shown to be necessary for safety. While the general conduct is under State supervision, it devolves upon each city to establish its own local institution and look after its specific management. Hence a description of the bank at Amsterdam will answer practically for those of the entire country.

This bank was organized in 1863, and, as in all cases, it was placed under the charge of a board of directors who gratuitously look after its interests,—the only paid officer being the secretary, who is also designated the chief book-keeper. The city set aside \$360,000 as the permanent capital, with a further guarantee, at any time available, of \$120,000. Out of this original fund, together with such special grants as were found necessary, eleven banks have been established, the main one, in the centre of the city, occupying an enormous building which serves as a general storehouse for all. The immediate cost of administration and incidental expenses during the past year was \$54,194.89,



while the number of loans made during the same period was 895,435. These figures show that the actual expense of making a loan was only six cents. The avowed purpose of the bank is to help those who need only temporary assistance, and that this purpose is subserved can be seen from the fact that, out of the number of loans stated above, twenty-seven out of twenty-eight were redeemed. The bank is thus also shown to be in no sense a "fence" for robbers, nor an accepted means of disposal of worthless clothes, furniture, etc. This is again evident in the gradual diminution of loans during the past three years.

A person desiring a loan must first of all know what articles are not accepted. They are: real estate; live-stock; immovable property of all kinds; ecclesiastical goods, ornaments, or furniture; military uniforms, accoutrements, or weapons; furs; mechanics' tools; and bonds. If he has anything not included in this list he may take it to one of the banks,—all of which are open in the morning from eight to one and in the afternoon from five to ten,—and there find the one of the three departments under which his particular article comes. These three categories are: copper, including household furniture; silver, embracing also jewelry; and wool, or woven goods. After having found his appropriate room, he comes face to face with a corps of sworn appraisers. He shows his pawn and states how much money he wants on it. If the appraiser decides that the article would bring this amount and the interest if sold at auction, the demand is granted. Should the sum be excessive, the limit of advance is named, which must be accepted or the goods removed. From the appraisal there is no appeal, and, as will be seen later, there is a very efficient check against over-estimation. No loan is made for less than sixteen cents.

When the sum is agreed on, the appraiser fills up one of the three blanks constituting a ticket, which, when filled, certifies that at a given bank (each one is numbered), on a certain day, article Number —— was received from such a person. The amount loaned is then stated, together with the estimated value. This ticket is presented at the counter, where the second part is filled up in duplicate of the first, which is now torn off and retained; the two remaining sections, with the money advanced, being then given to the borrower.

Should the amount of the loan be under 40 cents, the time cannot exceed six months, but for a greater sum the limit is fifteen months. The rate of interest likewise differs. From 40 cents to \$1.20, the rate is 8 per cent; from \$1.20 to \$4, 10 per cent; and on all other sums 13 per cent. The reasons for placing the lowest rate on advances



between 40 cents and \$1.20 are : (1) the maximum number of redeemed pawns falls within these limits ; (2) the greatest number of long-term loans belong to this class. Hence the safest borrowers as well as the most needy receive the benefits which they have created.

When the borrower finds that he can redeem his pledge, or its limit of redemption is at hand, he takes his ticket to the bank and surrenders the second section, retaining the third ; for, if more than one month has elapsed, the article has been stored away in the main building, and two days are required to find it and bring it to the bank which issued the loan. Then, when the owner receives his goods, he signs the receipt, which is the third section of his ticket, pays the interest, and begins again his battle with the wolf at the door. There can be no misunderstanding about the amount of interest, for on the back of those portions of the ticket retained by the borrower is a table which gives the interest for florins and fractional parts for any number of days from one to thirty.

Should he not be able to redeem the pawn at the expiration of the specified time, the loan can be extended. To effect an extension, however, the pawn must be produced, the interest paid, a new assessment made, the difference in valuation—if any should be found—adjusted, and the old ticket exchanged for a new one. But if these conditions cannot be fulfilled, the article will be sold at public auction at the next monthly sale. It has been thought that borrowers frequently allow their pawns to be sold in order to buy them at auction for less than the amount of the loan. This, however, must be rarely the case, since last year the amount by which the sums advanced exceeded the sales was only \$5.48 per month. The government provides that this deficit shall not be a loss to the bank, by requiring the appraisers to make good its amount,—a very efficient safeguard against over-appraisal. Should the sum received from the sale of any article exceed the amount for which it stood pledged, the excess is placed to the credit of the original owner, and can be had by him, at any time within two years, upon the presentation of the ticket referred to. It is sad to note that a large part of the tickets thus presented are held by children, suggesting that articles of some value on which small sums were asked were the property of people who were driven by sickness to borrow, and that death anticipated the ability to redeem.

At the close of the year the surplus, should there be any, is returned to the city. Last year the profits amounted to 3.37 per cent, which was slightly above the average. This, together with the small expense,



as already mentioned, shows that the bank may well be classed as a charitable institution.

No attempt, in ordinary cases, is made to determine if the one who presents an article is its actual owner. The margin on which the bank conducts its business is too slight to enable it to sustain a corps of detectives. But if there should be any great incongruity between the article and its holder, the bank may refuse a loan, or it may demand proof of ownership. Again, if one offer valuable jewelry or diamonds, he must pay for expert appraisement, and even then he will receive only 30 per cent of its estimated value. This is a necessary precaution in a city where so many men are employed in polishing precious stones.

The holder of a ticket is presumed to be the original borrower, although it is known that there exists a large traffic in tickets. But if one is lost, the owner can, by making a deposition to that effect, secure a duplicate. Sometimes a false claimant to a ticket known to be lost procures this duplicate, in which case the bank is not held responsible; it acts only upon the evidence submitted, and cannot be made party to a suit for damages.

Of course stolen property finds its way to the bank, and scarcely a day passes without a visit from the police in search of reported thefts. If the article be found in pawn, it cannot be at once recovered. The reputed owner must prove before a court of justice that the article is his; then, by paying the amount advanced, he resumes ownership. But if the thief be convicted, an order from the court restores the article to the owner free of cost. In this event the bank loses the amount advanced; but the judge, in imposing sentence, makes the period at hard work sufficiently long to pay into one of the city's hands what it lost from the other.

While these banks are abused by many, and, as the "Tante Mietje" ("loaning-aunt") of the students, enables those prodigals to take advantage of their parents, still it is a most benevolent institution most wisely managed; and it would be well if our own great country should adopt enough of the spirit of paternalism to look after that increasing class who are in so slight a measure capable of looking after themselves.

J. H. GORE.



## RUMORS OF WAR AND RESULTANT DUTIES.

THE present international complications are of so grave a nature, that it is well to treat them as they exist without apology for war or panegyric concerning peace: the situation certainly proves that hostilities are not always due to the professional soldier, but, on the contrary, that they may result from the rash words of civilians or from the acts of their accredited representatives. Unforeseen crises have fanned the diminutive spark until the resultant flame has made conflict imminent; while recent domestic disorders have emphasized the internal dangers threatening a peaceful and great nation, which has thus far been unable to subdue the war spirit of its inhabitants, or to mould its diverse citizenship into a peace-loving type.

Before discussing the protection of our coast against invasion, it may be well to clear the atmosphere by examining the actual state of public feeling. We may thus lessen the unfortunate differences which of late years have been steadily growing between the East and the West, and help to diminish a friction which, if allowed to continue, is as much a menace to the stability of our government as foreign war. Local prejudices must cease before we can create a true national sentiment, or provide against aggression from abroad. The gaze of the commercial centres toward the interior has been mainly a financial one, and has blinded the East to the growth of western patriotic thought, while hypercritical pessimism concerning faults of legislation has clouded the vision of capitalists to the sturdy virtues of the people. Close relations with foreign money markets have created a conservatism which has, in many quarters, weakened the sense of national honor. Material prosperity has dulled a just discernment of the future destiny of the Anglo-Saxon race on this continent. Constant trans-Atlantic intercourse has also developed, in certain eastern cities, an admiration for the superficial manners and customs of Europe, with no corresponding imitation of sterling British qualities. The younger generation, especially, are aping foreign social peculiarities, without caring to assume the political and civic responsibilities which Englishmen, or the citizens of our newer States, rarely shirk. Perceiving these sur-



face faults, confined though they be to a comparatively small number, the western man does not adequately appreciate the true American manhood of the East, as displayed by the great bulk of the people whenever occasion has demanded; and his petty annoyance at trivial faults,—always following in the wake of advancing civilization,—is likely to create sectional divergences of opinion.

Outside the great cities, and even within them, as recent events have shown, the average citizen is very like his neighbor: it is he who rules by the majority, and generally rules well, although at times he is a most bellicose individual. In the West he is a fighter of wildernesses; in the East, of real or imagined wrong in high or low places; and throughout the country generally, of foes domestic or foreign. Denouncing aristocracy and titles, he loves military distinction and rank, and in default of obtaining them joins patriotic or secret orders, where uniform and ritual give him a passing place above his fellows: even a great religious movement, whose aim is peace, recognizes the use of martial trappings and emphasizes, with bugle and drum, its crusade against sin; while the drill of our public schools instils a militant spirit into the minds of the coming generation. Nor should all this "make the judicious grieve." The people may edge toward humorous soldier-play, but underneath it all is a common sense which recognizes that even commercial and industrial life is war, and that beyond it lies the grim possibility of internal dissension, or of dire conflict between nations; and that the citizens and children of a republic should be instructed in the elements of military discipline and usage, against the time when the ignorant, who have not learned this national alphabet, may attempt to lower the respect for flag, law, and order. It would therefore seem that the nation, far from being a peaceful community, is full of the warlike instinct, although it is equally true that it does not intentionally wish to use that instinct, except for two specific purposes: one, to hinder any European power from increasing its possessions on this hemisphere, and the other, to prevent aliens from sapping the foundations of the Republic.

Such being the case, it is unnecessary to discuss here the benefits of peace, the horrors of war, or even the Venezuelan incident. Rather must we squarely face the patent fact that the country to-day is earnestly convinced of the vital importance of a policy—call it "Monroe" or "jingo" as you will—that no European power shall enlarge its territory on this continent without the consent of the United States.

The surprise occasioned by the President's message is not flattering



to our study of one of the cardinal principles of the Republic. The policy vitalized by Mr. Cleveland has existed during the past seventy years; and, on the whole, the country has agreed that he did the right thing, though possibly in the wrong way and at the wrong time. Certain classes may not be in touch with that policy; but nevertheless it will not down, and the Monroe Doctrine is from henceforth an integral part of our national creed. The sooner this is recognized by all foreigners, as well as by Americans, the more assured will be the future peace of the world. This attitude does not necessarily imply any hatred toward England; for, underlying all the current talk against our mother country, is the dormant feeling of jealous admiration for her strength: a virtuous strength when exerted in extending civilization, but a vicious danger when it touches an inch of territory or an iota of right on the hither side of the Atlantic. The metropolitan cry of "jingoism" will not quiet or weaken this feeling—often untimely in its utterance, selfish in its desires, or falsely expressed, but potent in its earnestness—that the weaker republics south of us must be protected in working out their development in their own way.

This our people believe to be the mission of the Republic, holding further, that it is the duty of England to spread a benign influence wheresoever she can in the Old World. This firm assurance is not nullified, even by the doubtful methods which England has so often used to obtain control of new colonies. The virile British have infused a higher life into all regions where they hold sway, and it is for us to pause and consider whether we should, in the current phrase of the day, attempt to "down England"; asking ourselves—Who, in that event, would take her place? There is also the laudable, though perhaps more or less impertinent impression abroad in the land, that Great Britain should be made to live up to the lessons which her descendants on the western continent have taught her—lessons of liberty in 1776, of marine rights in 1812, of international comity and arbitration at Geneva, and of improved education and Christian propaganda in Syria and Armenia. The thunderbolt of last December may have come out of a seemingly clear sky, but nimbus clouds had long been hovering over Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, and the Spanish Main. Wise international weather prophets had discerned the threatening storm, and had counselled arbitration and pacific avoidance of a coast-sweeping, political cyclone, whose approach England at last seems tardily to realize. If, unhappily, our rulers do not act with calm deliberation, or if Great Britain cannot appreciate the full force of the American wind



of destiny, but stubbornly ignores the forecast, war will ensue. That she may conscientiously deem herself right will only intensify the power of the storm which, with calm fortitude, we may be compelled to face; for, as has been justly remarked, "the fight of right against wrong is terrible, but the most terrific of all tragedies is the fight of right against right."

We shall gain nothing by shirking the tremendous risks we must run if we come to blows with a giant like England; and the country should not be deceived into a false security by the assumption that we can improvise a defence against her stupendous modern fleet, which can devastate our coast, although her army may never ultimately penetrate the interior. Therefore, facing the whole situation fairly and squarely, convinced that the people demand the enforcement of the Monroe Doctrine, we must at once put ourselves in a position to enforce, with measurable dignity, a recognition of the American continental policy. The situation, the times, are ripe for quick action: the question is, What shall we do?

Under the pressure of public opinion, Congress ought to be relied upon to begin the system of coast defences and the construction of more battle-ships, so long advocated by the army and navy; but, if action be not immediately taken, the same public opinion may be lulled into fancied security, while the present depleted condition of the Treasury will undoubtedly serve as an argument against large appropriations. It is the instant duty, therefore, of the seaboard States to bring the utmost pressure upon their representatives at Washington to provide adequate legislation for the insurance of their homes and property against sudden attack; and it is the complementary duty of the inhabitants of the interior to provide means for guarding the coast against any foe whose anger they may provoke by overzealous patriotic speech. Granting, for argument's sake, however, that Congress will vote funds for the construction of forts and ships, it still remains a physical impossibility to complete, arm, and equip them for several years to come. We must therefore seek other means to repel imminent attack.

The United States is comparatively poor in war material, but rich in enthusiasm, brains, inventive genius, and mechanical industries. All these can be relied upon to counterbalance many deficiencies in military science; the civil war having proved conclusively the aptitude of Americans to successfully transfer their occupations of peace into the requirements of war. While it is undoubtedly true that military science has advanced with great strides since the close of the re-



bellion, it is also true that mechanical devices used in the arts of trade have made an equal improvement, and on the same lines as those used in handling guns or ships. It is also to be carefully noted that the system developed by large corporations has given powers of command and habits of obedience to numbers of citizens, and has trained employees to much stricter methods than obtained formerly in the regular armies and navies of the world. The persons liable to military enrollment, even excluding those of the National Guard, are to-day much better fitted for soldiers than the raw recruits who formed the bulk of the army thirty years ago. This point is emphasized, as we are liable to fall into the delusion that success in war depends upon *materiel* rather than upon *personnel*; a delusion which brought disaster to France in 1870, and to China in 1894.

The very first need, therefore, is the formation of a General Staff, whose opinion should be authoritative on all questions relating to the immediate organization for defence. This staff should at once investigate what existing materials could be quickly utilized for war, and propose a plan for simplifying, increasing, and mobilizing the various forces which could be made available in case of sudden attack. Germany has set the example of what such a staff could accomplish, but neither England nor America has profited by the lesson. The thoughtful officers of each Service fully realize the lack of concerted action between the different existing "bureaus," although prevented by official etiquette from giving it publicity; while men of affairs, who have had a more or less intimate knowledge of the workings of the war department at Washington, cannot avoid the conclusion that executive centralization is not conducive to breadth of view. Conflicting orders and theories are at present forced upon the Services by rival heads of departments, who, though conscientious in endeavor, are imbued with the theory that very few persons, outside the select circle at the Capitol, can perform their whole duty. The consequence is, that every trifle—to the most minute detail—has to be settled from Washington, and junior officers are not obtaining those habits of responsibility which are so essential as a training for war. The system is sapping the life of the Services, destroying ambition, and will utterly prevent quick mobilization of equipment or men.

"The personal equation" is also rampant; the higher officials being prevented, by the fear of political criticism and the constant dread of jeopardizing their positions, from turning their attention to broad military subjects. Habits of mind which dwell only upon ephemeral rank



and place are thus formed ; and, as a result, the finest military and naval *personnel* in the world is being rapidly undermined by professional "line and staff" wrangling, when, at this opportune time, it should be endeavoring to enlarge the character and scope of its duty until the navy, at least, should include all government marine departments, and embrace new organizations to be at once formed for the defence of the Atlantic and Pacific coasts. There would then be sufficient places where pay and preferment might be obtained.

The organization of a General Staff is the only remedy. It should be similar to that of Germany, but modified to suit the conditions and peculiarities of a republic, and it should include certain members who are thoroughly in touch with the pulse of the people and the aims of the citizen soldier. The argument may be advanced that, if war be upon us, there is no time to rearrange existing military and naval methods. Be that as it may, let us inquire what are the imperative needs of the hour.

First, as attack will come from the sea, Congress must give authority for more ships : these, as has been shown, cannot be made at once, and it may be assumed also that our present fleet cannot possibly prevent the enemy from anchoring in some of the numerous unprotected bays along the Atlantic coast, for the purpose of making raids upon adjacent cities. Once anchored there, we must endeavor to sink or drive them away before they can accomplish their purpose. Fast torpedo-boats, submarine vessels, and rams can accomplish this end. Perfect craft of this nature take some time to build, but quite efficient ones can in the meantime be hurriedly constructed : even powerful tugs and yachts, if concentrated in sufficient numbers upon a given ship or ships, would render a good account of themselves. Daring and dash will play as important a part to-day as they have done in the past, for notwithstanding the perfect mechanism and gun power of the modern man-of-war, the odds are not so much in her favor as is generally supposed. The intricacies of her numerous engines of destruction and her weakness below the water line, make her almost as vulnerable as the old wooden frigate. Young Americans will, at all events, be found who would prefer to take a chance with the attack rather than be on the defence, imprisoned, with hundreds of others, on board a battle-ship which would quickly sink if a large charge of dynamite once struck her. The outlay for a fleet of torpedo-boats is small, while the defensive result is large : they should be begun at once, and stationed permanently in each of our larger harbors. If happily war does not



ensue, they will, at all events, be in the right place, and can be used for developing the naval militia for defending their own States.

The monitors—still serviceable as floating batteries—now lying at League Island should be distributed, and should be manned by crews shipped in addition to the regular peace establishment, and used for drilling a national naval reserve, as proposed in the new bill introduced by Congressman Cummings of New York. Inducement should be held out to fishermen, sailors, and “longshoremen,” to enlist for a short period during the winter when many of them are idle, while officers of the merchant marine could be instructed in the technical, military part of their vocation,—the men to receive the pay of their grade for the actual days served, the officers (who may pass a stipulated examination) to be allowed to fly the naval reserve flag. The coast should be divided into “districts,” and all persons in government employ, in any seafaring capacity, should be compelled by law to do a certain amount of annual drill, or receive a definite amount of instruction during the winter months on board the monitors or other vessels stationed at the district port. In time of peace, no person should be allowed to become an officer of the naval reserve until he has performed a stated amount of work on board these district ships, or has served at least three years in a properly organized naval militia. Exception, however, should be made in favor of naval officers, and inducements should be held out to them to enter the naval reserve, thus relieving the present stagnation in the Service. The States within whose jurisdiction the ships are stationed should grant the naval officers detailed to the district ships an extra allowance of pay, provided they entered the State naval militia, and served as officers or instructors.

It will be readily seen, that this plan—of permanently stationing the “mother ship” with accompanying torpedo-boats in certain specific districts—will accomplish important results at a minimum cost. These ships will form a centre from which naval and marine influence will emanate; they will be popular because their constant presence will insure a certain sense of protection to the district; they will require very small crews while “in ordinary”; and the States will be saved the money necessary to build armories for drill purposes. The new battle-ships can thus be kept at points where most needed, with all stores and equipment ready for instant action, and the large crews now necessary can be freed, during time of peace, for duty elsewhere. The national naval reserve, as proposed, will gradually grow with the least friction; for, by association with the naval militia during winter, the men will



become more and more imbued with the local feeling, and, leaving the ships for their summer foreign cruises in commercial vessels, will acquire powers of observation from their winter's work, and return with information regarding foreign fleets and harbors which the merchant marine of to-day never obtains.

Such a system of district ships, with a small number of regular officers and men on board, with the State troops drilling, and the national naval reserve exercising and receiving instruction, would be in accord with the general spirit of the country, which always seeks a local beginning before resulting in a national development. From such a combination it would not take long to create two excellent corps, one *exclusively* for the immediate defence of the districts, the other, a body from which the regular navy could augment its complement in time of war. Upon the General Staff at Washington should be certain members especially charged to perfect this plan, on a basis which will be serviceable to the navy, and at the same time attractive to the merchant sailor.

Having outlined the nature of the first line of defence, namely, the navy increased by a national naval reserve, and that of the second line, which should be an enlarged naval militia, *acting within its own district*, we come next in order to the question of fortifications and harbor protection. It would seem superfluous at this late date to draw attention to the vulnerable condition of our great ports; every rank, from general to lieutenant, has reiterated again and again the need of adequate protection. Fortification boards have reported, and Congressional committees have visited each defenceless locality; the sum and substance of all inquiries being, that we are powerless to resist the first onslaught from even a second-class navy. Suffice it to say to those who are clamoring for war, that \$125,000,000 must be invested in the building of forts and their equipment with modern ordnance. If this seem large, let it be remembered that it is no greater than the annual pension appropriation. Certainly, safeguards for the future are as much a patriotic necessity as gratitude for military services of the past.

As in the case of battle-ships, the element of time here faces us, and we must prepare some crude means for warding off any sudden blow which may be struck before the completion of the new forts. Again the question, "What can we do?" And once more, the answer is, "Fall back upon the mechanical ingenuity of our people and create at least a flimsy covering for our military nakedness." In default of the immediate formation of the General Staff, an enlargement of the duties



of the war college and "offices of intelligence" would result in collecting much diverse information concerning the commercial plant fitted for building earthworks, blockading channels, placing submarine mines, and for numerous other purposes. Each State should also establish an "office of intelligence," and the Governors should replace the ornamental civilian members on their staffs with officers who are competent to collect and tabulate military and naval data.

The old smooth-bore guns of large calibre, mounted in earthworks hastily constructed by railway and marine dredges, could be made to supplement what little aid the monitors can render, and to give some moral backing to a forlorn hope acting on board the improvised torpedo-boats. If, as now seems assured, the submarine torpedo-boat can be made a practical success, it will be a most powerful factor for harbor protection, and may, like the original "Monitor," revolutionize defensive warfare. It is also possible that certain of our commercial craft could be transformed into rams. Thanks to the army, a system of submarine mines has been prepared, the plans covering most of the approaches and channels along the coast. These mines consist of buoyant steel cases to be loaded with a large amount of high explosives: connected with the shore by an electric cable, they can be discharged at will. But the highest military authorities doubt if they can be always relied upon,—especially in harbors subject to tidal changes and currents,—while under the usual chances of war they can be successfully attacked by countermines. They are useless in thick weather, and, like the sinking of obstructions, prevent the defending fleet from the free use of the channels.

Dirigible torpedoes can be used with safety to person, but are likely to miss a quick-moving object. We already have on hand certain of these controllable movable torpedoes, but they have never been tested in actual warfare. Therefore, within a harbor, as well as in the offing, we must as a final resort fall back upon aggressive torpedo-boats, manned by resolute crews. Such a "mosquito" fleet cannot give its most effective sting, however, until the enemy has been severely crippled by a force which has been thoroughly instructed in the handling of artillery, and which is also familiar with all the resources of the locality and thoroughly educated in its military topography.

This brings us back to the question of the troops for coast defence. The regular artillery to-day is about 3,000, while 85,000 men are required to man our forts. The mere statement of this disparity between the actual and necessary numbers would seem to make the



solution of the problem impossible; for the United States will never authorize a standing army in which the artillery shall play such an important part; and yet, situated as we are, the pressing need is for trained men who can handle heavy guns, and who have a thorough knowledge of the littoral. In other words, the necessity of a sea-coast army and navy reserve would seem even more urgent than the enlargement of the infantry; although no steps have been taken, prior to the last five years, to organize a force which shall be instructed in the knowledge of local fortification and coastwise defence. The naval militia was formed upon this theory, and a recent article<sup>1</sup> by Colonel Sanger shows how the idea can be applied to the manning of our forts. His general plan is somewhat on the lines of Mr. Cummings's bill for organizing a national naval reserve. State forces are to be enlisted to serve in the district forts in the same manner as the naval militia on board the district ships, and provision is made for the development of three corps, namely, the army, a reserve artillery, and the national guard,—which bodies will correspond with the navy, the naval reserve, and the naval militia. The different land volunteers, beginning service as State bodies, will gradually increase in knowledge, through grades and ranks, toward an army standard.

When it is remembered that none of the States has at present a heavy artillery regiment, the urgent necessity of action is apparent, while the difficulties arising from conflicting legislation must be overcome. These difficulties, however, are more imaginary than real, as was shown when the navy placed a thoroughly competent officer in charge of the naval militia, with the result that that thrifty young force is to-day organized in thirteen States under excellent and practically similar laws.

The responsibility of presenting a detailed plan for a new artillery and naval reserve rests with the regular Services. The immediate results may be disappointing, but there will be many enlistments if a wise Commission or General Staff could start the movement with a full appreciation of the patriotic ardor which exists, and with a knowledge of the commercial restraints which prevent young men, engaged in active civil pursuits, from giving too much time to the clerical and secondary work necessary in the regular army or navy.

J. W. MILLER.

<sup>1</sup> See "United States Artillery Journal" for January.



## GLIMMERINGS OF A FUTURE LIFE.

IN an article published in *THE FORUM* for April, 1890, I stated that there was a continually accumulating mass of evidence that indirectly lent support to the belief that the human individual survives the death of his ordinary organism ; and I referred, *inter alia*, to some experiences of my own with Mrs. Piper, a "medium" whose name is now widely known in both hemispheres. Since that time further investigations have been carried on in connection with Mrs. Piper's trance phenomena, and the chief object of this paper is to give a brief account of some of the fresh evidence in its relation to the question of man's survival of death. In the first place, however, it seems desirable that I should endeavor to bring my reader to a point of view from which he is willing to consider the possibility that there may be evidence of this survival.

There are so many ways of looking at the world. It may be a speck in space, or a huge cauldron with a graveyard for its crust, a place in which to get a hunger and satisfy it, the fighting ground for a while of dragon or ape, of Trojan or Turk, an evolutionary drama that must end in ice or fire. Many things it means to different men. One is busy with earthworms, another with stars, another with the splendor of the day or the strivings of the human soul. Numerous investigators are hunting for further proofs that we came out of the mud, but very few are seeking indications, in any scientific spirit, of what may follow the toil and turmoil of our individual existence here. In the meantime the brightness of the old theologies is becoming dimmed, the silence of most scientific men on the question of a future life is ominous, and the mass of those cultured people who are imbued with the developments of modern biological research, negative though they be, are content to pass the problem by on the other side. They have made up their minds that any such thing as "communication from the dead" is a foolish imagination not to be entertained by sensible people.

Yet it is easy to suppose circumstances which would produce the conviction in all rational human beings that there is a "future life," between which and ours there is intercommunication. Let us take



as a type, a form of "apparition" that is visible and vocally audible, but not tangible, that cannot produce changes in ordinary physical objects, that cannot be photographed,—whose audibility and visibility, whether telepathic or not, are at least not dependent on our present normal senses. Let us now suppose that immediately after death such an apparition of the deceased was invariably seen and heard, that it affirmed itself to be the deceased, that it exhibited such knowledge as the deceased possessed while inhabiting the ordinary organism, and so on, that it affirmed itself to be still "living" under very different conditions, most of which were alleged to be inexplicable to us in terms of our present environment. Let us suppose that arrangements for meetings could be made with the apparition,—that the apparition, except perhaps for its occasional disappearance for hours or days, explained by the necessity of fulfilling certain duties in its new sphere, behaved in general, as regards recognition by living persons and its rational and social relations with them, much as an ordinary living person does, the main exception being that he is not embodied like us. Were the case like this, I make no doubt whatever that the human race would be possessed by a belief in the survival of death, which would be regarded as barely less certain than the belief in their present embodied existence.

It is obvious, now, that in various ways we might narrow, step by step, in our supposition, the possibilities of manifestation of these apparitions. For example, the bars might be set for certain groups of would-be travellers from that other bourne, or the limitations of faculty might be enforced for those on the hither side. Thus we might suppose, to take one large step at once, that the apparitions of men between twenty and thirty years of age were the only ones ever seen, but that they appeared with a freedom like that suggested above, that they assured us of the continued existence of the other deceased who were unable to visit us, but who sent us concordant messages. Or we might suppose that the years of childhood alone were blessed with the gift of vision, that after a few full years the "shades of the prison-house" closed upon us, leaving us the divine remembrances of our own seership, but compelling us thereafter to gaze and listen through the children who yet do keep their heritage. Were the case thus,—the direct experience once enjoyed by ourselves, the clear perception verifiable everywhere by the consensus of experiences of children,—the belief in survival would no more be practically questioned than belief in the death of the body.



To restrict the annunciative message still further we might suppose that each departed one could make but three short visits to us at specified times, after death, instead of more or less continually abiding with us,—or we might suppose that to the members of one race only, say the Hebrews, was given the clairvoyant and clairaudent faculty, that upon this race depended therefore all the possibility of communication of the “dead,” and all our knowledge of the world beyond. Even on such suppositions as these, the belief in the future life would doubtless be universal. But we might go on diminishing the evidence gradually, limiting the frequency of the apparitions, and lessening the number of the witnesses, taking away the visibility, the audibility, of the returning ones, confining their manifestations to rare instances of mediumistic trance utterance or automatic writing, etc., until, by one person after another unto the last of all, the testimony should be deemed inadequate for more than a passing thought. Between the two extremes, where on the one hand the testimony is regarded as absolutely worthless, and on the other hand as compelling a belief that is universal and practically irresistible, there are various degrees of evidence conceivable to which *some* weight must be attributed.

Such considerations as these, one would think, are tolerably obvious; but many apparently fail to realize their validity, and I have therefore put them in the above form for the purpose of making very explicit this fact, namely, that as regards the question of “spirit-communication,” as in most other questions, we must not suppose that the evidence necessarily falls into one of two classes: (1) where it counts for everything, (2) where it counts for nothing. The evidence may be worth *something*,—not so small as to produce no effect, not so great as to produce universal conviction.

Now a considerable body of valuable evidence, I venture to think, has been published by the Society for Psychical Research, the result of which is very strongly to suggest that human personality is much wider and profounder than has been commonly supposed, and has relations beyond our ordinary *terrene* existence. I refer not only to the simpler phenomena of telepathy and clairvoyance, but also to the experimental and statistical work concerning the phantasms of the living and of the dead, and the luminous articles by Mr. F. W. H. Myers upon the subliminal consciousness. It is not my purpose to appraise the results of our enquiry in general; suffice it to say that I agree emphatically with Mr. Myers that—

—“the time for *a priori* chains of argument, for the subjective pronouncements



of leading minds, for amateurish talk and pious opinion, has passed away; the question of the survival of man is a branch of experimental psychology. Is there, or is there not, evidence in the actual observed phenomena of automatism, apparitions, and the like, for a transcendental energy in living men, or for an influence emanating from personalities which have overpassed the tomb? This is the definite question, which we can at least intelligibly discuss, and which either we or our descendants may some day hope to answer."

From this brief preamble let us now pass at once to the main subject of this paper. Two reports on the trance phenomena of Mrs. Piper have been published in the "Proceedings" of the Society for Psychical Research, and to these I refer the reader for information concerning the experiments made with her prior to the year 1892. All that I need repeat here is that Mrs. Piper passes into a trance during which apparently another personality than the normal waking Mrs. Piper "controls" her body, uses her organs of speech, and shows a knowledge of facts which Mrs. Piper could not have obtained by ordinary means. This other personality purports to be the "spirit" of a disembodied human being, and goes under the name of "Doctor Phinuit." This Phinuit claims to derive most of his knowledge from the "spirit-friends" of the persons who have "sittings" with Mrs. Piper. On some occasions Mrs. Piper's voice is apparently controlled not by Phinuit, but by some "spirit-friend" of the sitter, and the communications made then are usually much more personal and striking than when given through the intervention of Phinuit. It is difficult to describe these phenomena precisely without going into much fuller detail than my space allows, or using language which implies appreciation of the "spiritistic" hypothesis. Mrs. Piper's sittings in America have been to a large extent during the past eight years under the supervision of Prof. James and myself, and Mrs. Piper also gave a series of eighty-three sittings in England in the winter of 1889-90, under the supervision of several prominent members of our Society there. Since the publication of the previous reports on Mrs. Piper, which dealt with her sittings in England and those in America up to the close of 1891, a marked improvement has taken place in the quality of the communications and some new light has been thrown upon their significance. This improvement appears to be due partly at least to the sudden death early in 1892, of a young man who may be called George Robinson, who purported to make himself known about four weeks later through Mrs. Piper's trance, and who has since that time furnished much information for the purpose of establishing his identity, and who has claimed also to be present very frequently for the purpose



of assisting other alleged "communicators." Another circumstance which has contributed toward the improvement manifest in Mrs. Piper's sittings is the development of automatic writing during her trance. Mrs. Piper's right hand is taken possession of, so to speak, by some other "control," purporting to be a deceased friend of the sitter, while Phinuit "controls" the voice. On two occasions both hands wrote contemporaneously and independently of each other, purporting to represent different deceased persons, while Phinuit was using the voice.

That the first hypothesis for consideration in our earlier investigations was that of imposture on the part of Mrs. Piper, will not surprise any one who is aware of the fraud practised by nearly all public "mediums." This hypothesis has been discussed elsewhere,<sup>1</sup> and I mention it here only to discuss it as entirely inapplicable to the case of Mrs. Piper. That she passes into a genuine trance in which the dominant personality is not the normal waking Mrs. Piper, and in which proof of supernormal knowledge is given, I regard as fully established. The hypothesis which seemed to me for some years the most satisfactory was that of an auto-hypnotic trance in which a secondary personality of Mrs. Piper either erroneously believed itself to be or consciously and falsely pretended to be the "spirit" of a deceased human being, and fictitiously represented various other personalities according to the latent ideas of some of the sitters. Some extension of this hypothesis I still regard as theoretically applicable, but not as practically satisfactory; and this change in my opinion is due chiefly to the series of manifestations purporting to come from the above-mentioned George Robinson. This gentleman was known to me personally, but the bond between us was of an intellectual sort, and not that of an old, intimate, and emotional friendship. He had an absolute disbelief in any future life, and some two years before his death, as the result of a discussion between us, he declared very emphatically that if he should die before I did, and found himself "still existing," he would do his utmost to prove the fact of that continued existence. About four weeks after his death, which occurred in New York, an intimate friend of his whom I shall call John Smith, had a sitting with Mrs. Piper. At this sitting, after a few statements had been made concerning John Smith himself, and relatives of his connected with articles which he presented as tests, Phinuit spoke of George Robinson as anxious to

<sup>1</sup> See "Proceedings" of the Society for Psychical Research, Parts XVII and XXI.



communicate. During the sitting George Robinson's real name was given in full, also the names, both Christian and surname, of several of his most intimate friends, including the name of the sitter. Phinuit acted as intermediary, so to speak, repeating as nearly as possible the statements which he said were being made by George Robinson. Unfortunately, but necessarily, the most important evidence tending to show that George Robinson was in some way "communicating" cannot be published. It concerns the confidential remembrances of friends, dealing not only with personal matters pertaining to George Robinson alone, but with incidents of a private nature relating to other persons living; and in describing such as I am at liberty to mention I shall use fictitious names. Articles which had belonged to G. R. and which J. S. had taken to the sitting were at once recognized and circumstances relating to them were correctly specified. Thus, concerning a pair of studs that J. S. was wearing, the statement was made that G. R.'s mother had taken them and given them to his father, who had given them to J. S. At the time of the sitting J. S. knew that they had been taken from G. R.'s body, but not that G. R.'s mother (stepmother) had taken them from the body, or that it was she who suggested to Mr. R. to send them to J. S., who had written to Mr. R. to ask for some little memento of his friend.

Meredith, an intimate friend of J. S. and G. R., was mentioned. "Lent a book to Meredith. Tell him to keep it for me. Go to my room where my desk is." In reply to enquiries Meredith stated that the last time he saw Robinson was in Robinson's own room several months before the latter's death. They had spent the greater part of the day together, and Robinson had pressed Meredith to take away some of his manuscripts and books. As Meredith was about to leave the city he was reluctant to do so, but was (April, 1892) under the impression that he did take some manuscript or book away. He could not, however, remember either what it was or what he did with it. Among other persons mentioned by G. R., with strongly personal specific references, were James and Mary Howard, and in connection with Mrs. Howard came the name Katherine. "Tell her, she'll know. I will solve the problems, Katherine." This had no significance for J. S. at the time, though he was aware that Katherine, a daughter of Howard, was known to Robinson. On the day following the sitting J. S. gave Howard a detailed account of it, and Howard then narrated that Robinson, when he had last stayed with them, had talked frequently with Katherine (a girl of fifteen years of age) upon such subjects as



"Time," "Space," "God," "Eternity," and pointed out to her how unsatisfactory the commonly accepted solutions were. He added that some time he would solve the problems and let her know, using almost the very words of the communication made at the sitting. J. S. said that he was entirely unaware of these circumstances. I was myself of course unaware of them, and in fact nearly every statement made at the sitting, during which I was the note-taker, concerned matters of which I was absolutely ignorant. As I have already said, the most personal references made at the sitting cannot be quoted; they were regarded by J. S. as profoundly characteristic of Robinson,<sup>1</sup> and in minor matters, such as in the words of greeting to the sitter, the manner of reference to his mother being with him "spiritually," and his father and (step) mother living, etc., the sitter was strongly impressed with the *vraisemblance* of the personality of Robinson.

It so happened that appointments had been made for other sitters, and it was nearly three weeks before a special opportunity was given for further communication from G. R., at a sitting when Mr. and Mrs. James Howard were present. In the interim I accompanied several sitters as note-taker, and at each of these Phinuit represented G. R. as anxious to see his friends. Only one of these sitters had been known to George Robinson, and he was recognized (it was his first sitting with Mrs. Piper), and G. R. sent a message to the sitter's son. On being asked where G. R. had known his son the correct reply came that they had been students together at college. The sitter then asked for a description of his summer home which G. R. had once visited. This also was correctly given.

At the Howards' first sitting Phinuit spoke only a few words, and gave way almost immediately for what purported to be G. R., using the voice. The statements made were intimately personal and characteristic. Mutual friends were referred to by name, enquiries were made about private matters, and in short, the Howards, who were not predisposed to take any interest in psychical research and who had been induced by the account of J. S. to make a trial, were profoundly impressed with the feeling that they were in truth holding a conver-

<sup>1</sup> I may say here in answer to a question that has perhaps already arisen in the reader's mind, that George Robinson in March, 1888, about four years before his death, had a sitting with Mrs. Piper under an assumed name, and that in the latter part of 1887 John Smith called upon Mrs. Piper with me on the chance of finding her disengaged, but she was about to sit for a lady, and we left immediately. His real name was not of course mentioned. The next visit of J. S. to Mrs. Piper was on the occasion described above.



sation with the personality of the friend whom they had known so many years. Space fails to give the details of numerous later incidents, and I shall make but a very brief reference to one or two.

For example, G. R. was very anxious to speak to his father about some private business, and to aid in convincing his father, who lived in a distant city, he stated that he had been recently present in "spirit form" with his father when the latter had accidentally broken the negative of his (G. R.'s) photograph. This was unknown to the Howards and they wrote for verification. It proved to be true, and Mr. R. had not even mentioned the accident to his wife. At a later date, the middle of May, Mrs. Piper was giving some sittings in New York, and Mr. and Mrs. R. travelled thither, and had a sitting, of course under assumed names. They were at once recognized, also articles which they had taken belonging to G. R., who was particularly anxious to give as much information as possible in the way of tests. It was arranged that his father should do something that afternoon—the sitting was in the morning—having relation to G. R., and that G. R. should state at the next sitting what was done. At the next sitting, the second day afterward, Mr. and Mrs. R. *not* being present, three acts were described as having been performed by his father and mother. It turned out that two of these had been done as described, nor were there any other test incidents,—but the third, the writing of a certain explanatory letter, had not been actually carried out. Mr. R. had intended writing such a letter and consulted his wife about the proposed contents, but had not found time to write it. On several other occasions I have found a similar mistake in communications, suggesting that this apparently supernormal knowledge of our world is obtained indirectly and telepathically through the minds of living persons, rather than by a direct visual perception such as we enjoy.

Mrs. Piper has given sittings to some scores of different persons since these early sittings at which G. R. first communicated, and, so far as I am aware, not one who was known to the living G. R. has failed to be recognized by the communicating G. R., who has given the sitter's name and made statements showing a proper appreciation of the relations that existed between them prior to G. R.'s death. Nor, on the other hand, has any one been claimed as a friend who was not known to the living G. R. Frequently G. R., nearly all of whose communications are *written*, acts as amanuensis, so to speak, for some other deceased friend who is apparently unable to use Mrs. Piper's hand easily, much as an expert typewriter might take the place of a



beginner; and the promise which G. R. made to me when living, that he would do all he could to establish the fact of another life, if there were one, has been often referred to, especially in connection with this assistance rendered to other alleged communicators—most of them strangers to G. R.

Now, of the different *prima facie* suppositions that might be applied in explanation of the phenomena of which I have tried to give the reader some idea by the cases cited, there are two that appear most plausible. One is telepathy from the living, the other would include also telepathy from the dead. I have myself been driven to the latter, a form of the "spiritistic" hypothesis. This paper is written for the purpose not of proving, but of illustrating, and a full report of my investigations will shortly appear in the "Proceedings" of the Society for Psychical Research, where detailed accounts will be given of statements made by other communicators as well as G. R. In none of these other cases, however, is the evidence so abundant or so complete as in the case of G. R., and, so far as my knowledge extends, the evidence of this continued personal existence manifested through Mrs. Piper's trance is much stronger, taken altogether, than any other case that has ever been recorded in history.

I shall add merely a few words concerning the obstacles which are in the way of the alleged communicators themselves.

There are of course many obscurities and irrelevancies in the communications purporting to come from the deceased friends of sitters, and it is these which make any satisfactory interpretation of them difficult. George Robinson attributes his special success as a communicator to a combination of several favoring conditions,—his sudden death while in the fulness of his intellectual vigor, the opportunity afforded him of communicating shortly after his death, and the continuance of that opportunity, the fact that his strongest attachments were to persons still living, his familiarity with mental operations, and his habit of introspection. It is claimed that among the difficulties which prevent clear communications are the following: (1) the ill-health of Mrs. Piper herself on various occasions—there is then less of whatever peculiar kind of energy (spoken of as "light") is available for the act of communication, and the result is more or less dreamy in character; (2) confusion still inherent in the mind of the communicator, who is described as frequently remaining in a comatose state for some time after death; (3) confusion produced by the very act of communicating, which is said to have a tendency to cause a loss of



consciousness as by taking a drug; (4) communication is chiefly telepathic, and there is a tendency for every thought that passes through the communicator's mind to be expressed, and not only those which he wishes to express.

Attention has been given for the most part hitherto to questions of personal identity and the conditions of "communicating." These are the primarily important questions, and the answers obtained are more or less verifiable. Statements have also been made concerning the other world which are hardly verifiable by us at present, and which perhaps raise more doubts and enquiries than they are intended to solve. Such, for example, as that the deceased have ethereal organisms, which once inhabited their ordinary flesh-and-blood organisms, and that there is a definitely located portion of space within the solar system which forms their ethereal abode. There are many difficulties demanding solution before these and other statements concerning experiences after death can be regarded as a certain revelation. Psychical science is yet in its infancy, as other sciences were centuries ago. Once the earth was the centre of the universe, and even Socrates could deem it impious to desire after the knowledge of those heavenly bodies whose goings-on were the secrets of the gods. It is not now such a fool's errand to seek some lines of intelligence that may gleam from the surface of another planet. Now there are nautical almanacs, and other suns. We can prove now the substance of stars invisible to us and chart their flamings and their kinships. So too we may learn that the consciousness of man is not restricted to the domain of this ordinary earthly life, our knowledge may widen as with starry systems, and it may prove no hopeless task hereafter to find some "bolometer" that "still despite the distance and the dark" shall measure the energies of departed but persistent human souls.

RICHARD HODGSON.



# The Forum

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## THE POLITICAL SITUATION.

THE country is suffering to-day from two sequelæ of the civil war. One is the currency question, and the other the tariff question. Of neither of them, as national questions of momentous interest, had anybody the smallest idea before the war. What the political prophets thought would follow it, were great disorder in the South and great difficulty in persuading the army to go back to civil life and peaceful industry, and, possibly, in persuading the people to pay the national debt. None of these perplexities has come upon us. The troubles which have come upon us are a strong desire to debase the currency and to levy heavy taxation for protective purposes. These two problems to-day constitute almost the sum total of our politics, and they present themselves in an extremely unmanageable form.

The plan of making money go farther, by debasing or depreciating it, is a very old one. It is not quite as old as metallic money, but it is as old as legal tender. There was no use in debasing the medium of exchange so long as nobody was obliged to take it in return for his goods, or in payment of what was due to him. But so soon as the issue of money became a governmental function, the practice of adulteration, or clipping, or in some manner altering it, so as to retain its purchasing or liquidating power, while lowering its real value, became very general. The Greeks resorted to it; so did the Romans. So have nearly all modern nations. But until our time it has always been a device for the easy payment of public debts. It was the favorite resort of embarrassed governments before the days of public



loans. It was the government that was to get the benefit of it, not private individuals. That it was a fraudulent device, and that it was a thing, if possible, to be concealed, nobody ever denied. History may be searched in vain for any assertion of its morality. To see that it must always have been looked upon as dishonest, one has only to ask one's self why men invented money, and why it has continued in use. They invented it, and have clung to it, simply as a measure of value; that is, a small portable memorandum of the worth of something they have parted with, which shall procure them, on presentation, something as valuable as that thing. This is the explanation of the practice of hoarding, or hiding gold and silver coins, which has prevailed in all ages. People have buried them in the ground, or concealed them in holes and corners, in the belief and expectation that no matter how long they might be kept out of sight and out of use, their purchasing power would remain unchanged. Sovereigns traded on this popular belief in the steadiness of their value, by lowering this value secretly. But, as I have said, it was only sovereigns who resorted to this mode of raising the wind, and it was so easy that down to the seventeenth century nearly all sovereigns resorted to it. They were the official keepers of the national measure, and they privately shortened it for their own benefit. They enlarged the power of regulating the currency into the power of "scaling" their own debts.

During our civil war, we followed their example. We issued debased currency,—that is, dollars that were of inferior value to real dollars,—and, in our distress, not only paid the public debts with them, but authorized all debtors to do the same thing to their creditors. We excused this on the same ground on which we excused our killing people or destroying property at the South, namely, that it was necessary to save the life of the nation. Congress had the right of every government to preserve its own existence by any means necessary for the purpose. The country accepted this view of the matter. Our Government, we said, has issued debased money as a matter of necessity. There has been no concealment about it, and it will all be made right in the end. Its dollars are bad dollars. The reason it issued them was the same as those for which it has destroyed thousands of lives and vast amounts of property.

When the war was over, however, a very curious thing happened. Some people came forward and said: "We see these dollars of yours are really not money, in the strict sense of the term, but promises to pay money. You say you issued them during the war on the plea of



necessity. The war has now been over for some years, and the necessity has disappeared. Is it not time that you paid them, or at all events ceased to compel people to take them in payment of their debts?" The answer to these questions came from the Supreme Court in what were known as the Legal-Tender Cases.<sup>1</sup> The court said that the power to regulate the currency, which every government must have, was really a power to make any kind of money it pleased; that it had power not only to stamp and weigh the metal or metals which mankind has in all ages agreed to regard as the only true money, the only safe measure of value, but to make money out of any metal or other material, to issue it instead of the money actually current, to raise or lower its value in the market, and to give it any name it thought proper,—to call, for instance, a piece of paper ten inches by four "One dollar," or to declare a piece of copper or platinum to be of the same value as a circular piece of gold weighing  $25\frac{8}{100}$  grains, and usable for the same purposes;—that therefore its paper promises to pay money were, to all intents and purposes, money. All the discussion which has raged among lawyers over this decision has turned on the constitutionality of it, not on the justice or honesty of it. The court judged of the power of Congress in this matter of currency by analogy. It said that Congress must have the power over the currency as an "incident of sovereignty," which all the old governments have had, and the definition of sovereignty was obtained by observing the practice of sovereigns. Turning to history, it found that all the older governments had depreciated the currency for their own benefit, but I do not believe it found one champion of the right to do it, or that any one of these governments ever publicly claimed such a right for itself. So that we have clothed our Government with a power which no other government has ever possessed in the forum of morals. The right to punish people for their religious opinions might in fact be recognized, with more force, as an "incident of sovereignty" on the same grounds. "*Cujus regio, ejus religio*" was an accepted maxim of European public law for a thousand years.

Out of this decision has grown our currency question, as we see it to-day. So soon as the people of the United States heard from the mouths of their judges that their Government had the power not only to regulate money,—that is to weigh, stamp, and give it a name,—but to choose the material for it, and fix its value, a large party

<sup>1</sup> The effect of these decisions will be found summed up in Chap. lvii of Hare's "American Constitutional Law."



sprang up, commanding a majority in Congress, and demanded that the Government should go to work to make money out of paper, and pay its debts with it. This party was beaten, after a hard struggle, by the aid of various arguments of which the foremost was, that paper having no intrinsic value Congress might increase it to any extent it pleased, and it would thus soon become worthless,—witness the Continental paper, the French assignats, and the Confederate money. The greenbackers then abandoned the field, or were in the fair way of abandoning it, when silver began to fall heavily. It at once seemed to them that here was something cheap, comparatively easy to get hold of, and therefore peculiarly suited to the needs of the poor, which was already in use as currency in many countries and would be nearly as good as greenbacks as a means of restoring prosperity. It could not be said of it, as had been said of the greenback, that it had no intrinsic value. It had value, apart from its use as money. It was a metal. Moreover Congress could not increase the quantity of it at pleasure, as it could increase the quantity of greenbacks. Its amount was fixed by nature.

There then grew up about silver a remarkable amount of legendary matter. The ancient idea that money was a measure of value seemed to fade away. To the demand of those who insisted that gold should be retained in circulation, and that silver should, as money, bear some fixed ratio to it, the answer was made that we could by legislation make the ratio anything we pleased,—15 to 1, or 16 to 1, or 20 to 1. Some preferred 15 to 1 because this was the ratio fixed by the Almighty when placing the two metals in the ground. Others did not think any ratio was necessary because gold ought not to be retained in circulation in a country of poor or plain people. Silver ought to do all the work of money. If it was too heavy, as some said, for daily use, let it be stored and have paper issued against it. Paper money, by the by, could be issued “against” anything. It did not need to be exchangeable for a thing provided it were “based” on it, that is, if the issuer of the paper owned something of value which he had in his mind when he issued it. Therefore, silver did not need to be mined or coined in order to “base” paper on it. We need only, one member of Congress said, have our engineers calculate how much silver there was in a mountain, and we could then “base” paper on it to that amount. Silver, too, was gradually personified into something almost human. It was entitled to “a place of honor.” It was the friend of the poor, and stayed with people in times of misfortune when gold fled to the



rich, or to foreign countries. You could be ungrateful, or indifferent, to silver as to a human friend. Very recently, a member of Congress reproached a newspaper in this city with "never having said a kind word of silver." Silver came to have a "cause" of its own, to be degraded or betrayed. It had triumphs to achieve and defeats to sustain. You could insult silver, or slight it, or slander it, or humiliate it, or snub it. I do not believe that it would be easy to find in the discussions of the past ten years the smallest recognition, on the silver side, that money is, or ought to be, a measure of value simply. It has been treated throughout as a commodity which it was the duty of the Government to make as plentiful as possible, and put within easy reach of as large a number of people as possible. On this view of the duty of the Government, what we call the silver party, which is now in the field, has been founded.

Now the founding, in a country of universal suffrage, of a party which looks on money not as a measure of value but as a commodity, is a new thing and a serious one. The aberrations of the human mind on the subject of currency have, as I have already said, been many since the dawn of history, but I do not recall any aberration in which the pretence, at least, of regarding money as a standard by which to regulate the exchange of commodities, was not kept up. This pretence often covered fraudulent alterations of the standard, but it was never laid aside, and the alterations were concealed. The adulterators and debasers never said, "Never mind about the purchasing power of this; the more there is of it the better for you." They always said, "This is just the same as what you have got already, and will purchase you just the same amount of anything you desire." Moreover, like most other functions of government in times past, the regulation of the currency was always left in the hands of a few experts, that is, of men who made the currency a matter of scientific observation, and who sought, according to their lights, to make money a measure, as well as a medium, of exchange. For the currency question is not altogether, as many suppose, a question of material or of quantity. It is essentially or mainly a question of psychology. What they study, who study it aright, is the way the human mind plays around exchange. The merits or demerits of gold or silver or paper as money are to be found not in the things themselves, but in the way in which the people who use them look at them. Take Gresham's Law for instance. It says that, when there are two kinds of currency,—one inferior in value to the other, but both legal tender,—the more valuable one will leave



the country. Well, the more valuable one does not walk off of its own accord; it is sent away by men who see profit in exporting it. The objection to silver—the great overwhelming one—is that the men who make most use of coin prefer gold. And what all statesmen or economists who make a specialty of currency try to get at through tables of prices, and movements of bullion, is how people feel about the different kind of medium in which they make their purchases and pay their debts.

The transfer to the newspaper, the caucus, the convention, and the popular vote, of this extremely delicate task of deciding what kind of money in any given country makes the best measure of value, while furnishing the most convenient medium of exchange, is, as I have said, something new. The problem before the country next autumn, will be almost as much how to take the measure of value out of politics, as how to get at the right measure just now. For there will be little use in establishing the gold standard or any other standard, unless politicians can be induced to let it alone, and leave it in the hands of men who will change it only to secure greater steadiness, and not to help debtors or to stimulate a particular branch of industry. Until it is well established that the currency will not come up as a question to be settled by the popular vote at every Presidential election, there cannot be any industrial or commercial peace or tranquillity. The questions of ratio or no ratio, of one metal or another, of government paper or bank paper, of elasticity or fixity,—have all to be considered with reference to the effect on the standard of value, and this class of problem is no more capable of being settled at the polls than are parallels of latitude or of longitude. The debating of it on the stump, except to prevent the commission of some great folly, or to procure their transfer to experts, is a patent absurdity. The one thing which the popular vote can safely do for the currency, is to direct its committal to a few men who are familiar with it both from the theoretical and the practical side. This, too, is the main object of the championship of the gold standard which we now witness. What the “gold bugs” really demand is not the gold standard, so much as assimilation in currency matters to the other great commercial nations, and the absolute abandonment of the currency question as a political issue. That we shall secure these things at one election is not likely, but the election of a President on a sound-money platform will be the first step toward it, and a great one.

The currency problem is made all the more complicated by the



attitude of the West toward the East. That there is a line dividing the two regions has been for a long time vaguely perceived, but it was never so clearly defined as by the war feeling and by the silver question. Speaking generally, the bulk of whatever there was of pugnacity toward England after Mr. Cleveland's Message was to be found west of the Alleghanies; and, speaking generally, also, it may be said that the principal support of the silver standard is to be found west of the Alleghanies. It is accompanied in both cases by a dislike or distrust of the East, which is partly social and partly financial, and covers also European countries, but principally England. The social dislike or distrust would need an article to itself. The financial is, in the main, that of a borrowing for a creditor community, and that of a new agricultural community for one which is devoted mainly to the business of selling commodities and exchanging money. It is composed, in part, of the old dislike of the farmer for the financier, and in part that of the poor debtor for the rich creditor. Behind it all lies great ignorance about foreigners and foreign relations, and of the other forms of society than those by which western men are surrounded, combined with an immense sense of power. It is difficult to make a western man understand that a country of 70,000,000 of inhabitants cannot do anything that it has a fancy to do, including the circulation of silver at a fixed ratio. It is also difficult to persuade him that a well-dressed man with superfine manners does not cherish evil designs of some sort. He does not see how the great fortunes he hears of in the East have been honestly acquired, and he, therefore, would hear with equanimity of the bombardment of eastern cities. He brooks very ill the unconscious assumption of superiority which the long cultivation of the social art brings with it in older countries, and thinks it the main business of the American abroad to resent this by threats and defiance.

Among the mass of western people, a knowledge of the conditions of foreign exchange is scanty. The notion that a nation with \$1,600,000,000 of foreign commerce can be a law unto itself in commercial matters, and that it is easy to create financial conditions which will cut us off from the rest of the world, is still rife in that part of the country. In fact, it would not be too much to say that, in spite of a high degree of culture at certain points, the West is suffering all the observed consequences of too great isolation,—that is, want of more contact with other social conditions and other forms of civilization. All genuine and steady progress thus far has come from intercourse with



foreigners and familiarity with their point of view, and readiness to adopt whatever is best and most suitable in their ideas, manners, or customs. This has been true from the earliest times, is, in fact, the most familiar phenomenon of advancing civilization. The greatest danger the Valley of the Mississippi runs to-day is the danger of living in its own ideas,—the belief that Providence still creates peculiar peoples.

Escape from the silver idea is not likely to be easy. The protective idea is incorporated with it. The belief that silver is a commodity, not simply a measure of value, has taken possession of the western mind. The notion that it is, therefore, as much entitled to protection as any other commodity, by any means within reach of the Government, is not easily dislodged, so long as the protective theory prevails at the East. It is not easy for an eastern protectionist to face the arguments by which a western man refuses to help the East to support its industries by heavy duties so long as the West, and more especially the mining States, have no share in the blessings derived from the national policy. The western man is a protectionist, too, but he wishes to push the plan farther, and he has concocted a theory of currency to go along with it. A self-supporting Europe-defying country, producing everything it wants for its own use, including its own money, is his idea of a state. The eastern man goes only half way. He wishes to be independent of Europe industrially, but to keep up his connection with it pecuniarily, which is not thorough and complete "Americanism."

That these ideas will be overcome, except by actual experiment, seems unlikely. If the currency should by the next election fall into the hands of a Government dominated by the ideas of the silverites, we must be prepared for deliverance through a panic of very great magnitude. This is the way, as a general rule, the financial heresies of a democracy are dissipated. Books are not read, or theorists much listened to. The thing has to be tried. Nevertheless discussion has produced a great deal of effect in the great cities where commercial considerations tell, and the chances are that, if the sound-money men shall get hold of the Government in 1897, the cult of silver will gradually retreat, like paganism in the early ages, to remote country districts, and linger rather as a superstition than as a financial theory. Several things are working against it, and the most powerful is the great increase in the production of gold; but its greatest support, that which will probably last longest, is patriotic belief in the power of the nation to do what it pleases.

Much the same things may be said, *mutatis mutandis*, of the tariff



question. I am quite aware that there is a great deal to be said for a tariff that shall fairly protect native industries from foreign competition. The theory of protection has been defended by many able men, and is held by many honest ones. But the protective tariff, as enacted by legislation either in this or in any other democratic country, is never the protective tariff which publicists or economists work out in their libraries. The latter takes a general view of the whole field of industry, and endeavors to impose duties with such impartiality that no one industry shall profit at the expense of another, or interfere with another's freedom of action. Moreover it insists above all things on permanence or, at all events, on sufficient permanence to enable the legislator to see the result of his own experiments, as regards the amount and the incidence of his duties. This is the sort of tariff protectionists write books about, and lecture about and laud on the stump.

The actual tariff of legislation is a totally different affair. It is made up not so much on a general view of the needs of all industries, as on the account each industry gives of the amount of duty it needs to make it profitable. It favors, too, those which are able to make the largest contributions to electioneering expenses of the party which enacts it, without regard to the general effect. Permanence is the last thing it thinks of. Our tariff has undergone twenty-five changes since the war, all in the direction of higher duties. All but one of these changes were made on the demand of manufacturers, who claimed more assistance, and got it without any enquiry into the reason why they needed it, or why they had failed to make sufficient profits under the existing duties. So that the tariff of the scientific protectionists is never seen and probably never will be seen in practice, nor is it at all likely that any tariff can ever have much stability,—and this for reasons which apply to all, or nearly all, governmental interferences with trade and industry.

No such interference can in modern society ever be isolated or confined to one object or class of objects. Its effects are always vastly more far-reaching than the promoter ever imagines. One of the most marked of these is to stimulate competition at home by bringing more capital into every protected industry,—thus diminishing the advantages of protection to each beneficiary, while tempting people to start new industries without a special fitness for them, in reliance on protection. So that, like all stimulants, its influence diminishes as time goes on, and the cry for more duties or new duties is constant. There have been, as I have said, twenty-five changes in the tariff since 1861, and



only one of them has been due to the so-called free-traders. All the others were made on the demand of dissatisfied protectionists. And yet, as any business man will tell you, nothing is more necessary to prosperous industry than stability in the conditions under which it is carried on. That is, business can flourish under either a high or low tariff, if the business man can make his calculations with certainty. But of any steady tariff there is no more promise, apparently, to-day than there was ten years ago. If the Republicans elect the President next fall and have a majority in both Houses, they will probably pass something like the old McKinley tariff bill, and they will generally suppose that this will bring in an era of prosperity; but it will not do so any more than the old McKinley tariff which led to the terrible defeat of 1890. It will be full of excesses and abuses which will bring about another reaction, and there will then be in a few years another kind of tariff with a similar result. Prosperity will wait for a settlement of the currency question.

Once a community adopts the plan of getting rich by legislation it bids good-by to steadiness. No matter what acts are passed, the mass of the population remains poor or fails in business, and then lays the blame on the legislation or on the legislators, and tries new men or new measures. It has always been so, and will always be so. The government of the day is always responsible for both the weather and the crops, and this alone will make McKinley's election a national misfortune. It is not that he will make a protective tariff that we fear, but that he will make another tariff which people will not put up with very long.

Another objection to the protective system, perhaps in the long run the most serious of all, is its effect on public life. No contemporary observer can fail to be struck with the disappearance from Congress and the State Legislatures of men prominent for eloquence, character, or the weight of their opinions. It is no exaggeration to say that there is hardly one left in the political world who is listened to for doctrine or instruction on any great public question. There are in Congress no orators, no financiers or economists, no scholars whom people like to hear from before making up their minds,—no Clays, no Websters, no Calhouns, no Wrights, no Marceys, no Everetts, no Sewards, no Lincolns, no Fessendens, no Trumbulls, no Sumners, no "illustrations," as the French call them, in any field. The talent of the country in fact seems to have taken refuge in the great business corporations, and in the colleges, just as in the Middle Ages it took



refuge in the monasteries. In the late attempts of Congress to get up a war, there seemed to be no one in either House capable of drafting a resolution which would present its designs in respectable shape. We cannot recall any case in modern times in which a government seemed so completely abandoned by the adepts and experts.

Now why is this to be ascribed to the tariff? Well, in this way : Business—the making of money by the production or sale of commodities—is the greatest interest of life to the bulk of the American community. As soon as government is presented to men as an instrument for the addition to their income of a sum in dollars and cents which they can enter in their ledgers every year, as they can profits from a speculation, they cease to think of it as an instrument for the promotion of the general welfare. Their mind gets fixed on it wholly as a means of increasing their own revenues. When a man has once entered in his accounts a good sum as the result of a piece of legislation procured by his own exertions, he is never again the same man as a citizen. He takes an entirely different view of the state, of the objects of government, of the nature of patriotism, and of the functions of the legislator. Politics becomes business to him. The duty of getting high-tariff men into Congress who will put the right duty on his commodity becomes a duty which he owes to his partners, to his creditors, to his family, and to the community. The expediency of paying any sum necessary to elect such men becomes as plain as the expediency of paying the expenses of his drummers. Opponents of his tariff become to him assailants of property and order. A speech against the tariff is an instigation to communists to wreck his mill or his workshop. Free-trade books become quasi-incendiary publications. Free-trade professors and editors are corrupters of youth. All the mental influences which create orthodoxy on any subject, work for the conversion of defence against foreign industrial competition into the highest duty of the citizen.

Once fill the country with this idea, as with a religion, and the effect on politics soon becomes manifest. Men who believe in freedom of thought and expression, and who think that government has other and higher duties than seeing that the business of the private citizen is profitable, are generally the fittest men for public life. Such men are rarely good tariff men, and they are, therefore, sedulously discarded by caucuses and conventions. Bosses are hostile to them because money cannot readily be obtained to promote their election, and because they are too independent to be easily disciplined. When this process has



lasted a number of years, the thoughts of the *élite* of the nation naturally turn away from politics to fields in which a man may speak the thing he wills, and be the master of his own career.

With more space at my disposal illustrations of this would be easy. There is one before us to-day, however, which cannot be passed over. That this tendency to eliminate men of ability and independence of thought from public life should end in making Major McKinley the Republican candidate for the Presidency, is what is now called "the logic of the situation." If this sifting process continued very long, it was inevitable that it would at last discard from the list of qualifications for the Chief Magistracy everything but devotion to a high tariff, and put in nomination for it a man who had nothing else to recommend him. All the Republican candidates since the foundation of the party—Lincoln, Grant, Hayes, Garfield, Blaine, Harrison—have had some solid claim for the place, apart from the tariff. Lincoln was a considerable orator and valiant opponent of slavery when he was nominated. Grant was a great soldier. Hayes was a good soldier, a sound financier, and a highly respectable local administrator. Garfield was a scholar, an orator, and a publicist of distinction. Harrison was a distinguished soldier, and had considerable eminence at the bar of his own State. Blaine was admired for a good many things which had no connection with protection for native industry. But, as the tariff becomes more prominent in the party councils, the standard of talent or achievement necessary for the place steadily declines. There was a strong note of warning on this subject in General Harrison's remark that a "cheap coat made a cheap man," and in the preposterous doctrine which many of the Republican leaders began in that canvass to preach on the stump, that dearness of commodities was a good thing for the poor. The intellectual descent made by the party at that time cleared the way for a far poorer sort of candidate than any it had ever had, nay, worse than any party had ever had since the foundation of the Government, for we are ready to allow any one who has looked into the published volume of Major McKinley's speeches, or has examined his record as Governor of Ohio, to compare him with any President, or Presidential candidate, in our history. Any such examination will show that the party has, in its search for a suitable standard-bearer, reached a region of extraordinary intellectual poverty and moral weakness, but still a region toward which it has for many years been steadily marching.

Should Mr. McKinley be elected, he will, without a single quali-



cation except love of a high tariff, be called upon to preside over a financial situation of extraordinary perplexity. Not only has he voted in Congress for free coinage and the silver purchase act of 1890, but one needs only a cursory examination of his volume of speeches to see that he has no understanding either of currency or foreign exchange. His assertion on the stump in 1892 that the McKinley bill had brought \$200,000,000 of gold into the country led me to have enquiries made of him, how he knew this, by what channels the gold had arrived, as there was no trace of it in the custom-house returns. His only answer was that it had come in increased wages to American workmen. The Ohio platform is another evidence of the fog in which he dwells on all matters relating to the currency. The financial situation is simply this: Partly under the influence of the silver craze, partly under the influence of a renewal of the greenback craze,—which makes greenbacks a sacred relic of the war, to be preserved in spite of their defects as money,—we have undertaken to keep about \$900,000,000 of mixed silver and government paper at par with gold. This is the most tremendous task any civilized government has ever imposed upon itself. The Bank of England only agrees to keep \$80,000,000 of paper at par. The Bank of France has only \$700,000,000 to look after, at the most, for this is all the paper it is allowed to issue, and keeps gold for nearly half of this. The German Bank has only to keep its paper at par in securities, bank notes, discounted bills, and legal-tender notes of the government. But we undertake to see that everybody who wants it shall get gold for more than \$400,000,000 of silver, which bring only 58 per cent of intrinsic value in the market, and for about \$500,000,000 of paper which has no intrinsic value whatever. In order to do this, we borrow gold whenever our stock of it runs short, and every successful loan is greeted as a great financial triumph.

Upon this borrowed stock of gold, too, Gresham's Law plays incessantly. I have recalled the meaning of this law in an earlier part of this article. It means for us that any one who finds it necessary to settle a balance with a foreign creditor, and who is unable to settle it with silver or paper, may settle it with gold drawn from the Treasury. So that the Government stock of gold is sure to undergo incessant diminution from these drafts. Now the protectionist, or I may say McKinley, remedy for this is to procure larger revenue by putting higher duties on foreign imports. Granting that this would increase the revenue, the only difference would be that we could purchase our reserve of gold with our own money, instead of borrowing it. But it would



not diminish the drafts on this reserve. These drafts arise out of the fact that with a dollar in silver worth only 58 cents, I can go to the Treasury and get a dollar worth 100 cents. This demand will not cease until silver becomes worth 100 cents on the dollar, or the race of money-changers dies out, or until the volume of our currency is so reduced that we shall need gold for other uses than bolstering up our silver and greenbacks. If all this be true, it is easy to see that the declarations in favor of the gold standard in the Republican platforms will profit us little, unless some means are devised to stop the drain of our gold caused by our periodical announcements that we mean to keep our silver and paper at par with gold, or perish in the attempt. So long as this continues, it matters not whether we buy the gold for our reserves, or borrow it, we shall be constantly on the edge of a silver basis and consequently of a frightful panic.

The work of currency reform, therefore, consists in following the example of the other great nations of the earth and leaving silver to do the best it can as token-money or small change,—that is, limiting its legal-tender quality,—and in reducing the volume of the greenbacks, or wholly redeeming them, and discharging the Government from the duty of keeping anything at par, except its own credit. But this involves the substitution, for the greenbacks and silver, of some sort of banking system whose paper shall be secure and whose circulation shall contract and expand with the wants of trade. No Legislature since 1815 has had a more serious task before it than this, and we doubt if any Legislature has ever had. It will need a Congress either of remarkable intelligence or of remarkable docility. It will need a first-rate financier to direct the operation, one who is intimately acquainted with currency problems both as affected by home trade and by foreign exchange, such a man, in truth, as Alexander Hamilton or Albert Gallatin. Is Major McKinley such a man? I am strongly tempted to make this question a laughing matter, by means of extracts from his speeches, but I forbear.

E. L. GODKIN.



## A SALUTARY MANDATE TO THE NATIONAL CONVENTIONS.

As the moment for the assembling of the National Conventions approaches,—a moment pregnant with such great consequences to the nation,—the whisperings begin to be heard which touch the declarations of policy in the party platforms and the candidates to whose hands their execution can be confided. Which of these whisperings shall become louder, which shall become fainter and possibly even die away before the final hour for the registering of decisions, rests mainly with the people. It is in their power to make themselves heard if they have clear and positive wishes, for the people's representatives will not fail to reflect the pronounced desires of their constituents. If the people are silent, chance alone will determine what the party leaders will believe to be the wishes of their constituents. And the result of such a situation is almost invariably an equivocal and uncertain declaration, which may mean one thing to one person, and something altogether different, if not diametrically opposite, to another.

There are certainly a great many people in the country to-day who believe that a large majority of the voters have been educated to a point where they recognize that the commercial and industrial prosperity of the country rests upon a sound monetary system, and who know in what consists a sound monetary system. All movements need initiation by a few, and it may therefore be said that the responsibility for the consequences of inaction at this time will lie with those who happily have the light, and who fail to call forth response from the multitudes whose right words are ready, but are kept suspended on their lips because of the absence of the appeal. The people have been interrogated as to whether they believed that the United States possessed a secret known to no other nation, that is, the ability to adopt bimetallism at the ratio of 16 to 1. They have been asked whether they believed that the United States could open its mints to the free coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1 and preserve the bimetallic standard. They have given answer with the most emphatic No. They have declared that free coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1 will



mean silver monometallism, and that the existing standard of values—the gold dollar—should not be overthrown and replaced by a dollar of about only half its value. Recent votes in the House of Representatives placed this construction of the public sentiment on this question beyond all reasonable doubt, and it may be safely affirmed that the people have acquired a thorough comprehension of this subject, and that there will be no backsliding.

Clearly recognizing the will of the people, the Administration has resorted to all the means in its power to avert the consequences of previous errors in the nation's financial legislation. It has been confronted with the legal-tender issue and with the Treasury-note issue,—aggregating little short of \$500,000,000,—which issues it has been expected to be able to redeem in gold dollars whenever called upon; and in this connection, as has been often explained, it has had to contend with the peculiar condition affecting the legal-tender note, namely, that, though redeemed, it could not be cancelled, but had to be paid out to be redeemed again and again. The number of sales of United States bonds which have had to be made is a matter of almost too recent history to need mention. Suffice it to say that within two years these bond sales have aggregated, approximately, \$262,000,000, producing, with the premium, almost \$290,000,000. In this way has the Administration, from time to time, provided itself temporarily with sufficient gold to present to the public mind a reserve apparently ample to meet all demands on the Treasury for the redemption of United States legal-tender notes or Treasury notes. For the moment the public mind is serene, for it sees balances in the Treasury aggregating about \$280,000,000, including about \$125,000,000 in gold coin. This means that the United States has, against its legal-tender and Treasury-note obligations,—aggregating about \$490,000,000,—a reserve in gold and in its own note obligations of little short of 60 per cent.

If such a condition of the Treasury could be preserved beyond peradventure, the evil attending the existence of the United States legal-tender and Treasury notes would not necessarily be a very perceptible cloud on the horizon. The country might gradually absorb and outlive the remaining poison in its monetary system, but unhappily it is not certain that the Treasury can be kept beyond question in its present condition. We have not the slightest guarantee that a reserve held by the Treasury to-day may not, under existing laws, be paid out under Congressional appropriations to-morrow. Herein lies the “endless chain” to which reference is now so frequently made. In view of



this situation, does it not seem that the energies of the people should be devoted to the destruction of this "endless chain," whose operation hangs over the business community like the sword of Damocles? Does its destruction present insurmountable or even considerable difficulties? There cannot be any hesitation in saying No. The fear has existed that a retirement and cancellation of legal tenders, which are the sure way of destroying the "endless chain," would mean an injurious contraction of the circulating medium of the country; but we have seen, through the recent sale of \$100,000,000 4 per cent bonds, the withdrawal of substantially the whole amount of the proceeds from circulation and its retention in the Treasury,—yet it has not been accompanied by any stringency in the money markets, notwithstanding the fact that only a few millions of money were imported from abroad in connection with this negotiation. The fear in the minds of some people on this score, when the circular of the Secretary of the Treasury was issued, was shown to be entirely groundless. It may therefore be claimed to be clearly demonstrated that at this moment the country could well afford to lose upward of a hundred millions of dollars from circulation. And this loss could be welcomed if effected by the permanent contraction—through cancellation—of a medium so pernicious as that of the United States legal tender.

It may be asserted, from the experience of the last thirty-three years, that even if the issue of the United States legal-tender notes was a measure warranted by the Constitution, it has been a source of endless harm,—wasteful, and accompanied by an enormous and unnecessary cost of wealth to the people of the country. But despite the decision of the Supreme Court, which justified the issue of the United States legal-tender notes on the ground of their being a necessity induced by our civil war, there certainly must be a vast number of able students of the Constitution who will never be willing to accept that decision, and who will claim that even the exigencies of war could not justify such a departure from the safe principles underlying the Constitution. We can return to the purity of the Constitution and to safety for the nation by adopting a law in the simplest terms,—a law free from complication with questions affecting bank-note issues or any other questions touching new descriptions of money. We can enact immediate cancellation of a given amount of legal tenders, and can declare it to be the policy of the United States to gradually extinguish the whole issue.

A better period could hardly be chosen for an entrance upon this



right and safe path. If we look at the reports of the production of gold and silver in the world we find a continuous increase in quantity during late years, until with the last reports we see, in a twelve-month, an addition to the circulating medium of the world of upward of \$300,000,000 in market value. We see promise that the maximum product has not been reached, in fact there are well-informed people who believe that within a short period the gold product alone will increase from that of 1895, when it was \$225,000,000, to \$300,000,000, and that this increase will be largely due to the greater productiveness of the mines in the United States, which even last year led all the rest of the world in the production of gold. If one doubted the sufficiency of the circulating medium of the world, or the guarantees of its continued sufficiency for a long period before us, one could be reassured by contemplating the rise in values of all sound interest-bearing securities; in other words, by observing the continually shrinking value of money. A better barometer can hardly be furnished than English Consols, which recently passed the unprecedented figure of 110, and which are a security that within a few years will automatically bear only  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent per annum. Last year the English Government sold Treasury notes, to run twelve months, at  $\frac{3}{4}$  per cent per annum. For many months private discount for sixty-day bills was  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent per annum. At the same time short loans could be negotiated at the rate of  $\frac{1}{4}$  per cent per annum. The Bank of England rate of discount has stood at 2 per cent longer than at any period in its history, and with the chance of an advance absolutely hidden from view. All signs point at the moment to another long period when private discount for sixty-day bills will not rule higher than  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent per annum.

Surely these circumstances demonstrate that the United States is in a period favorable for the undoing of a great mistake—namely, the issue of the United States legal-tender notes. Surely it cannot be contended, when the world's output of gold and silver in coin value reaches the figures given and promises a steady increase for some years to come, when the United States alone contributed to that output in coin value, in 1895, about \$80,000,000, and gives promise of increasing its contribution to fully \$100,000,000 within the next few years,—surely then it cannot be contended that a gradual extinction of the United States legal-tender notes could injuriously contract our circulating medium. The belief is rather held by those experienced in financial affairs that with the cancellation of the legal-tender notes the price of money would fall in this country. It would inspire a con-



fidence which has not existed since their creation; for the confidence restored for a short interval by the resumption of specie payments was shattered by the initiation of the policy of protecting silver. The presence of this confidence would mean more liberal credit toward the borrower, and less hoarding of gold or of other reserve funds maintained for the ever impending crises. It cannot be disputed that the recovery of confidence in the honesty and intelligence of our people on the subject of money—a recovery which would doubtless have the greatest influence on the price of money in this country—would lead to the transfer from abroad of vast amounts of idle capital which cannot find investment there with equal safety and extent of return as within our own borders.

So long as the so-called “friends” of silver seek its unlimited coinage into United States dollars at a time when each of such dollars is worth but half that of the gold dollar,—in whose company they declare it can circulate,—one may be indifferent to saying a favorable word for the metal. Yet it cannot be forgotten that we are a silver-producing country, and when we think of money silver may find a small place in our thoughts. Though we are unqualifiedly and unequivocally champions of the gold-dollar standard, we cannot escape from certain existing conditions. We have through past legislation injected about \$500,000,000 in Treasury notes, silver certificates, and silver dollars into the country's circulation, and we must certainly hold out a protecting arm to that circulation, and guard the country, so far as our resources enable us, against that circulation finding the level its market value would dictate. The credit of the country is no doubt still sufficient for this purpose, which, it may be said in passing, it would not have been with a continued operation of the so-called Sherman act. Happily, the purchasing clause of that act was repealed. With that repeal a halt was called, and the credit of the country, now enjoying a breathing spell and not yet overstrained in its undertaking to preserve the parity of the gold and silver dollars in circulation, is, as above stated, undoubtedly sufficient, if the desire be present, to preserve that parity,—with the proviso, be it distinctly understood, that the “endless chain” be destroyed. The sufficiency, however, of the national credit to preserve the parity between the gold dollars and the Treasury notes, the silver-dollar certificate and other silver dollars now in circulation, can be largely reinforced and made so sure that even every doubting *Thomas* may believe. The silver-dollar currency now in circulation cannot be a menace if it finds its way, to nearly its full



amount, into the pockets of the people; but it begets fear and conjures up pictures of disaster, when massed in banks or in the Treasury. May it not be assumed that, with the cancellation of the legal tenders, the amount of silver circulation now in existence will in the course of a few years, with the increase of our population, find ready absorption in the way spoken of? Should not this consummation also enlist those who make silver their special *protégé* (though generally on mistaken lines) in the cause of the retirement and cancellation of the legal tenders? With a large body of the people legal tenders and silver dollars are looked upon as of the same family, but they are not so. They are rather enemies. The legal tender is pure and simple fiat money, which should have no place under our Constitution. The enemies of silver dollars coined at the rate of 16 to 1 can at least admit that such dollars are only fiat money to the extent that the market value of the metal makes them worth less than their brothers in gold. The silver dollar should welcome the disappearance of its greenback brother, if thereby it can find for itself a new resting-place where its existence may escape notice until its value approximates more closely to that under which it masquerades,—if that time can ever come.

Experience is the best teacher, and if this be so, certainly we ought to have learned by now what it costs us to keep our currency in a disordered condition. The wealth and resources of the United States should ensure it the power to borrow at a rate of interest as low as that of any other nation in the world, and yet the recent negotiation of United States 4 per cent bonds showed that its credit was little better than a  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent basis, while that of England, gauged by Consols, allowing for the automatic reduction to  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent, is on a  $2\frac{5}{16}$  per cent basis. The rate at which the Government can borrow serves as a standard for other securities, hence it can easily be imagined what an enormous expense it is to this country, which is mainly a borrowing one, to allow its monetary system to remain in a doubtful condition.

Those of our people who accept and believe the assertions herein made may thank themselves for the evils which will come to us if they remain silent. As stated in the prefatory words, the National Conventions will record the opinions which they think their constituents hold. It is only a few delegates among the many who have any convictions of their own. They need a mandate, and the people should give it in as few simple and unequivocal words as they know.



They should demand a declaration in favor of the retirement and cancellation (if not immediate, at least gradual) of the United States legal-tender notes. Let the questions of bank-note issues and of the use of silver take care of themselves at some future time. The people should send representatives and elect a President pledged to the at least gradual retirement of legal-tender notes. Without instructions, such men could also be trusted not to enact laws which would give us a dangerous bank-note system, or injuriously inject additional silver-dollar currency into the circulation of the country.

A civil war of unparalleled cost freed the nation from slavery, and left in its train the bane of fiat money, which has been a continuous burden and expense to the people. Let the people rise and declare to their spokesmen in the coming National Conventions that this heritage of the civil war must be obliterated. May they not then deserve the gratitude of their descendants in almost equal measure with their forebears who accomplished the abolition of slavery, and who to-day receive thanks, it may be said, as much from the children of the Confederate leaders as from their own?

WILLIAM SALOMON.



## OUR DUTY TO CUBA.

“These islands [Cuba and Porto Rico] from their local position are natural appendages to the North American continent, and one of them, Cuba, almost in sight of our shores, has, from a multitude of considerations, become an object of transcendent importance to the commercial and political interests of our Union. . . . Such, indeed, are, between the interests of that island and this country, the geographical, commercial, moral, and political relations formed by nature, gathering in the process of time, and even now verging to maturity, that in looking forward to the probable course of events for the short period of half a century, it is scarcely possible to resist the conviction that the annexation of Cuba to our federal republic will be indispensable to the continuance and integrity of the Union itself. . . . Cuba, forcibly disjointed from its own unnatural connection with Spain, and incapable of self-support, can gravitate only towards the North American Union, which by the same law of nature cannot cast her off from its bosom.”

“If the war should continue between Spain and the new republics, and those islands [Cuba and Porto Rico] should become the object and theatre of it, their fortunes have such a connection with the prosperity of the United States that they could not be indifferent spectators, and the possible contingencies of such a protracted war might bring upon the government of the United States duties and obligations, the performance of which, however painful it should be, they might not be at liberty to decline.”

THESE two quotations are taken from letters addressed by American secretaries of state to ministers of the United States in Spain. The author of the first was John Quincy Adams; of the second, Henry Clay. Both these eminent men having lived sometime ago, and being now dead, may be safely called statesmen. If they were alive and gave utterance to such sentiments to-day, they would be denounced by some select persons as “jingo” and “politician.” Mr. Adams, it will be observed, goes indeed much farther than any one in our public life has gone at the present time, by boldly declaring that the annexation of Cuba will in the natural course of events become essential to the Union. I have cited these two expressions of opinion not merely because they were uttered by two of the ablest and most patriotic of American statesmen, but because they show that the Cuban question is not a new one, and that even at the outset the wisest and most far-seeing among our public men formally declared to the government of



Spain the firm position and profound interest of the United States in regard to Cuba. I do this because in certain quarters at the present moment it seems to be supposed that the Cuban question is quite novel, and also because many excellent persons, who know nothing of the history of their own country and acquire their knowledge of current events from the headlines of one or two newspapers edited by aliens, appear to be laboring under the impression that the Cuban question has just been precipitated upon us for the first time by a few violent and dangerous men in both Houses of Congress. As a matter of fact the Cuban question is both an old and a sad one, and the attitude of the United States in regard to it has hitherto been consistent and well-defined. Every Administration, until we reach the one now in power, has declared in the plainest terms to the government of Spain and to the world that the condition of Cuba was a matter in which the United States had a vital interest and which could never be disregarded; or, as Edward Everett put it, that the Cuban question was a purely American one.

From the time of Clay and Adams down to the present day American secretaries of state have announced in the most formal manner, and Senators and members of Congress have repeated, that the United States would never suffer Cuba to pass into the hands of any other European power. Not once, but many times, it has been officially announced to our ministers abroad that any attempt on the part of Spain to transfer that island to another European power would be regarded by the United States as an act of war. In the repeated uprisings which have marked the history of the island since 1825 the sympathies of the American people with the Cuban patriots have always been strongly manifested. These revolutionary troubles led to many diplomatic representations on the part of our government, and, during the war of 1868, to an offer from the United States to pay a large sum of money or to guarantee the debt of the island if Spain would grant independence to the Cubans; also, later in the same war, to a threat of intervention.

Such in brief has been our policy in regard to Cuba; and, when we are called upon to deal again with this recurring problem, it is well to know what our policy has been and to follow the lines marked out by some of the ablest men who have been charged during this century with the conduct of our foreign relations. Every reasonable man who gives any thought to this subject will admit that the fate of Cuba is of great importance to the United States; that under no circumstances



should we permit Spain to transfer the island to any other European power; and that when war has broken out in the island the problem becomes acute, presents issues which we must not neglect, and is likely at any moment to give rise to responsibilities which, as Mr. Clay said, we could not decline. These three points are so obvious and so clearly right that it is not necessary to enter into any argument in their support. They may be taken for granted. Then comes the immediate and practical question of what we ought to do at the present time. To be able to decide intelligently we must look first at the history of Cuba and then consider what action is demanded of the United States—not merely by her own interests but by the far broader and deeper interests of humanity and civilization.

When the other Spanish-American colonies revolted from the mother country Cuba remained faithful, and no revolution broke out in the island. The success, however, of the continental colonies in establishing their independence gradually made itself felt. In 1825 Bolivar offered to invade the island, where numerous societies were formed to support him; but the invasion was checked by the intervention of our government, which advised against it. Spain acted after her kind. Instead of ignoring the evidences of sympathy which had been shown toward Bolivar's proposed invasion, the Spanish Government, by an ordinance of the 28th of May, gave the Captain-General all the powers granted to the governors of besieged towns, that is to say, it put the whole island under martial law. With this piece of sweeping and needless tyranny resistance to Spain began in Cuba and has continued at intervals to the present day, each successive outbreak becoming more formidable and more desperate than the one which preceded it.

In 1826 an insurrection broke out, and its two chiefs were executed. Soon after came another known as the "Conspiracy of the Black Eagle," which was also repressed, and those engaged in it were imprisoned, banished, or executed. In 1837 the representatives of Cuba and Porto Rico were excluded from the Cortes on the ground that the colonies were to be governed by special law. In 1850 and 1851 occurred an expedition for the liberation of Cuba, and the death of its leader, Narciso Lopez. There were also expeditions under General Quitman and others, and in 1855 Ramon Pinto was put to death and many other patriots banished. After this, for a number of years, the Cubans attempted by peaceful methods to secure from the government at Madrid some relief from the oppression which weighed upon



them and some redress for their many wrongs. All their efforts came to naught and such changes as were made were for the worse rather than for the better.

The result of all this was that in 1868 a revolution broke out under the leadership of Céspedes. The revolutionists did not succeed in getting beyond the eastern part of the island, but they were successful in many engagements. They crippled still farther the already broken power of Spain and they could not be put down by force of arms. The war dragged on for ten years and was brought to an end only by a treaty in which Martinez Campos, in the name of Spain, promised to the Cubans certain reforms for which they had taken up arms. In consideration of these reforms the insurgents were to abandon their fight for independence, lay down their arms, and receive a complete amnesty. The insurgents kept their word. They laid down their arms and abandoned their struggle for independence. Spain unhesitatingly violated the agreement. With a cynical disregard of good faith her promise of amnesty was only partially kept and she imprisoned or executed many who had been engaged in the insurgent cause, while the promised reforms were either totally neglected or carried out by some mockery, which had neither reality nor value.<sup>1</sup> The result of this treachery, of the bloodshed which accompanied it, and of the increased abuses in government which followed, was that the Cubans began again to prepare for revolt, and a year ago last February the present revolution broke out. The struggle now going on has developed much more rapidly than any which preceded it, and has been marked by far greater successes than the Cubans were able to obtain in the war which lasted from 1868 to 1878. In the preceding rebellion, which was maintained for ten years, the insurgents never succeeded in getting beyond the great central province of Santa Clara, and their operations were practically confined to the mountainous region in the eastern end of the island. It is not my purpose to enter into any discussion of the details of the present war. The Spanish bulletins which have been issued from day to day have been shown by events to be false and therefore worthless. I will lay them and the Cuban reports aside as unworthy of consideration, and confine myself to certain decisive facts of public notoriety which cannot be disputed.

<sup>1</sup> See pamphlet by Adam Badeau, Consul-General in Cuba, 1885 ; also statement of General Tomaso Estrada Palma, printed for use of Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, 1896 ; and article by Clarence King in *THE FORUM* for September, 1895.



A little more than a year ago General Gomez landed with 500 men at a point to the north of Santiago de Cuba, at the extreme eastern end of the island. He and Maceo and the other insurgent leaders are now in command of forces which the Spanish accounts admit to be not far short of 30,000 men and which could be easily doubled if arms could be obtained. During the past year the insurgents have marched six hundred and thirty miles, from the extreme eastern end of the island to the extreme western point. They have passed over and through La Trocha without difficulty. They have swept over the provinces of Santa Clara and Matanzas. They have marched back and forth through the entirely flat and open country of Pinar del Rio, the extreme western province, and they are to-day, and have been for some time, moving about with entire freedom in the immediate neighborhood of Havana—where they have on more than one occasion, as may be seen from the Spanish bulletins themselves, raided the suburbs of the capital city. They have cut all the railroads and have passed without difficulty through the lines which the Spaniards have drawn for the purpose of shutting them up in the western part of the island. The whole of the interior of the island is absolutely in their hands. The Spaniards hold nothing except the principal seaports, where their ships are at anchor, and the few scattered towns, where their troops are encamped. In view of these facts it is idle to waste time in discussing the results of particular actions. When the insurgents have shown themselves capable of marching from one end of the island to the other, of capturing towns, destroying railroads, and preventing the grinding of the sugar crop,—a perfectly legitimate war measure,—it is clear that the rebellion has been successful thus far and to a degree which the most sanguine friends of Cuba never dared to anticipate.

In the meantime the insurgents have formed a provisional government, held two elections, and adopted a constitution. The government has been duly inaugurated and the civil offices all filled. All the military officers hold commissions from the civil authorities. The officers of the provisional government are Cubans, white men, and of good family and position. Among the principal military officers there are only three of negro blood,—the two Maceos and one other. A great deal has been made of the point that the insurgents have no fixed seat of government. As their successful march across the island has been so rapid, it is not remarkable that the seat of government should have been moved; but it has been for some time established at Cubitas, in Camaguey, and has never been attacked by the enemy.



It has also been urged against the insurgents that they have no port. This is due to the fact that they have no ships and, although they have taken several of the seaport towns,—Batabano quite recently,—they have been unable to hold them, because they did not have command of the sea and were without heavy ordnance. The smaller ports are all open to them and they have thus far found no difficulty in landing arms whenever a vessel with munitions of war has been able to escape from United States ports. These facts, which are established by all the despatches and by the inspection of the map,—which shows where the battles are fought,—are enough to demonstrate the great success of the insurgents and the utter failure of Spain, although she has sent 120,000 troops to the island, to even check the progress of the revolution.

It is not easy to procure disinterested testimony as to the condition of affairs in Cuba, but such unbiassed witnesses as we have corroborate the insurgent accounts and not those of the Spanish. The Hon. Hubert Howard, the son of the Earl of Carlisle, passed five weeks with the insurgent forces last autumn and published an account of his experiences in the January number of "The Contemporary Review." He entirely confirms the insurgent reports as to their early actions with the Spaniards, and he was present when the army received a visit from the officers of the provisional government, who had just been elected. Mr. Howard testifies to the success of the insurgents, to the fact of their having a duly elected civil government, and to their successes in the field, concluding with an expression of his earnest wish that the United States would recognize them as belligerents. The reports of our consuls, which have been submitted to the House,—although they do not come down to a very recent time,—substantially corroborate the insurgent account of the early operations of the war. American correspondents, who have sent out reports which were not submitted to Spanish censorship, give the same view as to the condition of affairs and prove the falsity of the statements emanating from Spanish sources. For sending such despatches one newspaper correspondent was banished from the island, and another imprisoned in the Moro castle; but, thanks to their efforts and to those of others, some despatches have got through without being edited at Spanish headquarters, and they depict the situation in accordance with the general claims of the insurgents and not at all in accordance with those of Spain.

The situation which confronts the United States is, then, briefly stated, as follows:



The island of Cuba, which lies but a short distance from our coast, is now again, after recurring revolutions and disorders extending over seventy years, the scene of a revolution more formidable and successful than any which has preceded it. American property in the island is being destroyed and our commerce with Cuba is being ruined. The ablest and most humane general in Spain, who brought the previous insurrection to a close by judicious concessions, has been recalled,—which is in itself a confession of failure,—and has been replaced by a man notorious for his ferocity and brutality. This new general, Weyler, has reverted to the methods of warfare employed by the Duke of Alva in the Netherlands three hundred years ago, when the ruin of the Spanish Empire began; which is very characteristic, for the Spaniards, although they learn nothing, have, unlike the Bourbons, forgotten many things. For many years it has been clear that Spain could not hold the island. If this war fails, it will be followed by another a few years hence. But it seems tolerably clear that Spain is unable to suppress this insurrection. She may complete the ruin of Cuba, but she cannot conquer the Cubans. The present war therefore is as useless as it is bloody and savage.

Under these circumstances the question arises, and cannot be put aside, as to what is the duty of the United States. Three courses are open to us. We can recognize the belligerency of the insurgents; we can offer our good offices to Spain to secure the peace and independence of the island; or we can do both. As to belligerency, it is a mere question of fact to be decided by the nation which has been asked for recognition and the proclamation thereof made at such time as the recognizing nation may see fit. Recognition of belligerency is not a *casus belli*, and any nation is at liberty to give it whenever it determines that it is proper to do so. The general facts known to the world and set forth in this article seem to me to establish clearly the fact of belligerency, and our government should have recognized this fact long ago. We are under no obligation toward Spain to withhold our recognition of the belligerency of the Cubans. On the contrary we have practised a forbearance in this respect which Spain did not show to us. In the language of Mr. Fish in a letter to the Spanish minister, dated Oct. 13, 1869:—

“ This concession [of belligerent rights to the South] was made by Spain on the 17th day of June, 1861, only sixty-six days after the assault on Fort Sumter, the outbreak of the rebellion, and which was the only combat or conflict of arms of which any account had reached Europe at the date of Spain's action in the



matter : a single and bloodless combat, an attack upon a handful of half-starved men being the extent of war on which Spain based the 'fact of belligerency.'"

During the ten years' war from 1868 to 1878 we withheld our recognition of Cuban belligerency. During this present war the insurgents have been in the field more than a year. They have established a government, fought many battles, and have overrun the island. If we are to be guided by Spanish action toward us, we are infinitely more justified in recognizing Cuban belligerency than Spain was when she recognized the belligerency of the Southern Confederacy.

The other course is that of using our good offices to secure the independence of the island. This was the policy pursued by Mr. Fish, who endeavored to purchase Cuban independence from Spain. It was approved at that time by Mr. Sumner, although he felt a very natural reluctance to extend any help to the Cubans while negro slavery still existed in the island. At a later date, in 1876, Mr. Fish declared that the United States would intervene unless the war was brought to an end,—a declaration that undoubtedly hastened the concessions which stopped hostilities. This policy of Grant's Administration has far stronger reasons for immediate adoption and vigorous enforcement now than it had then.

So far, however, nothing has been done for Cuba except the expression of profound sympathy adopted in different forms, but by overwhelming majorities, in both branches of Congress. If the Administration had shown the slightest sympathy with the struggling Cubans or had given any evidence of an appreciation of the importance of the Cuban question to the United States and of our previous policy in regard to it, I, for one, should have been averse to even the expression of an opinion by Congress. But the Administration, not content with manifesting great indifference to the question, has thus far ranged itself upon the side of Spain. It has gone beyond its plain duty of preserving neutrality. It has seized vessels, carrying merely munitions of war and unarmed men, which it had no right to seize and which the United States courts in more than one instance have promptly released. It has gone even farther than this. While it may be the duty of a neutral power to pursue a ship, supposed to have an armed expedition on board, from the port from which that expedition set forth, it is not called upon to send out ships to intercept vessels on the high seas where it has no jurisdiction. Direct pursuit from the point of departure, of a vessel believed to have violated the law, is one thing and no doubt permissible; but to undertake to police the high



seas and intercept such a vessel is not neutrality, but taking sides with one party in the war, and is unwarranted. Yet this is precisely what our present Administration did when it sent out the "Raleigh" and "Montgomery" to intercept the "Hawkins" and seize her on the high seas. This was not neutrality; it was taking part with the government of Spain and assisting that government to put down the Cuban insurrection.

It was this attitude of the Administration which forced Congress after three months of waiting to give expression to its own sentiments and to those of the great body of the American people. With an Administration which up to the present time has shown itself hostile or indifferent to the Cuban cause, the action of the two Houses of Congress had little practical value; but it served at least to call the attention of the American people more sharply to the condition of affairs in Cuba and to inform them more fully as to the facts. This is all that can be hoped for from the government, unless the Administration sees fit to change its present course; but it may be safely predicted that the American people will not long suffer the Cuban war, as it is now conducted, to go on indefinitely without any attempt on their part to bring it to an end.

In 1869 Charles Sumner said of the war then raging in Cuba:—

"For myself I cannot doubt that in the interest of both parties, Cuba and Spain, and in the interest of humanity also, the contest should be closed. This is my judgment on the facts, so far as known to me. Cuba must be saved from its bloody delirium, or little will be left for the final conqueror. Nor can the enlightened mind fail to see that the Spanish power on this island is an anachronism. The day of European colonies has passed—at least in this hemisphere, where the rights of man were first proclaimed and self-government first organized."

Mr. Sumner's words state the larger aspect of the question exactly as it is to-day. The danger to American property in Cuba, the ruin of American commerce, the immense field which would be opened to American enterprise, and the market which would be secured for American products by Cuban independence, as well as the enormous geographical and political importance of the island,—are all weighty reasons for decisive action on our part. But these reasons are pecuniary, material, and interested. That which makes action imperative on the part of the United States in regard to Cuba, rests on a higher ground than any of these. Such a war as is now being waged in Cuba—unrestrained by any of the laws of civilized warfare and marked



by massacre and ferocious reprisals at every step—is a disgrace to civilization. It is as useless as it is brutal. Spain is in truth “an anachronism” in the western hemisphere. It is impossible that she should long retain even this last foothold. Spanish-American governments have no doubt fallen far short of the standards of the English-speaking race, but they have been an immense improvement on the stupid and cruel misgovernment of Spain. It is no argument to say that, because the Spanish-American governments are not up to our standard, the Cubans should be compelled to remain crushed beneath the misgovernment of Spain,—especially when we remember that, although there are many negroes and mulattoes in Cuba, the whites are whites of pure race and not mixed with Indian blood as on the continent.

This is a world of comparative progress, and freedom from Spain would be to Cuba a long step in advance on the highroad of advancing civilization. The interests of humanity are the controlling reasons which demand the beneficent interposition of the United States to bring to an end this savage war and give to the island peace and independence. No great nation can escape its responsibilities. We freely charge England with responsibility for the hideous atrocities in Armenia. But it is the merest cant to do this if we shirk our own duty. We have a responsibility with regard to Cuba. We cannot evade it and, if we seek to do so, sooner or later we shall pay the penalty. But the American people, whose sympathies are strongly with the Cubans fighting for their liberties, will no longer suffer this indifference toward them to continue. If one Administration declines to meet our national responsibilities as they should be met, there will be put in power another Administration which will neither neglect nor shun its plain duty to the United States and to the cause of freedom and humanity.

H. C. LODGE.



## THE QUESTION OF CUBAN BELLIGERENCY.

THREE causes have contributed to create in the United States a special interest in the Cuban question: first, sympathy with the idea of Cuba's independence of Spain; second, the oppressive character of Spanish colonial rule; and, third, the desire to annex the island to the United States. Against the combined operation of these causes, of which the last has at times been exceedingly influential, the Government of the United States has often found it difficult to preserve an attitude of neutrality. That it has succeeded in so doing is a fact that bears ample testimony to the consistent determination with which our Government has sought to discharge its international obligations. Nor have its efforts been confined to restraining the lawless impulses of some of its own citizens. In many cases it has been required to repress flagrant attempts to violate its statutes by persons of Cuban origin, who sought to aid, and sometimes to create, insurrection in the island by means of hostile expeditions set on foot in the United States in defiance of our neutrality. That such attempts were made is not surprising; but that it was the duty of the Government to repress them is unquestionable. Nothing could be more unworthy of a great government than a fraudulent neutrality, carried out by conniving at the violation of its own laws.

The Cuban question, after slumbering for nearly twenty years, is again to the front. The insurrection which began more than a year ago still continues; the columns of the press are daily filled with rumors, often palpably sensational, as to the progress of the conflict; and the vigilance of our authorities is constantly exerted to prevent attempted violations of our own laws. On June 12 last the President issued a proclamation calling attention to the prohibitions of our neutrality statutes, and warning all persons to abstain from breaking them. He has also declined to recognize the belligerency of the insurgents; and in his annual message to Congress on December 2 last he declared that whatever might be "the traditional sympathy of our countrymen as individuals with a people who seem to be struggling for a larger autonomy and greater freedom, deepened as such sympathy naturally must



be in behalf of our neighbors, yet the plain duty of their Government is to observe in good faith the recognized obligations of international relationship." Since this declaration was made the question of recognizing the belligerency of the insurgents has been discussed in Congress, and each House, upon the same information as that before the President, has in one form or another expressed the opinion that such recognition should be accorded. As the President is charged by the Constitution with the conduct of our foreign relations, and as the power rests with him to concede or to withhold the recognition of belligerency, it is important to inquire whether, as the action of Congress implies, his conclusions as to his duty have been erroneous and should now be reversed.

The resolution of the Senate (in which the House has just concurred), while expressing the opinion that the insurgents should be recognized as belligerents, declares that the Government of the United States "should maintain a strict neutrality between the contending powers." This resolution necessarily assumes that the facts are such as to warrant the United States, as a neutral government, in according to the insurgents the status of belligerency, or else it is self-destructive; for, unless the facts justify recognition, the United States, in according it, would not be maintaining "a strict neutrality." Belligerency, like independence, is a question of fact, in the determination of which neutral governments do not take into consideration the question of right between the contending parties. Such was the rule announced by the United States to the envoy of Texas in 1837; it had often been announced before and it has often been repeated since. Its reason is so obvious that it is almost superfluous to state it. When a government assumes to guide its course not by the actual state of the hostilities, but by its opinion of the merits of the controversy, it abandons the position of a neutral for that of a partisan, and enters upon the pathway of intervention. Let us, therefore, consider whether the facts afford any ground for the recognition of the insurgents as belligerents.

According to the reports of our consular officers the present insurrection, which began in February, 1895, in the provinces of Santiago de Cuba and Matanzas, was at first limited to a small number of persons, including the banditti element in the mountains, and was not supported by any of the three regular political parties, which represent the planting, industrial and commercial, as well as the professional, classes of the island, and comprise the greater part of the population. There existed, however, among the laboring class, which is composed chiefly of negroes on the plantations, much discontent due to low and



uncertain wages, resulting from the depressed prices of sugar and tobacco, and to the high cost of provisions and clothing, resulting from the prevailing system of taxation. These circumstances explain the following passage in a report from Mr. Hyatt, the United States consul at Santiago de Cuba, of March 1, 1895: "The insurgent element so far is confined mostly to the negro population, which predominates. The whites and property owners hope that the reforms promised by the government will be put into effect, and that the movement will be suppressed before much property is destroyed and lives are lost." This hope proved to be deceptive. Antonio and José Maceo, who are mulattoes, and who, after Gomez, are now the most prominent leaders in the insurrection, incited the negroes to leave the cane fields and join the ranks of the insurgents. Among the whites, also, the spirit of revolt began to spread. A plan of campaign was adopted which has admirably served at once to keep the insurrection alive and to increase the number of its adherents. While avoiding pitched battles with the Spanish forces, the insurgents have moved rapidly from one part of the island to another, leaving destruction in their track. In this way they destroy the resources of the government and swell the army of the discontented. On November 6 last, Gomez issued a proclamation declaring that all plantations should be totally destroyed, their cane and outbuildings burned, and that all laborers who aided the sugar factories should be condemned and shot. Contributions have been levied on the planters, whenever practicable. Towns have been burned. Mr. Williams, our able consul-general at Havana, in a report of the 7th of January, on the operations of the insurgents in the provinces of Pinar del Rio and Havana, says: "Besides the burning of cane fields, the newspapers report cases of damage to railroads by displacing rails, the blowing up of culverts, burning of bridges and stations; also, the pillaging of country stores, the carrying off of horses, saddles, and bridles from farms on their line of march for the mounting of men, and the slaughter of cattle for food. . . . The insurgents appear, while carrying on their work of destruction of private property, to have been able, thus far, to elude all encounter with the government troops." Later reports are of the same tenor. On January 10, Gomez, in view of the general suspension of plantation work in the western districts of the island, issued a new decree prohibiting the burning of the cane fields, but ordering the destruction of the buildings and machinery of all the plantations that resumed work. The insurgent operations are carried on chiefly in the interior of the



island, where the mountains and swamps afford convenient retreats, while the government holds all the coast and the seaports.

It is evident that a war is in progress in Cuba; but it is equally evident that it presents the features of guerilla rather than of regular warfare. In these conditions, the account of which I have taken from the correspondence transmitted by the President to Congress, what is the ground on which a foreign government, while professing to maintain "a strict neutrality," could legally justify a recognition of the insurgents as belligerents? The mere existence of war does not justify such a measure. War is of different kinds and may exist in different degrees. In the last ten years there have been various wars in this hemisphere, in which the United States either omitted or refused to accord to insurgents the status of belligerency, though they held a portion of territory from which they were able by force of arms to exclude the exercise of authority by the titular government. This condition of things characterizes every war carried on on land; and such a war is not converted into a public war merely by the proclamation by insurgents of a plan of government. The only kind of war that justifies the recognition of insurgents as belligerents is what is called "public war"; and before civil war can be said to possess that character the insurgents must present the aspect of a political community or *de facto* power, having a certain coherence, and a certain independence of position, in respect of territorial limits, of population, of interests, and of destiny. The Senate resolution admits this, for it declares that, "in the opinion of Congress, a public war exists between the government of Spain and the government proclaimed and for some time maintained by force of arms by the people of Cuba"; and from this declaration it deduces the conclusion that the United States should maintain a strict neutrality between the "contending powers," according to each "all the rights of belligerents in the ports and territory of the United States." But, upon the facts so far disclosed, in what sense can it be asserted either that the insurgents are "the people of Cuba," or that they are "maintaining a government"?

But, in addition to the elements already noticed, there is yet another condition essential to a proper recognition of a state of public war, and that is the existence of an emergency, actual or imminent, such as makes it incumbent upon neutral powers to define their relations to the conflict. Hall, in his recent work on "International Law" (4th edition, p. 36), says that, "so long as a government is struggling with insurgents isolated in the midst of loyal provinces and conse-



quently removed from contact with foreign states, the interests of the latter are rarely touched, and probably are never touched in such a way that they can be served by recognition. . . . In the case of maritime war the assumption of propriety lies in the opposite direction." Lawrence, in his excellent work on "The Principles of International Law" (section 163), which has lately appeared, says that to the legal concession of belligerency two conditions are essential: first, the struggle should have attained the dimensions of war in the international sense; and, second, there must be a necessity for the recognition. "When," he says, "an insurrection is confined to a district in the interior of a country, other states would be acting in an unfriendly manner if they recognized the belligerency of the insurgents, because by the nature of the case the incidents of the conflict could not directly affect their subjects." Dana, in his edition of Wheaton (p. 34), declares that the only reason which can justify the recognition of insurgents as belligerents is, that the rights and interests of the neutral "are so far affected as to require a definition of its own relations to the parties"; that, where a parent government is undertaking to subdue an insurrection by municipal force, "a recognition by a foreign state of full belligerent rights, if not justified by necessity, is a gratuitous demonstration of moral support to the rebellion, and of censure upon the parent government"; and that, if the contest "is solely on land, and the foreign state is not contiguous, it is difficult to imagine a call for recognition."

The views of the Government of the United States, as they have been from time to time announced, are wholly in accord with those of the authorities whose words have just been cited. In 1810 and 1811 insurrections broke out in the Spanish colonies in this hemisphere. But it was not till 1815, when vessels bearing the flags of the insurrectionary governments appeared in our ports, that the United States made any decision as to the question of belligerency. At that time, said Mr. Monroe, in consequence of the unsettled state of many countries and of repeated changes in the ruling authority of each, the President deemed it proper to give orders to the collectors of customs not to make the flag of any vessel the criterion or condition of its admission into United States ports. His action was limited to the necessities of the case.

During the insurrection in Cuba, which began in October, 1868, President Grant, adhering to our well-established policy, refused to recognize the insurgents as belligerents. The reasons which he gave for this decision completely apply to the facts so far disclosed as to the present condition of things in Cuba. He said:



“The question of belligerency is one of fact, not to be decided by sympathies with or prejudices against either party. The relations between the parent state and the insurgents must amount, in fact, to war in the sense of international law. Fighting, though fierce and protracted, does not alone constitute war ; there must be military forces acting in accordance with the rules and customs of war—flags of truce, cartels, exchange of prisoners, etc.,—and to justify a recognition of belligerency there must be, above all, a *de facto* political organization of the insurgents sufficient in character and resources to constitute it, if left to itself, a state among nations capable of discharging the duties of a state, and of meeting the just responsibilities it may incur as such toward other powers in the discharge of its national duties.

“Applying the best information which I have been enabled to gather, whether from official or unofficial sources, including the very exaggerated statements which each party gives of all that may prejudice the opposite or give credit to its own side of the question, I am unable to see, in the present condition of the contest in Cuba, those elements which are requisite to constitute war in the sense of international law.

“The insurgents hold no town or city ; have no established seat of government ; they have no prize courts ; no organization for the receiving and collecting of revenue ; no seaport to which a prize may be carried, or through which access can be had by a foreign power to the limited interior territory and mountain fastnesses which they occupy. The existence of a legislature representing any popular constituency is more than doubtful.

“In the uncertainty that hangs around the entire insurrection there is no palpable evidence of an election, of any delegated authority, or of any government outside the limits of the camps occupied from day to day by the roving companies of insurgent troops. There is no commerce ; no trade, either internal or foreign ; no manufactures.” [Message to Congress of June 13, 1870.]

Five years later, in his annual message to Congress of December 7, 1875, President Grant reaffirmed the views which he had previously expressed. The United States should, he declared, “carefully avoid the false lights which might lead it into mazes of doubtful law and of questionable propriety, and adhere rigidly and sternly to the rule which has been its guide of doing only that which is right and honest and of good report” ; and, adverting to the fact that the conflict still continued to be on land, and that the insurrection had no seaport whence it might send forth its flag, “nor any means of communication with foreign powers except through the military lines of its adversaries,” he pointed out that no apprehension of any of the sudden and difficult complications which a war upon the ocean was apt to precipitate called for a definition by foreign powers of their relation to the conflict.

Yet in 1870 and in 1875, just as to-day, the Cuban insurgents maintained a “government” on paper, and maintained it in the name of “the people of Cuba.” In March, 1869, Señor Céspedes, the “President of the Republic of Cuba,” in an address to President Grant, de-



clared that "the armies of the republic" numbered more than 70,000 men, in the field and doing duty; that its "arms and authority" extended over "two thirds of the entire geographical area of the island, embracing a very great majority of the population in every part" of it; and that a navy was in course of construction. On the "31st day of May, 1869, in the second year of the independence of Cuba," he issued a commission to an "envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary near the government of the United States." In the following December formal written statements, including affidavits, were submitted to the government of the United States, setting forth that the Cuban republic had been recognized as an independent nation by Peru; that it had been recognized as a belligerent by Chili, Bolivia, and Mexico; that it owned five ships which had been purchased with a view to form a navy; that it had a constitution and a congress and a capital; that it had established a department of war, of finance, of the interior, and of public instruction; that it controlled the civil relations of the people of the island by laws of its own enacting, administered by its courts and officials; that it had declared ports closed to commerce; and that it had issued paper money which was exchanged at par with gold and silver! It is obvious that the assertions, if they had all been supported by competent evidence, would have merited the serious consideration of the United States. But the Administration was not so simple as to accept as fact, in the broadest sense, every assertion of an insurgent party, while utterly discrediting not only the statements of the titular government, but also the reports of its own officers.

It is well-known that at one time in 1869 President Grant had, under great pressure, substantially decided to extend to the insurgents belligerent rights, and that he abandoned the intention upon the advice of his Secretary of State, Hamilton Fish; and it has been said that Mr. Fish was controlled in his course by consideration for the commercial interests of the city of New York. Whether those interests, which represent in so important a manner the commercial interests of the whole country, deserve any consideration at the hands of an American statesman, is a question which I shall not attempt to discuss. But, after a comprehensive examination of what Mr. Fish said and did in regard to the Cuban insurrection, I am unable to discover the slightest evidence that he was controlled by consideration for commercial interests of any kind. In a private journal kept by Mr. Fish during his term as Secretary of State, there appears under date of February 19, 1870, the following entry:



“ Called this morning (by appointment) to see Senator John Sherman on subject of the ‘ Unit of Coinage.’ After conversing on that question, I referred to his resolution introduced in the Senate, and his speech in favor of recognizing the belligerency of Cuba, and asked if he had recently examined the treaty with Spain of 1795. He said he had not; was not aware of the existence of such a treaty. I referred to its provisions, and to the probable consequences of the exercise by Spain of the right of visit (or of search). I thought our people would not submit to it, and that the consequences would soon develop in war; I said that fighting was not belligerency; there is fighting but no belligerency in Cuba; there is no government of the insurrectionary party, no political organization, etc. He admitted that he had not examined the subject closely, but said there is a good deal of excitement in the country on the subject. I advised him, in connection with the passing of his resolution of belligerency, to prepare bills for the increase of the public debt, and to meet the increased appropriation which will be necessary for the army, navy, etc.”

On July 10, 1870, Mr. Fish, who had accepted the office of Secretary of State with the understanding that his tenure of it should be merely provisional, expressed, in a conversation with the President, a desire to retire. The President strongly urged him not to do so, assuring him that his “ course was not only entirely satisfactory to him, but gave satisfaction and confidence to the country.” On this subject the journal reads as follows

“ The President said : ‘ Without referring to other instances, on two important occasions at least your steadiness and wisdom have kept me from mistakes into which I should have fallen. On one of these occasions, you led, too, against my judgment at the time—you almost forced me—in the matter of signing the late Cuban message. I now see how right it was, and I desire most sincerely to thank you. The measure was right and the whole country acquiesces in it.’ He repeated that he wished to thank me especially for those two occasions. They were, one, preventing the issuing, last August and September, of the proclamation of Cuban belligerency which he had signed, and which he wrote me a note instructing me to sign (which I did) and to issue (which I did not); and, second, the Cuban message of June 13.”

It is said that the United States should now recognize the Cuban insurgents as belligerents, as a kind of retorsion for Spain’s acknowledgment of the belligerency of the Confederate States in 1861. An examination of the circumstances will show that this argument is quite destitute of foundation. On December 20, 1860, a duly elected convention in the State of South Carolina adopted an ordinance of secession, declaring that the union between that State and the other States of the United States was dissolved. Before the end of May, 1861, ten other States,—Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Texas, Virginia, Arkansas, Tennessee, and North Carolina,—had



passed similar ordinances. The progress of the movement is summarized in "Appleton's Cyclopædia" thus :

"On February 4, 1861, a congress composed of delegates from the States that had then seceded, assembled at Montgomery, Ala., and framed a constitution for the 'Confederate States of America.' Jefferson Davis of Mississippi was chosen President, and Alexander H. Stephens of Georgia, Vice-President ; a government was organized and measures were taken to create an army. The Senators and Representatives from the seceded States withdrew from the United States Congress. Nothing was done by President Buchanan's Administration to thwart the purposes of the secessionists, who proceeded to seize the arsenals, custom-houses, navy-yards, and forts throughout the South. At the close of his term, only Fort Sumter at Charleston, S. C., and Fort Pickens at Pensacola, Fla., with the posts on the Florida keys, remained in the possession of the government in the seven States that had then seceded. . . . The first warlike act was the bombardment by the Confederates, under General Beauregard, of Fort Sumter, which was commanded by Major Anderson, with a garrison of 109 men. Fire was opened on April 12, 1861, and continued on the 13th, and Major Anderson was compelled to evacuate the fort on the 14th, sailing with his garrison to New York. . . . The next day (April 15) President Lincoln issued a proclamation calling upon the Governors of the several States for a force of 75,000 militia for three months. . . . On May 13, General B. F. Butler took military possession of Baltimore, repressing the secession element in that city. In the meantime the United States arsenal at Harper's Ferry (April 18) and the Gosport navy-yard near Norfolk, Va., (April 21), fell into the hands of the Confederates. On April 19 and 27 the President issued proclamations declaring a blockade of the ports of the seceded States."

It thus appears that before the end of May, 1861, a large portion of the people of the United States, comprising a population of upward of 5,000,000 persons exclusive of slaves, had thrown off the authority of the United States and were maintaining a government of their own over the vast region which they inhabited and controlled, including the whole extent of its coast. The ports of the seceded States being in the possession of their authorities, who collected duties and administered the customs, the Government of the United States sought to close them to foreign commerce by an act of public war. In April two proclamations of blockade were issued, and orders were given for their enforcement. Of the four vessels before the Supreme Court of the United States in the Prize Cases (2 Black, 635), two were seized in May. Mr. Dana, in his argument for the condemnation of the vessels, speaking for the Government, said that the proclamations of blockade were "belligerent acts, and not municipal surveillance"; they were declared to be "in pursuance of the law of nations." Mr. Justice Grier, in delivering the opinion of the court, said :

"This greatest of civil wars was not gradually developed by popular commotion, tumultuous assemblies, or local unorganized insurrections. However long



may have been its previous conception, it nevertheless sprang forth suddenly from the parent brain, a Minerva in the full panoply of war. . . . The proclamation of blockade is itself official and conclusive evidence that a state of war existed which demanded and authorized a recourse to such a measure, under the circumstances peculiar to the case. . . . In organizing this rebellion, they have *acted as States* claiming to be sovereign over all persons and property within their respective limits, and asserting a right to absolve their citizens from their allegiance to the Federal Government. . . . Their right to do so is now being decided by wager of battle. The ports and territory of each of these States are held in hostility to the General Government. It is no loose, unorganized insurrection, having no defined boundary or possession. It has a boundary marked by lines of bayonets, and which can be crossed only by force,—south of this line is enemies' territory, because it is claimed and held in possession by an organized, hostile and belligerent power."

Spain's proclamation of neutrality was not issued till June 17, 1861, after both Great Britain and France had issued proclamations. It was claimed by the United States that Great Britain's action was especially precipitate, on the ground, among others, that, when her proclamation was issued, her government did not know that the blockade would be enforced. But on May 2, 1861, a month and a half before Spain issued her proclamation, Mr. Seward informed the Spanish minister that the blockade would be "strictly enforced upon the principles recognized by the law of nations." In the case of the United States at Geneva, a tribute is paid to the fidelity with which Spain performed her neutral obligations. "Spain," said the United States on that occasion, "followed France in the track of England, but care was taken to avoid, in the royal proclamations, the use of the word 'belligerents.' It has been seen with what fidelity and impartiality the authorities at Cardenas carried out the letter and the spirit of this proclamation when the 'Florida' arrived from Nassau in the summer of 1862."

We come now to the practical question. What benefit would it confer on the Cuban insurgents to declare them to be belligerents? The answer is, under present conditions, none whatever. It would in no wise alter their relations to the government of Spain, which could still regard them as criminals, if it saw fit to do so. In 1862 some seamen in the service of the Confederacy were convicted of piracy at Philadelphia. The Confederate Government threatened retaliation if they were harmed, and they were not sentenced, but handed over to the military authorities. It never was suggested that their relations to the United States were affected by the proclamations of foreign powers. To the end of the war the Government of the United States continued to denounce the Confederate cruisers as pirates. Moreover,



the Cuban insurgents can at the present time purchase arms and munitions of war; they, and their friends and sympathizers, can go and come unarmed and unorganized to take part in the conflict; they can sell their securities to any one who will buy them. More than this they could not do, if their belligerency were recognized, unless they had ships on the ocean. They could neither employ persons in the United States to serve in their forces, nor fit out and arm vessels in our ports, nor set on foot hostile expeditions from our territory. On the other hand, Spain would immediately be invested by international law, as well as by the treaty of 1795, with the international rights of belligerency, which she has so far not claimed, including the right of visitation and search on the high seas, and the capture and condemnation of our vessels for violations of neutrality. It would enable Spain practically to put an end to the transportation of munitions of war for the insurgents. It would place under Spanish supervision all that vast commerce which passes through the waters adjacent to Cuba. Referring to this aspect of the matter, President Grant, in his message of 1875, said: "There can be little doubt to what result such a supervision would before long draw this nation. It would be unworthy of the United States to inaugurate the possibilities of such result by measures of questionable right or expediency, or by any indirection."

It is as a step toward this "result"—a war between the United States and Spain—that recognition of belligerency, not as a measure of neutrality based on facts, but as a promise of support inspired by sympathy, is sought by the agents of the insurgents. It is for this reason that I confess to a certain liking for the speech of Senator Mills, in which he proposes that, if the government of Spain should refuse to grant to the people of Cuba, upon the request of the United States, the power of local self-government, the United States shall take possession of the island "and hold it until its inhabitants can institute such government as they may wish, and organize and arm such forces as may be necessary to support it." This proposition presents the logical issue of intervention or non-intervention, but, in considering it, we should assume that the United States, if it once took possession of the island, never would release it unless compelled to do so. Apart from motives of cupidity, the interests of commerce and of public order would demand its retention. Of the population of Cuba one third is composed of negroes and mulattoes just emerging from barbarism, and the other two thirds are composed largely of illiterate whites of Spanish descent and undeveloped political capacity, but apparently tinctured



with a revolutionary propensity. Such conditions could hardly be expected in themselves to produce better results than have been attained in the republics of Central America, and of the political state of those commonwealths a hasty glance at the volumes of the Foreign Relations of the United States reveals the following illustrations:

- 1870. Rebellion in Guatemala.
- 1871. Insurrection in Guatemala; war between Honduras and Salvador.
- 1872. Guerilla war on Honduras; Salvador declares war against Honduras; Guatemala joins Salvador; government in Salvador overthrown by a revolution.
- 1873. Attempted revolution in Guatemala, Honduras, and Salvador; Salvador and Guatemala make war on Honduras; conspiracy to overthrow the government in Costa Rica.
- 1875. Attempt to overthrow the government in Costa Rica.
- 1876. Revolutionary plottings in Guatemala.
- 1877. Attempt to assassinate President Barrios of Guatemala; ex-President Medina of Honduras shot for treason on the sentence of a council of war.
- 1885. War between Salvador and Guatemala; President Barrios killed; revolution in Salvador; Nicaragua intervenes in the Salvadorean revolution; revolution in Honduras; Salvador invades Nicaragua.
- 1886. Peace concluded between Nicaragua and Salvador; revolutionary plottings in Honduras, Salvador, and Nicaragua.
- 1887. Revolutionary plottings in various states; constitution suspended in Guatemala, and the president becomes dictator; revolutionary movement in Salvador.
- 1890. Revolution in Salvador; President Menendez dies of apoplexy or is assassinated; Carlos Ezeta, his *protégé*, who got up the revolution, proclaims himself president; Antonio Ezeta, his brother, becomes vice-president and commander-in-chief of the army; martial law declared; war between Guatemala and Salvador; United States consulate outraged.
- 1891. Threatenings of war.
- 1892. Attempted revolution in Honduras.
- 1893. Dictatorship proclaimed in Guatemala; revolution in Honduras.
- 1894. War between Nicaragua and Honduras; revolution in Salvador.

These facts, which appear incidentally in a publication not specially designed to disclose them, furnish matter for serious reflection as to our future relations to Cuba, when it is proposed to intervene for the purpose of expelling the government of Spain. And if Spain should be expelled by our aid, and, at the close of the war, the island should remain, as probably would be the case, in our possession, it is doubtful whether the confidence of the world in the benevolence of our motives would be strong enough to save us from the imputation of having committed a wilful act of spoliation.<sup>1</sup>

J. B. MOORE.

<sup>1</sup> In October, 1854, during a period of violent agitation for the annexation of Cuba to the United States, Messrs. Buchanan, Mason, and Soulé, our ministers, respectively, at London, Paris, and Madrid, after conferring together at Ostend on



the prospects of annexation, made a report to William L. Marcy, who was then Secretary of State. In this report, which is known as the "Ostend Manifesto," it was said that "if Spain, deaf to the voice of her own interest, and actuated by stubborn pride and a false sense of honor, should refuse to sell Cuba to the United States," the time would then have come for the United States to consider whether Cuba in the possession of Spain seriously endangered "our internal peace and the existence of our cherished Union"; that, if this question should be answered in the affirmative, "then, by every law, human and divine, we shall be justified in wresting it from Spain, if we possess the power"; and that we should be "recreant to our duty—be unworthy of our gallant forefathers, and commit base treason against our posterity, should we permit Cuba to be Africanized and to become a second St. Domingo." It is to the doctrine thus euphemistically expressed, which was then attracting great attention, that Marcy referred in the following letter, which has not heretofore been published :

*Private and Confidential.*

WASHINGTON, April 15, 1855.

L. B. SHEPARD, ESQ., New York,

*My Dear Sir :*

I have not time to say much, though I have much to say, on the subject to which your letter of yesterday refers.

I am entirely opposed to getting up a war for the purpose of seizing Cuba ; but if the conduct of Spain should be such as to justify a war, I should not hesitate to meet that state of things. The authorities of Cuba act unwisely, but not so much so as is represented. They are more alarmed than they need to be in regard to dangers from this country, though it cannot be said that the filibuster spirit and movements do not furnish just grounds of apprehension. They have a clear right to take measures for defence, but what those measures may be, it is not easy to define. In exercising their own rights they are bound to respect the rights of other nations. This they have not done in all cases. That they have deliberately intended to commit wrong against the U. S. I do not believe ; but that they have done so I do not deny. The conduct of Spain and the Cuban authorities has been exaggerated and even misrepresented in some of our leading journals, particularly in the "Union." I cannot speak of the views of the conductors of the latter paper, for I have little or no intercourse with them. From what I have seen in it, I am not much surprised at the opinion that it is for war, right or wrong : but I venture to assure you that such is not the policy of the Administration. It does not want war, would avoid it, but would not shrink from it, if it becomes necessary in the defence of our just rights.

The robber doctrine, I abhor. If carried out it would degrade us in our own estimation and disgrace us in the eyes of the civilized world. Should the Administration commit the fatal folly of acting upon it, it could not hope to be sustained by the country, and would leave a tarnished name to all future times.

Cuba would be a very desirable possession, if it came to us in the right way, but we cannot afford to get it by robbery or theft. There are two sides to the question of acquisition which are well stated in an article in the "N. Intelligencer" of yesterday, taken from the Charleston "Mercury" of 1852. I am for getting the island, if it can be acquired fairly and honestly, not otherwise. I do not believe the robber doctrine when calmly considered will be popular or that a party can sustain itself upon it.

Yours truly,

W. L. MARCY.



## NEED OF BETTER HOMES FOR WAGE-EARNERS.

THE two civilizing agencies of highest value for laboring people, next to industrial training and baths, are bay windows and front door-bells.

Putting effect for cause, somebody will object. The bay window and front door-bell arrive only after the working man has reached assured comfort and a degree of independence; they are signs of, rather than helps to, advancement.

Not at all. The toiler's home as a rule is built for him. He has to live where he is put or where his work lies,—in manufacturing colonies, in city tenements. He is tenant, not landlord, with surroundings that he can seldom modify, created not to better his condition but to get money from his pocket; and usually he is provided with only the barest necessities of living—four walls, doors, windows, and a flue. Sometimes even the flue is lacking, stovepipes protruding through bricks or weather-boarding or window-panes.

The front door-bell means privacy, family life, household gods, home, as opposed to the common tenement hallway and all its evils. Where the bell stands guard, decency and domesticity may reign. A bay window marks the first departure from the merely needful and useful, the first outreaching for beauty and the ideal. It establishes a standard to live up to. Unmade beds, unswept floors, coarseness, and bad habits are out of keeping with bay windows.

Students of social conditions hear the amateur declare that one plan—his own plan—will eradicate poverty, wipe out slums, or secure industrial reforms. Enthusiasts clamor for prayer-meetings, kindergartens, baths, free concerts, temperance; some want only separate homes for workers, others demand model tenements and universal co-operation. All these plans will help, but from no one of them alone may we expect the reforms predicted,—reforms so huge, indeed so radical, that the foundations of the present social order would be shaken were such quasi-beneficent schemes suddenly successful. We must seek the practicable measure, often foregoing the more desirable. Those who write of “abolishing slums” or “sweeping away tenement



systems " forget that property must be sacrificed, interests must suffer, decline in values and consequent hardship must precede all such improvements. The mistake was to allow slums and tenement systems to begin. Being now cursed with them, it is wise to end them at least cost, in the safest way, allowing duly for official inertia and property rights.

In correcting tenement abuses, one must not discriminate in favor of the deserving against the undeserving poor. The undeserving, the degraded, even the criminal classes, if ill-housed, create conditions that menace public health. Paying as high rent as the virtuous, they are entitled to sanitary surroundings in return. This is simple justice, whose corollary is that no landlord has a right to let property which is dangerous to occupants. The thief's \$10 a month being accepted, he is in equity entitled to \$10 worth of sound flooring, dry walls, decent sinks and closets; and that house-owner who, in spite of protests and appeals for repairs, lets a rotting, infected dwelling, filches another man's rights. Landlords and agents are quick to excuse their own delinquencies in stock phrase: "It's not worth while fixing up for these destructive people." Fifty per cent of tenants are *not* destructive and the other 50 per cent could be cajoled or bullied into systematic neatness. Many tenements are dirty for lack of facilities, such as sinks on upper floors, garbage-boxes, ash-shoots, janitors to sweep halls and stairways. And I have observed that the filthiest apartment on the premises often belongs to the "housekeeper" whom agent or landlord takes no pains to select or to bring up to better standards.

All over the Union, in the vilest rookeries little homes may be found that are ideally clean and dainty, so far as poor resources allow. Crucial test of good housekeeping, the beds are sometimes exquisite in make and draperies; coarse or patched these may be, bits of mismatched lace or embroidery, but clean and disposed artistically. The efforts at ornament and decoration, even over paper hanging in strips from mouldy walls, are pathetic. Pictures of every kind are prized, cheap lithographs, bill-posters, portraits of circus performers and cigarette girls, which are companioned by bleeding hearts, saints, angels, and heads of Christ. Among Roman Catholics, shrines occupy part of the already narrow space in many rooms—altars draped in white, hung with tinsel and flowers, and adorned with every scrap of color the family can obtain, a "holy of holies" to which the best of these toil-some lives is brought in worship.



Nobody can visit tenement dwellers without being struck as much by their hopeful capabilities as by the degrading nature of their usual surroundings, a degradation for which the occupants are often not to blame. In the worst districts, a well-managed house is frequently an object-lesson amid the adjacent filth. The rules governing it are in the line of strict business results, keeping the property sound, increasing its commercial value, and all in the interest of sanitation and decent living. Only short-sighted, unscrupulous proprietors allow tenements to go to ruin while collecting high rents; because the buildings soon become so bad that repairs avail nothing and only razing them will answer. Some of the worst barracks are owned by ignorant, irresponsible landlords, often by foreigners. In New England French Canadians invest largely in property of this class, and in New York the Italians are buying it up rapidly. A forewoman in a big flower factory said that she meant to put her savings into a half interest in a tenement paying 26 per cent. The big lodging-houses in New York for men are, in a few instances, made to yield from 50 to 80 per cent; and the manager of one assured me that investments of this kind are often held by great estates. The expense for outfit is small, the risks nominal, the income and profits almost certain. In Philadelphia, some of the worst hovels pay more than 40 per cent on the investment; and in Boston, official inquiry shows that the returns on the assessed value of such property reach occasionally 49 per cent.

Apart from sentiment, sympathy, and higher ethics, proper home surroundings for wage-earners are of vital importance because the health of a nation is its wealth. If the mass of the people must live in a way which interferes with physical strength and soundness, the productivity and commercial value of labor are lessened. Moreover, the cost alone of supporting hospitals and public institutions for the blind, deaf, and dumb, who are victims of scarlet fever and measles, would abate almost every tenement nuisance which causes these scourges. Not the indigent unfortunate classes only are benefited by a good *milieu*. The interests of society at large demand the betterment of the unhealthful, dangerous surroundings in which the deserving poor of great cities dwell. Acquaintance with the laws of sanitation does not fall like manna from the skies. It is not an intuition or sixth sense. So-called filth diseases—cholera, typhus, diphtheria, scarlet and yellow fevers,—being independent of contact or residence in the district infected, often do their deadliest harm at a distance from their breeding-place; and by a strange irony of fate, the occu-



pants of unsanitary tenements, through decreased susceptibility to virus, escape these epidemics while citizens in cleaner quarters are stricken. Where germs abound, the percentage of scarlet fever and diphtheria cases may be low, owing to the superior hardihood of the immigrant working classes; and coarse-fibred Poles and sturdy Hebrews are immune where children of the leisure class, more delicately organized, die outright, or live bereft of sight and hearing from disease brought by clothes from some tenement laundry, or by servants as they go and come from their own homes.

All things considered, are our thickly peopled tenement quarters better than the slums of foreign cities? Whitechapel's blackest district consists of low houses of two or three floors, windowed usually back and front, or looking on dark courts with a gutter down the middle and grimy structures on either hand; and nowhere in "Darkest England" can that famous New York block, called "Sing Sing" on one street and "The Penitentiary" on the other,—wherein dwell nearly 4,000 souls,—be matched for density. Again, the population of the British capital is largely English. Its dirt is native dirt, while ours is of a mixed variety compounded of the liveliest foreign germs. Even in Naples where crowding and pauperism are almost oriental, life is passed in the open air and filth becomes in a way innocuous because so thoroughly oxygenized. Because of our severe climate children under five years—the age when death mows fastest—are banished for six months from street and alley to the foul winter air of tenements where all the family life goes on. In Italy, the poorest beggar may cook his food, wash his rags, sun himself, and sleep under the blue canopy of heaven; whereas our city workers, our dependent and defective classes, are massed in 10 by 12 dark cuddly-holes where even in summer a stove blazes always, the babies gasping for breath and the tired wage-earners panting till daybreak at the sill of one narrow window, sleep banished by the scorching heat.

We have, it is true, less poverty than exists abroad; our workers are busier and earn more than foreign labor; drainage and sewage are better, the habits of our people are less filthy. The rapid growth, migration, and movement of our cities, however, crowd the sluggish and weaker portion of our population into more congested conditions than those in which the like portion of less mobile European cities live. The worse are therefore worse off here, and are in grave danger of infecting the mass, though the average cubic contents of the house and the average meal for the general mass are higher here than in Europe.



In no European city that I have visited is the big tenement as a type of dwelling so largely used, so indefensible in its construction, and so death-begetting, as it has become in many of our greatest centres in consequence of this congestion.

In all our growing cities the most dangerous form of tenement is multiplying—buildings once devoted to business or residence purposes, now packed with foreigners not yet educated to our standards. Drainage and water-supply are inadequate, closets are clogged, partitions create dark rooms where human beings were never meant to sleep, and in each tiny space dwell from two to ten persons, carrying on all the functions of life. This tenement evil, like *Sindbad's* "old-man-of-the-sea," bestrides our urban development, not to be strangled or shaken off, and costing more to maintain and regulate than in the beginning it might have cost to erect whole districts of model working men's homes. In Pittsburgh, lately, the manufacturers declared that there are no slums, pointing with just pride to the suburbs of neat, attractive houses of skilled iron-workers. No slums? What are the shanties creeping up the picturesque hills, draining to those below? The dirty brick rows backing into cliff or rolling-mill and fronting on a network of railroad tracks? How many of these dwellings are supplied with water? Comparatively few, a single hydrant in one yard serving many families. Typhoid fever is alarmingly prevalent in Pittsburgh, and the water of Allegheny, its officials claim, is poison. How many houses have sewer connections? The director of public works answers: "In two hundred and thirty-nine cases of fever investigated, there was no public sewer connection at all in twenty-six houses; in eighty-five, the connection was with outside closet only; and in but forty-one cases were sewer connections properly made." In one Pittsburgh tenement row, crowded with Poles, three cellars are used as dwellings, although flooded with water several times a winter; nor are cellar sleeping rooms infrequent in other quarters.

These Poles, badly lodged, are thrifty, responsive to teaching, appreciating good influences. Thousands of them in Cleveland where conditions are favorable own good homes, and they are large property holders in Buffalo,—that beautiful city of detached residences where, its citizens affirmed, neither indigence nor a tenement class existed. Yet, four years ago, a committee of the Charity Organization Society of Buffalo reported a tenement population there of 9,148 souls, more overcrowded than New York,—less than 50 per cent of the houses being sanitary, and some of the remainder in the foulest condition. The



average sleeping room in the district investigated is 8 by 7 ft., occupied in 30 per cent of cases by five or more persons; in 25 per cent, by more than five persons, one chamber having fourteen inmates. Happily Buffalo at once adopted stringent repressive measures, for another committee, consisting of a physician, a lawyer, and an architect, studied the improved dwellings of Boston and New York and the best building laws, and finally submitted to the city building inspector a complete and admirable set of ordinances regulating tenements and their future construction. After a hard fight, these ordinances were adopted by the city council. If enforced, the culture-beds of crime and disease already existing will be condemned, or purged of dangerous features. The worst tenement I ever saw was in Buffalo—an immense Augean stable in which, notwithstanding its unspeakable filth, the Free Kindergarten Association had cleaned one little corner and begun to work. The next worst tenement I know is in Cincinnati, its only entrance being a saloon of the lowest character.

Baltimore possesses not a single properly built tenement, and, fortunately, few of any kind as yet, except the converted business blocks, so inconvenient and dangerous, or old disused residences with large rooms too costly for man and wife alone and therefore shared with other adults. Otherwise, accommodations for the worker are cheaper and better in Baltimore than in any city elsewhere of corresponding size.

Boston in her old converted dwellings, now let to the laboring classes, reaches a refinement of inconvenience that I have never observed elsewhere. Three tenants, we will say, occupy one house,—not, as might be supposed, a family to each floor, for that arrangement the landlord considers a losing one, top floors bringing little rental. So he hires to one household the back kitchen, the front first-floor room, and the rear garret chamber; to another family, the front kitchen and back first and second floor; to a third he gives the front second floor, side room, and first-floor hall. Every family lives in patches and spots, no two rooms adjoining so as to save labor and steps or economize heat, each housewife trotting from basement to attic, and, worse than all, her girls sleeping in the next garret to other tenants' boys, all far removed from the mother's eye. More than 88,000 persons in Boston reside in houses containing three families, often in fair circumstances; while in 8,000 dwellings from eleven to fifteen persons live, and some big structures include forty-seven tenements.

Tenements in Chicago are not yet so elevated as those in New York and Boston. At the present rate of erecting "sky-scrapers,"



grand structures reared in Chicago to-day with eighteen and twenty floors will in their decadence a few generations hence become tenement rookeries. As business shifts to newer quarters, the fate even of palaces deserted is to shelter indigence and crime. In Chicago, besides its wretched crowded rows, rear tenements likewise contaminate air and soil, while damp soot and filth add elements of grime and degradation from which the hitherto refuse-choked streets of New York are free.

Whenever I visit the workers' quarter of New Orleans, I am for the time a devout believer in a special Providence, no other theory accounting for the continuance of human life amid such apparently pestilential drains. Nevertheless, the advocates of overground sewage stoutly maintain its superiority to underground systems, supported, too, they claim, by the city's low death-rate. The tendency to convert the noble old dwellings of the French quarter into tenement hives has not proceeded far; and the immigrants being mostly Italians live, like the Creole population, much in the open air. More than one winter have I watched from my balcony between Lamarque and Niel rose-clusters the busy dwellers in neighboring yards and courts cooking over braziers, forging, tinkering, coopering, and shoe-making under oleander and orange trees.

As a step toward reclaiming the small area of slums in its southern portion, Philadelphia recently spent \$400,000 in repaving narrow streets and courts. Taxpayers often object to that sort of outlay, and a man in Allegheny complained that all the city's available funds were used to pave alleys that nobody enters. Nobody enters? Mayor Kennedy of Allegheny recently declared that nothing had contributed so remarkably to health and cleanliness as paving those alleys and courts. The women who live there, he said, kept the asphalt as neat as any parlor. They scrubbed their steps and halls to correspond; and their dressing and that of the swarming children had marvellously improved. Now they clamor for door-bells and bay windows!

The new industrial districts of the Quaker City consist entirely of excellent separate houses. Curiously, however, statistics of the occupations of building and loan association shareholders show rather a small proportion of homes owned there by working men, most of whom are tenants, just as Philadelphia working girls are boarders and lodgers chiefly. The big tenement has no real foothold; though in the last two years pioneer barracks have been erected, so bad that public sentiment called for building laws to control the abuse. A few streets of the old district south of Pine are, in respect of dilapidated houses,



absence of sewer connection, lack of water for domestic use, and the crowding of rear dwellings, almost unrivalled for badness. The worst feature is the rear court, cut up into houses backed by a dead wall, three rooms 10 by 12 ft. perched one above another, the staircase climbing like a ladder inside—a wasteful plan, too, as one stove cannot heat the upper stories; and destructive to privacy, since the upper floors are usually sublet. There can be no window at the side, for another box-house adjoins. Its rear being also solid masonry and its only openings those in the front wall, no air can enter except through the narrow court from two to ten feet wide, sweeping over the vaults that form a *cul-de-sac* at the end. Thus the lung food of all the inhabitants is poisoned. A single hydrant near these vaults supplies water for drinking and domestic use; and in winter this hydrant freezes. The only egress to the street is by means of the gutter that drains the court, running between brick walls of dwellings sometimes but two feet six inches away from these doors; and in this polluted stream women's skirts must draggle, children's feet must soak, except when the current becomes ice. In the line of reform, model structures are proposed on a large scale, to furnish good apartments at less rent than is now paid in the infected slum district for comfortless, rotting abodes. But while rents continue dear all redemptive agencies are ineffectual, in the absence of laws to prevent overcrowding. A young Italian mournfully apologized for living in the attic of a box-house with two other families below. "In Rio Janeiro," she said, "where we staid four years, no more than eight people are permitted in a house so small as this. Here there are seventeen. Had we known what we were coming to, we would have remained in South America."

Improved tenements, the friends of cooperation claim, are forerunners of general cooperative housekeeping that will go far to solve the domestic-servant problem and set free much energy now used up in separate household duties. I incline more to the plan of public-spirited citizens in Philadelphia to buy up wretched houses on the south side, improving some, building better ones on the sites of such as are fit only for demolition, and educating tenants to better living. Miss Hannah Fox shows  $5\frac{9}{10}$  per cent annual profit on such an outlay as \$12,199; and Miss Hancock, with nine years' experience in redemptive work somewhat like Octavia Hill's in London and Mrs. Lincoln's in Boston, is sure that such a scheme is not only practicable but will prove remunerative to capitalists—quite as much so, I believe, as buying idle suburban lots.



Washington city, by a much needed ordinance forbidding any domicile to be less than twelve feet wide, and any house to be built on alleys, courts, or streets which are less than thirty feet wide, has secured itself against overcrowding; and probably all shanties located on ten-foot alleys, now nests of crime, disease and immorality, will gradually be condemned and removed.

The word tenement is in such odium from the horror of the thing in parts of New York city, that its old and favorable application to the corporation dwellings of mill towns is overlooked. In many textile centres, the "company houses" for workers alone are good habitations, almost all the overflow from these being lodged in rattle-traps belonging to private individuals and falling to decay from lack of care, their owners perhaps being retired saloon-keepers or ex-working men or, in New England, French Canadians. Such landlords, greedy for gain and lacking public spirit, even in small towns put up tenements of the bad New York kind, holding from six to fifty families; and the type of New England civilization is deteriorating from the inroads of this abuse. Every manufacturing city and village—some heretofore ideally well-built and apparently well-governed—now shows a few blocks, if not enormous districts, of wretchedly constructed unsanitary barracks, one tenement crowding another, sometimes three on a lot; and the municipal authorities, astonishing to say, take no measures to stamp out the practice.

In Fall River,—upbraided in every mood and tense,—the "company houses" depart from the best New England precedent and, with a few notable exceptions, are unpardonably the worst in the city. After studying the town's peculiar growth, I have sympathy with its present tenement-property owners—and would have more, if their dividends were less and their property were better kept. The past policy of mill men there will never be repeated, but its consequences cannot be removed without immense financial loss. "Does anybody suppose we would build great tenement barracks *now*? What are we to do with those we have?" asked a manufacturer. "We can't afford to demolish them, and to repair them properly would keep us poor." A lesson to other textile communities inclined, when operatives are needed quickly in times of industrial prosperity to put up cheap houses without drainage or water-supply. Private enterprise and the savings of working men have wrought vast changes in Fall River, most of the houses lately built being adapted for only one to three families, instead of twelve to fifty families, and always having a bay window. The bay window has done more to create healthy competition and bring the manufacturers to a



realizing sense of sin against their tenants than any lengthy building ordinances. In pathetic protest against the great comfortless "company" rookeries, the bay window has proved the worker worthy of a better home; and he is getting it whenever the corporations erect new dwellings.

Going from Fall River to Nashua, I could hardly believe my eyes on seeing the "company" tenements there,—rows of good brick houses with private entrances front and rear, a hall for each entrance, and actually a door-bell! Nothing touched my heart and imagination like the door-bells. After the wide-open filthy thresholds of New York and Fall River, those closed doors and individual bells of some New England tenements are idyllic. They stand for the sweet reserve of family life, reposeful days and peaceful evenings when the schoolgirl is busy at her lessons and the mother lays the cloth and rocks baby's cradle. In front of the houses are flowers—not tin cans, dead cats, and garbage,—flower-beds tended by the corporation gardener; and on the lawn the operatives play croquet after hours, while their wives in fresh afternoon gowns knit or sew. Homes as peaceful, conditions as good save in one respect,—the earlier age at which children are employed,—mark the cotton settlements near Baltimore and on the Patapsco River; and these have also what I consider a third means of saving grace,—large vegetable gardens for every family.

In Manchester, New Hampshire, better brick tenements appear in tree-embowered yards, some new with modern conveniences, built on improved plans and renting at low rates. The Amoskeag corporation, to prevent overcrowding, contracts in selling lots that only one residence shall stand on the premises. Here, as in Lowell where excellent corporation dwellings are the rule, painful contrasts exist; for the number of company houses being insufficient, colonies of operatives live in newly-built enormous "double-deckers" holding sometimes fifty families, in quarters unsewered and undrained, called "little Canada"—"little Canadas" reappearing in every town.

Nor are these barracks in any way equipped for such teeming life; and land being cheap, they have no justification for cumbering the earth. Model tenements—which these are not,—tenements constructed by the Improved Dwellings Association in Boston and New York, combine many advantages of the best cooperative living, all having adequate drainage, water, sinks, closets, coal cellars, laundries, and ventilation adapted to the needs of many households.

Does it pay financially to better the housing and surroundings of



the poor? The Astral, the Riverside, the Improved Dwellings Association properties, all yield 5 and 6 per cent. Other than money values, of course, are obtained—elevation of character, increased labor efficiency, less tendency to roam. As mill-owners have most to gain from steady, contented workers—since skilled labor is not easily replaced,—it is to factory towns we look for improved industrial settlements as in Graniteville and Pelzer, South Carolina, parts of Augusta and Athens, Georgia, and here and there in many northern States. At Lowell the operatives accept slightly lower wages than in competing centres, because admirable homes are furnished at minimum rates; and the corporations have long supported a hospital, library, and club for men and women. It is significant that strikes rarely occur there.

That substantial profit may be reaped from model manufacturing colonies, apart from any motives of humanity, is proved by the experience of two large establishments little known to writers on these subjects. At Cumberland Mills, Maine, the S. D. Warren Paper Company has founded a flourishing industrial town. The policy adopted has made the surrounding land valuable. All the separate homes for the workers are tasteful and commodious, the cottages containing from four to eight rooms, with gardens and conveniences, and situated on streets laid out with a view to variety and beauty. Rents range from \$6 to \$14 a month. A fine library building, well-filled and receiving constant additions, is the centre for reading clubs and lectures. Athletic grounds have been set apart for the public recreation; but, not to endanger the self-respect of the community by giving too much, Mr. Warren only *helped* to build the town hall and church. Nor does the firm create a monopoly of land and real estate. On the contrary, money is lent and lots are sold to encourage civic spirit and ownership of homes, with proper restrictions as to liquor-dealing and overcrowding. Wages are as high as in any paper-mill, and strikes are unknown. The village is noted for good health, good morals, and intelligence. Girls in the rag-sorting rooms are provided with overdress and cap of oilcloth to protect their clothing; and with each toilet-room a screened dressing-room is connected. Both morning and afternoon the press girls who do the heaviest work are relieved for twenty minutes that they may rest—without loss of pay.

The Howland Mills at New Bedford have a site and homes for workers that compare favorably in attraction with many summer resorts. On the shores of the bay the company bought a large tract of land; and knowing that tenement abominations would decrease its value and



repel improvements, they resolved to build first-rate houses in order that adjoining lots might be in demand. Twenty thousand dollars were spent on a system of scientific sewage. Then, laying out curved roadways and reserving recreation and park spaces, they erected pretty two-story cottages of original design, with conveniences and labor-saving devices suggested, it is needless to add, by a woman. The boarding home for single men and women can be kept distinct for the sexes at will, but is fitted with smoking- and music-rooms, and contains a co-operative dining-room which the cottagers may share in times of domestic upheaval. One enormous mill was completed, a second was under way, equipped to make finer numbers of yarn than were ever before spun in America. Cleanliness is all-important for this product. "It will pay us," decided Mr. Wm. D. Howland, "to have bath-rooms in our cottages and do away with dirty fingers." So baths were put in, sometimes diverted by the tenants from their proper uses, it is true; for one man stored coal in his tub, another salted down pork in his, and a thrifty mother put the twins to bed in hers; but standards of neatness are higher. Each house has a garden-plot, and rents on an average at \$10 a month for six and eight rooms. A library and other improvements are to follow, and adjoining real estate has risen in price.

In the light of such successful experiments it cannot be denied that beauty brought into the homes of the people, and sanitation secured for thousands of operatives, pay. Economically possible, this is also morally important. To shirk responsibility for the evils at our door on the false plea that, because American wage-earners are prosperous, those who suffer and are ill-housed are the left-over and undeserving, benumbs the public conscience. Wherever a group of people live neglected, in want and squalor, their misery lowers the whole social level. Impaired vitality, relaxed moral and religious standards, ignorance and crime, result. If the well-being of one redounds to the welfare of all, the wretchedness of some becomes the care of all; and the relation of landlord and tenant, of neighbor, of citizen, to be effective must be socialized and, better still, Christianized in the spirit of "whatever ye would do that men should do to you, do ye even so to them."

CLARE DE GRAFFENRIED.



## CULTIVATION OF VACANT CITY LOTS.

THEORETICALLY speaking, organized charity aims to assist the able-bodied poor by providing some simple form of productive employment. The factors of production are land, labor, and capital. Charity is able to organize and direct the labor of the unemployed; it is not able to furnish capital, except a limited amount, or land. But although the abolition of involuntary idleness through the instrumentality of charity must remain an unattainable ideal, nevertheless some measure of practical relief may be offered the unemployed in urban communities through the cooperation of owners of unimproved city land.

In the summer of 1894, when great numbers of working people were in idleness in consequence of the general depression in business, Mayor H. S. Pingree of Detroit put into operation a novel plan of relief. He obtained the loan of a quantity of unimproved land in the outskirts of the city, which, after being ploughed and harrowed, was distributed in convenient plots among the unemployed. The plot-holders, who were supplied also with seed, implements, and fertilizers, planted, cultivated, and harvested the crops, consisting of vegetables (chiefly potatoes), under the supervision of a committee appointed by the mayor. In this manner more than nine hundred families were given employment during the summer, while the crops which they harvested amply repaid the labor expended. An account of this experiment has been lately published.<sup>1</sup>

The advantages of this mode of relief are apparent. The chief factors in agricultural production are land and labor. In every city there are large quantities of idle land, the loan of which can presumably be had by responsible organizations for the use of charity, particularly as the form of charity in question tends to reduce taxation. Labor is furnished by the poor, and the outlay involved in providing implements, seed, fertilizers, and superintendence is inconsiderable. The ethical effect of this form of charity on the beneficiaries is the reverse of harmful. It does no injury to the feeling of self-respect,

<sup>1</sup> See pamphlet issued by the United States Department of Agriculture under date of March 5, 1895.



and affords training in a useful occupation. It also has a tendency to relieve the congestion of urban populations by demonstrating to the involuntarily idle that a comfortable living can be obtained in the country from the cultivation of a limited quantity of land.

Mayor Pingree's experiment was repeated in Detroit during the summer of 1895. It was imitated in other cities, including New York, Brooklyn, Boston, Buffalo, Minneapolis, and St. Paul. In no instance, however, were so complete and accurate records of the results made as in New York. These have since been published by the committee in charge of the experiment.<sup>1</sup>

The first in New York city to take an active interest in vacant-lot farming was Mr. Bolton Hall. He secured the cooperation of Mr. N. S. Rosenau of the United Hebrew Charities, Mr. C. D. Kellogg of the Charity Organization Society, and Mr. R. Fulton Cutting of the Association for the Improvement of the Condition of the Poor. Through their influence Mr. Hall's project for vacant-lot farms was laid before the monthly conference of the charities of the city of New York, and before the Federation of East-Side Workers, with the result that on March 10, 1895, a committee of ten members was appointed to carry the project into operation. The committee included, besides Mr. Hall, representatives of the several philanthropic organizations. The committee engaged Mr. J. W. Kjelgaard—a practical farmer—as superintendent, and also two assistants.

There was no dearth of vacant lots in New York city, for, according to the postal census of 1893, there were 17,329 such lots below One Hundred and Forty-fifth Street and the Harlem River. They were, however, found to be scattered over an inconveniently large area of territory, and the committee, from considerations of economy, accepted the use of three compact parcels of land in Long Island City, offered by Mr. William Steinway, Mrs. John Lowry, Mr. H. B. Hollins, and the Long Island Improvement Company. These parcels were known, in the parlance of the committee, as the Ravenswood, the Lowry, and the Wilson farms. The Ravenswood farm was located fifteen minutes' walk from Thirty-fourth Street Ferry; the Lowry, forty minutes' walk from the same ferry; and the Wilson, twenty minutes' walk from the Ninety-second Street Ferry. The farms comprised, according to the report, 138 acres, or 1,656 city lots, of which 109 $\frac{1}{4}$  acres were put under cultivation. The land utilized for indi-

<sup>1</sup>See Association for the Improvement of the Condition of the Poor, "Notes," December, 1895,



vidual cultivation was ploughed and harrowed at the expense of the committee.

Applications for land were received through philanthropic organizations in different parts of the city and any one who could show a certificate of good character from some responsible person, church, or society was accepted. Each applicant was required to fill out a blank containing questions as to his color, sex, nationality, age, previous employment, length of residence in the city, experience in farming, etc. If accepted, he was assigned to a plot as convenient to the ferry nearest his home as practicable. His name was inscribed on the boundary stake of his plot, and he was supplied with seed, fertilizer, a hoe, and a spade. No objection was made to his retaining his plot in case he secured employment elsewhere, provided the plot received proper attention. Preference was, of course, given to heads of families. Applications came in very slowly at first, perhaps on account of the project not being sufficiently advertised among the poor, or because it was the subject of some popular mistrust. This was incidental, however, only in the inception of the plan, for, although but 84 plots were assigned to applicants, a great number of requests for land poured in upon the committee before the planting season was over, which ensured an abundance of applicants for the succeeding year. The average plot was six sevenths of an acre, but in case the applicant was extremely poor or had a practical knowledge of farming the assignment was increased. The committee insisted that at least half the land should be planted with potatoes. The rest was planted with peas, beans, cabbages, tomatoes, corn, turnips, carrots, lettuce, onions, and radishes, according to the individual preference of the plotholders. All work was done under the instruction and supervision of the superintendent and his assistants. Instruction, implements, fertilizers, and seed were furnished gratis by the committee.

More than half the plotholders claimed some knowledge of agriculture, but practically all were ignorant of the system of intensive farming. The majority followed instructions, and showed a commendable zeal in the care of their crops. Guard was kept over the farms at night, and no appreciable loss was sustained from petty thieving.

When the crops began to mature each planter was required to report day by day the amount of produce taken from his farm, and in case it was sold, to state the receipts. When no sales were reported the product was appraised according to the current market rates. The highest yield of potatoes—the principal crop—was 412 bushels



on one acre. On the assigned plots, aggregating  $71\frac{1}{4}$  acres, besides lettuce, onions, radishes, and fodder corn, the following crops were raised: potatoes, 6,235 bu.; peas, 817 bu.; beans, 1,259 bu.; beans for seed, 50 bu.; cabbages, 19,119 heads; tomatoes, 530 crates; corn, 1,000 doz.; turnips, 1,400 bu.; carrots, 93 bu. The total value of the crops on the assigned plots was \$8,803.51; the expense incurred by the committee, \$3,801.98. The quality of the crops may be inferred from the fact that the exhibit of the Vacant Lot Farms took the second prize at the New York Live Stock Show.

Part of the product was consumed by the planters as it matured, part was stored away for the winter, but a great deal was sold, many of the planters peddling their produce from house to house. One man, on a plot of 8 acres, earned \$408; another, on 4 acres, earned \$336.20; and still another, on  $3\frac{1}{2}$  acres, \$216.05. One of the plotholders—a stonecutter—kept a record of his time. He worked 50 hours, and earned \$120.25. He was, it is true, assisted by his children, whose labor was not counted. It is to be regretted that a record was not kept of the time each planter gave to his land.

In consequence of the limited number of applicants, the committee near the close of the planting season found that it had 38 acres of unassigned ploughed land. This land was set aside as a cooperative farm in which any plotholder might become a cooperator, and about forty availed themselves of the privilege. Six of these presently secured employment, and left. The cooperators were paid a wage of ten cents an hour, in order to furnish subsistence to such of the plotholders as were destitute. A half interest in the profits of the farm was reserved to the cooperators, who planted, cultivated, and harvested the crops. Although the farm was not started until late in June, the crops, which were disposed of to various charities at market rates, aggregated \$1,067.65. The expenses for seed, implements, and labor were \$966.75. After deducting this sum, with a further allowance for (suppositional) rent of land, cost of superintendence, and interest, there remained \$53 to be divided among the cooperators. The cooperative farm proved a valuable adjunct to the individual farms, as it furnished immediate relief to the destitute, stimulated friendly rivalry, and created a public spirit against trifling which reacted on the general body of individual planters.

The total expenditures of the committee in connection with the cooperative and individual farms— $109\frac{1}{4}$  acres—were \$4,821.73. This included cost of superintendence, labor, seed, implements, fertilizers,



ferriage, cartage, printing, and postage. Of course, no rent was paid either for land or offices. The expenditure was met by popular subscriptions. The total money value of the crops was \$9,871.16.

It remains to sum up the information obtainable concerning the people who were directly benefited by the vacant-lot farms. There were 84 plotholders, of whom only one was colored, with 261 persons dependent on them for support. About 11 plotholders were women, and 11, including the colored man, were born in the United States, whether of native or foreign parents is not stated. The rest were of foreign birth, 35 being German, 26 Irish, 3 English, 2 Scotch, 2 French, 2 Swiss, 1 Italian, 1 Swede, and 1 Hungarian. The oldest was 77 years, the youngest 18; the average age was 46 years. Only three were born in New York city; 41 were country-born, and 51 had had some experience in farming. The average length of residence in the city was twelve years. The average length of employment during the preceding year was  $3\frac{1}{2}$  months. Seven were farmers by occupation, 53 were laborers, 3 painters, 2 bakers, 2 clerks. There were also a janitor, a longshoreman, a stonecutter, a photographer, a cooper, a marine, a salesman, a sawyer, a fireman, a driver, a hatter, a shoemaker, a tailor, an optician, a blacksmith, a grocer, and a carpenter.

Of the 84 plots assigned, the largest was 8 acres, the next largest 4, the smallest a quarter of an acre. The average size was six sevenths of an acre. The largest receipts obtained were \$408. Twenty-two plotholders took over \$100 each from their individual holdings. The smallest receipts were \$5.50. Three plotholders earned nothing at all. The average earnings were \$61.08.

What proportion of the vacant-lot farmers are capable of being rendered permanently self-supporting under favorable conditions? The superintendent, Mr. Kjelgaard, claims that 70 per cent are able and willing to work. Their chief deficiency is in the power of initiative. They are incapable of making an effective search for employment outside their wonted occupations or outside the locality in which they happen to live. If furnished with employment, they would prove faithful and efficient workmen. The remaining 30 per cent are either physically incapable of hard labor or confirmed paupers.

MICHAEL A. MIKKELSEN.



## MODERN NORWEGIAN LITERATURE.—I.

THE abominable militarism under which Europe is groaning puts a false measure on her nations. Their own consciousness and the others' respect are made dependent upon how many men and horses they can muster in front of the barracks, and how many war vessels they have in the docks and on the seas. Thus the small nations become demoralized, and the large ones barbarized.

But let us imagine for a moment that the literary names of modern Europe are so many ships,—big and small ones, steamers and sailing-craft,—and that they are crossing the Atlantic, like regular fleets, to visit America. Would not the Americans, upon hearing of it, feel the mind crowded by visions far different and loftier than those any actual war fleet could create? Would not the anticipation also stand ready with a quite new measure of valuation? If Russian literature were reported approaching the coast, would not the Americans while hastening down to the shore think of the miseries of Russia rather than of her greatness, of her martyrs rather than of her conquests, of the ideals of her youth rather than of the might of the Czar?

The sun sets in blood, the waves toss wildly, the heavy ships dip till the spray shoots over the masts, and the smoke-stacks become white with salt; some look as if they had been treated roughly. Many of the vessels are large, some peculiar on account of some new principle of construction, but nearly all, both large ones and smaller, move rather heavily, though carrying huge sheets of canvas, or laboring under intense pressure of steam; the air is woollen with black smoke. Some anxiety, however, mingles with the admiration of the spectators when they look at the blood-red sunset, for it forebodes harder weather to-morrow, and they all know that the fleet must pass on; it has not come for a feast only.

Some days later the spectators stand along the shore in still denser masses, the storm is drifting away, and the sun is breaking forth. The French fleet is coming in—high, slender masts,—yachts without num-



ber, and among them huge steamers whose smoke-coils are drawn along by the wind and illumined by the sun till they float across the picture like the headlines of a colored sign-board. How graceful the hulks appear, and the more so the nearer they come! How fine the lines, how striking the colors, the whole outfit, the ensemble! Some of the larger vessels stand out from the multitude like herdsmen on horseback in the midst of the flock. Firing of guns, music from bands, dipping of flags in all colors, deafening noise, bewildering variety, and no end to it. But when the surprise of the first moment passed away the variety seemed to play in the minor details rather than in the larger features; the fundamental conception seemed even monotonous. And a still deeper impression was produced by the shocking contrast between the glamour, the beauty, the grandeur of the arrival, and the dismal standard displayed on the topmast of the first ship,—a skull. It was discovered also on the second, the third, the fourth, nay! on closer examination it was discovered that all the ships carried skull and cross-bones in red, white, black, or gold, and good glasses revealed that emblem repeated throughout the whole fleet. The spectators strained their eyes to catch a glimpse of merry France; she certainly was along. Yes, there she came, in bright colors and dancing-music on board. The drums beat the quickest time, the brass instruments blared, clarionets and flutes yodled, there was something oriental in the sound. So that was merry France! All eyes turned to her and beheld a dancing skeleton, scythe in hand, in an attitude more grotesque than that of any can-can dancer. Singular,—thought the spectators, and looked farther out. There at last they saw fine and strong craft, small and big, with the Gallic cock in the standard, sporting the brightest colors, and saluting the new day with exuberant glee. Other standards were also seen, displaying the flower of spring and various dashing symbols. But as her mighty fleet sailed by the main impression it left was, that it carried with it more thoughts about the coffin than about the cradle, that all its precious powers at present stood predominantly in the service of death and destruction.

A general discussion arose among the spectators and it waxed so hot that nobody for a long while thought of the other visitors who might be expected. But when they were told that a number of larger and minor fleets had sailed nearly at the same time, curiosity and the natural betting-mania were awakened as to which would be the next. Most bet on the English, others on the German, some on the Dutch.

Early one morning it was reported that a fleet was sighted, though



as yet no one could make out its nationality. Immediately all went down to the shore, the heaviest bettors foremost. Snow had fallen during the night; now it was clearing, but it was cold. Just in front, where the sun cut the last snow-mist, a light smoke was seen, then masts became visible, then some big hulks with a row of minor ones behind them, and farther off again some big ships announcing more to come. But over the whole floated an aerial image,—a phantom ship with dazzling sails and bright flags, and larger than any of the ships of the fleet. Was it the guardian spirit of the fleet? And whose was the fleet coming in that style?

All the bettors lost. The fleet was neither German nor English. It came from one of the smallest nations of the world, but one from whose people sprung Europe's oldest aristocracies and whose marvelously beautiful country has become a permanent world's-exhibition for travelers. It was the Norwegian fleet, and it came with a rush. Something firm and compact about every vessel, as if each had an errand of its own. Not a single pleasure craft in the whole fleet. No movement outside the course. With one single exception no elegance in hull and rigging, but a solid reliability. Each ship looked a realm by itself. They came together, because they could not but do so, but each of them in its own manner. The day became perfectly clear as they drew nearer, but the air was rather cold. Nearly all those vessels were light in color. The hulls, the sails, the smoke-stacks might show different tints, but the total impression was lightsome. They looked like men coming with flags on snowshoes from the land of the midsummer night's sun, where the sea speaks in its lowest notes and the frost keeps the mind clean and clear. A striking disparity was presented by some vessels,—dark with light stripes, or light with dark stripes. The dark stripe ran along the hull and smoke-stack, and appeared again in the sails and everything loose aboard. All these vessels were large and strong.

As far back as the national Saga reaches, the dark stripe follows. It cuts—let me say—every tenth leaf of the history of the people, sometimes every third, and at certain periods all. It is sure that here originally were two peoples, grappling with each other as two very strong contrasts of temperaments must do. It is supposed that Norway was settled at two different periods with a long interval; that the first people sat down, under rather hard conditions, on the spots free of ice along the coast, and that the second people did not enter until the



vast forests had made it snug in the valleys. However that may be, here is a bright society-building people, with faith in the powers of life, and here is a strong individualistic protest which sees only, or likes best to see, how man is dwarfed by custom and law till he rises in defiance. All people contain contrasts. Howsoever society is built, it will always do harm to some and they will protest. But in Norway the protest is and always has been stronger than anywhere else, because it was bred from the national elements rather than from the social development.

When the great state-builder, Harald Haarfager, united Norway, many fought against him to the last. They did not submit; they went away to Scotland, Ireland, Normandy, Iceland, Greenland; they discovered America. The grand type among them was Eigil Skallagrimson, scald and viking, a crafty warrior, revengeful, jeering at everything he wanted to ruin, but groaning from loneliness in the very depth of his heart. He made himself an exile, but enough of those belonging to the same type remained behind in Norway. They became mixed up with the others and their dark skin reappeared everywhere; once they brought the people to the very verge of ruin, because circumstances afforded them too wide a range. The full swing of those two contrasts gives soundness; only thus vigilant liberty is won. But they cannot be smoothed down completely until a form of society has been settled in which the whole has ceased to be a hindrance to the growth of the individual, that is to say: never. Only the lightsome element must be in large and happy majority in order that the national ideal shall not be hurt. And just here our literature gives its weighty evidence. The tone of the temperament—or what shall I call that total impression in which all the fixed points of the whole view melt together?—of our literature is lightsome, and so with all those whom in course of time the people have designated as their representative men. Eigil Skallagrimson was not the choice of the people, nor has any of his stock been to this very day. His type stands among the chosen of the people as one to ten, nay, as one to twenty. Harald Haarfager, the founder of the realm,—indeed all the kings of Norway,—were tall, lightsome men. So was the chieftain, Einar Tambeskjelve, the true representative of Trøndelagen, and how beloved and admired were those men!

Later on Peter Wessel, the hero of the sea, always ready for a storm, became the idol of the people; whole works of the comic poet, Ludvig Holberg, the peer of Molière, and a humorous master-



builder breaking old ground for new ideas, were known by heart, as, for instance "Peder Paars." In northern Norway people learned by heart the songs of the minister, Peder Dass, properly Dundas, of Scotch stock. He was one of the brightest writers in the world's literature, though he lived in the winter darkness of the Nordlands and had the sombre Atlantic for his neighbor. The brightness of his nature became like a top-sail added to the boat of the people, and the person himself they transformed into a mythical character fighting the devil, but always having the upper hand.

The most popular man in recent times, and perhaps the grandest representative of the people, was again a poet,—Henrik Wergeland, a little younger than Shelley and Byron. He is one of the greatest lyrics of the world, but in a language so little known as ours his fame is an eagle tethered to the rock. But to all who learn that language in order to reach its modern literature,—the first thing visible is his white sails and over them the fluttering flag. He is the bright tutelary spirit of the new Norwegian poetry as he is that of the people. He dreamt all the dreams of our young liberty. What of hope is in it took its first shape from him; he prophesied about it; he blessed it. He also first drew up the landscape which we others have gone farther into.

If a people living under hard natural conditions, which have to be conquered anew every year, be not possessed of the courage of the conqueror, and cannot send forth messages of sound and strong faith in life, that people will not shine forth. Now if modern Norwegian literature has lately sent forth messages which do not look sound, it must be remembered that with the minor ones, it is contagion contracted from without, and with him, the great one, whom you all know, it is hardly disease but a medicine,—the protest of an indignant mind which has fallen in love with homœopathic cures. On the whole our literature is sound and glad. Even the latest ones now coming in, and of such significance that there is reason to expect many behind them,—since a literary period never closes with writers of real importance,—even the latest ones are sound as a bell.

And what with a wrong name is called "folk-lore"—wrong, because folk-stories, folk-songs, folk-airs, are certainly as individual in invention and form as any other kind of art—how happy, by its manly equipoise, is not the Norwegian folk-lore in spite of its startling peculiarities! Some of those stories seem to take us into the dense forest among mocking echoes from the life outside. Others show us the trolls tobogganing down the highest peaks of Norway. In some we



feel human souls hovering homeless above the reefs ; in others, memories of an always sunlit land flit before the reader, but in none do we meet with sentimentalism, despondency, disconsolateness. Here is no horror of life which cannot be subdued ; even the devil of those stories is a silly dupe, and in them grief vanishes like dew in sunshine. In the folk-airs the same wholesome coolness reappears, and when some speak of their gloom, I know not what is meant. Seriousness crystallized into art is not gloom—except to those who avoid the duties of life and give to their art that imprint.

The Norwegian people have never been under the yoke, and that is perhaps the reason why every genuine message from them during the course of time has been so hale. Only poverty and pietism have ever left traces of disease among them, and in both cases, but especially in the latter, their literature has proven a good physician. It is a fact that in Norwegian literature and art the bright-builders hold the front rank, and so it must be in every sound people. The dark defiance, the gnawing doubt, the venomous scorn must not be allowed to play the master. The strong individualistic uprising against law and custom ceases to be a beneficent regulator when it is not in the minority. But, as yet, flame-bearded Thor is dominant among the gods in Norway.

Two strong complaints are often heard against Norwegian literature. We are told, not only by people of Roman stock, with whom the difference of race may cause some difficulty, but also by people of our own kin, that it is not clear, that it is "misty." But do people suppose there are mists in a mountain-land ? Mist comes from the sea and the lakes ; lowlands have mist, but the mountains bar it off and keep the weather clear. In lowlands the imagination is richer in colors and shadows, and has more daring, though more uncertain,—almost adventurous,—conceptions ; in mountain-lands it is clearer and narrower. The power of the mountaineer's imagination is not its compass but its intensity. His art characterizes more strongly. By characterization, I do not think of the endless crowd of details which often are only another kind of mist, but, generally speaking, a power to put the figure in the landscape and the landscape in the figure,—which is of decisive importance for the representation both of races and men. In this respect, I believe that no other literature at present surpasses the Norwegian. Take for instance the reefs and disharmonic rock-mosses of the Norwegian Westland, the vicious squalls of the fjords, the sharp light-shafts through the clouds, the glamour of the sun over the sea or the glaciers and snow peaks, the sultry stillness, the fabu-



lous hurricane—each of them and all together stand now in Norwegian literature as human characters and human destinies. But, to realize that, a partially new artistic form was demanded, and a new form demands—to a certain degree—a new reader. An oversated and overtired daily reviewer does not get through with such things without leaving one half behind him as mist, and that deficit the literature has to pay for.

The complaint would have been just if confined to the simple circumstance that not all Norwegian poets have reached the artistic perfection of the great centres of civilization—a perfection which, on those who are used to it, often has the same effect as a dewy pane. But when it is addressed, for instance, to Henrik Ibsen, whose composition always follows straight lines, and whose execution never falters, the reason must be that here is something new which demands a second perusal. It is true that he often produces an artificial darkness, not unlike that which spiritualistic media want for their spirits, and we may be excused for not liking that manner of introducing spirits. But to put down an artistically-intended obscurity as a lack of clearness in the poet, is a misunderstanding which depends solely on a lack of clearness in the reader.

Another complaint is made against the originality of modern Norwegian literature. When reading certain French critics, one would think that there exists only one creative people, namely, the French; that the Renaissance did not originate in Italy nor the Reformation in Germany, but both in France; that it was France and not England which brought the constitutional system into the world; that the Dutchmen's fight for their liberty ended victoriously only because the Protestants had succeeded in France; that Mirabeau was older than Cromwell, and that the rights of man were proclaimed first at Versailles, and afterward in Philadelphia; that Shakespeare owes to Corneille all that he is, as does Goethe to Victor Hugo, and that Henrik Ibsen was born of the French drama, which now imitates him.

That which brought Europe and America to look at Norwegian literature was, first, its cleanliness and primitive poesy; afterward, its wealth of ideas and their powerful form. There is no stronger proof that a people is going to produce something primitive—to create—than a remodelling of the language, because in its existing form it has not room enough. That was just what took place in Norway between 1860 and 1870, and from those days I reckon the modern Norwegian literature. The language hitherto used, common to Denmark and Norway, was bent and burst through like an old river-bed by a



new flood. The sentences adopted another, shorter, and firmer gait than that which suited our neighbors in the lowlands, and a crowd of old Norwegian words which had lived in exile in every-day speech rose and definitely took their places in elegant parlance. The language became at once both stronger and sweeter. But there were people who did not feel satisfied with this natural evolution. They wanted to break off altogether from the Danish language. They wanted to introduce the tongue of the Norwegian peasants, such as it was when spoken by all before and for some time after the union with Denmark, but which was now split up into various dialects. From those dialects they undertook to restore the original tongue and began to write in it—without regard to the language which had become current throughout the whole country and without regard to the free intercommunication with the Danes, which is a most invaluable boon, since they are one of the most civilized peoples on earth. The dark stripe again!

With the new tongue followed two new poets, whose primitive sweetness reminds one of the strong aroma of berries and flowers from mountain-tracts. So far, there can be no doubt. But the language did not reach farther than to the idyl, the graphic picture of nature, the melodious mood of nature. True it had another string,—for scoff and scorn,—but only such scoff and scorn as rise in the kitchen against the parlor. Those strings sang and growled, wept and raved in Aasmund Olavson Vinje, a poet of striking originality, born a peasant, with great imagination, but of weak character. His mind was impressible from all sides, and the impressions were very strong. In his poems they produced a melody which belongs among the sweetest and fullest in all Norwegian poetry. But the dark stripe runs through most of what he wrote, though hatred and scorn and envy by no means made up the larger part of him. That which was strongest in him was a sweet child who loved to be loved and was fascinated by everything beautiful and grand, especially when it also glittered. The details of his life I cannot give, as he was thrown from one thing to another, always restless, sometimes unhappy, but sometimes also happy,—happy as nobody else. He had a foreboding of his death, but kept silent; went into the country to hide, said nothing there either, but shut himself up in his room and waited alone for the good comrade. And the good comrade came quietly as he was wanted to do. The same is told of wild animals when they feel death approaching: they retire to be alone with their pains. Where he died we have raised a column and on its top placed his bust, with one eye larger than the other, as I



remember him—the one eye radiant with a vision and moist with enthusiasm, the other holding back in doubt, ready for laughter and scorn. To his poems Edvard Grieg has composed some of his most beautiful airs. The hymn to “The Mother,” the exclamation at seeing the towering rock-ranges again, the farewell to spring, have lured forth tones as beautiful as the words; and, thus transfigured by music, we will remember him.

Ivar Aasen is the name of that treasure-digger who hunted up and repolished all the coins of the old tongue, otherwise left unheeded among the peasantry. On that work he spent his life quietly and faithfully, now and then humming a little song, a patriotic hymn, a mood of nature, a rule of wisdom;—all so deeply felt and so naturally rendered that they might have led a whole literature astray by tempting it to imbed every impression in a piece of smithing work of ten years’ labor, whereby the whole art of the people would have come to consist of a few wonderful pieces in the world’s museum. For what would be the result if each generation had no more pictures of its own diversified life, and, consequently, no more help from its literature and art, than what might be derived from those very few works which pass into history? From these two poets, Vinje and Aasen, who appeared together with it, the new Norwegian tongue received several immortal songs; but later on?—so far as I understand matters, not one. Beautiful things were still added, finely felt and finely formed, but of less consequence. I am inclined to say that up to date these two are the only primitive original poets in that tongue, the so-called “Landsmål.”

Our more recent literature is rich in artistic imitations. Occupation with a new tongue is always an involuntary exercise of the artistic sense, and with one single writer that exercise has led to mastership. But that is all, while at the same time the other branch of the language has produced one poet after the other whose works have treated every subject between heaven and earth. Even their latest representations of peasant life are more significant,—sprung from a deeper conception,—than those of the same period written in the peasant tongue; the descriptions of nature are grander and the feeling for nature is richer. We will pass on to examine them.

The oldest of them is Henrik Ibsen. Already in the first work—which is characteristic of him and of consequence to us—he showed his colors. It was the drama “Katilina,” in which he wholly sided with the revolutionary spirit. Then followed in grand procession *Brynhild’s* defiance in “Hermændene,” *Duke Skule’s* in the drama with



the same name; then "Brand" who forsook society and even his own self and ended in the clouds; then "Peer Gynt" who made the same voyage in an opposite direction; then the "Kejser og Galilæer" ("Emperor and Galilean"), and between these dramas, as a kind of arabesque, a couple of others sneering at marriage and political parties. Finally appeared the grand series of social dramas to which the preceding productions had served as introduction and preparation. But here is a peculiarity. The first and last bend toward each other in a milder mood, while in those lying between, the poet's heart, as it formerly was with *Katilina*, *Brynhild*, *Duke Skule*, *Brand*, *the Kejser*, so it is here with *Nora*, *Dr. Stockman*, *Mrs. Alvig*—the murderess and suicide in "Rosmersholm"; *Hedda Gabler*, also murderess and suicide, and the sensually unsettled *Hilda*; or with *Ekkdal*, because he suffers from those who are socially powerful, and generally with those who are lost or cast off;—altogether overwhelming representations in which a powerful mind stirred up to its very depths hurls the protest of independence against the jog-trot morals of the time. Incidentally this violent criticism, with its revolutionary individualism, fell together with socialism, collectivism, and nihilism on one side, and on the other side with the hard-handed *imperium* of militarism and the audacious reactionary attempts under its cover; together, also, with the casual upheaval of the Naturalists.

This literature made a sensation in steadily widening circles the world over. It sharpened the feeling of responsibility among generous people; the labor movement, the emancipation of women, the peace question, took aid from it, and literature and art found new tasks. Little by little, however, true ethical culture gathered together in decisive opposition to its exaggerations, which lured on to still greater extravagances. For it cannot be denied that its crude individualism, to which Ibsen later tried to find the proper counterpoise, produced, in connection with other elements, the unheard-of savagery of anarchism, a sensual intoxication among young people, the scepticism of the decadence with respect to liberty and labor, the flight from reality and science into a religious mysticism, Nietzsche's "over soul," and the hysterical rattling with "greatness" and "grandeur" which has done more evil than that of the mere suffering to our ears.

It would be easy enough to point out those wrongs in the spiritual life of Norway which first excited Ibsen's wrath—and not only this, but the stagnation in mediocrity and mere tradition, the hypocrisy, the arid passion for petty criticism, the heaviness of a small society with-



out motion. All these things are shown up sufficiently in his own writings, and I shall prefer to say a few words about his art. For when all the billows and eddies of the uproarious sea have passed over us, the art in most of his works will bear them up and place them among the marvels.

The very evidence of that art is the *réplique*—such as it is—prepared far off in the temperament and the events, and fitted to the surroundings and the temperature of the present moment. As the result of the whole composition it rises in a radiant line and bursts in the color-splendor of the idea. I should like to know who in the world's literature is his equal in this respect? Who has ever succeeded so completely in concentrating all the effects of the drama in the speech? No dead points, not a single superfluous word; everything centring in the *réplique*. In merely mechanical technique others may have reached as far as he, but he works in the severe service of the spirit.

His mastership as an artist becomes still greater when it is noticed that many of his subjects are not by themselves dramatic, but rather epic, novels. In a decisive moment the characters simply speak of themselves to each other, and the threads of their lives are laid bare by what they say. Thus nearly the whole dramatic effect is reduced to our interest in getting to know him who speaks and him who listens; but that is only possible as the story goes on, now and then interrupted by an event which carries it farther in another manner. Really we are present at a kind of cross-examination, but the issue is not *how* he got her or *why* he did not get her. The issue is about life and death, and that gives every word such an importance that we are afraid of missing the finest shading in the expression.

In such a manner of composition there is, however, something queer, and Ibsen will hardly have many imitators. Furthermore, his generous understanding of those who are miserable, of those also who are criminals, and his hatred of society when it appears as an accessory to misery and crime, lead him to an injustice, nay cruelty, which often makes those cross-examinations and self-explanations painful. Though we need to remember that those who break the laws are often worth more than those who give the verdict, we wish nevertheless to be just also to the latter. They too must be comprehended within the same sympathetic conception, and especially such as suffer by the misconduct of others and are entirely innocent of their own misfortunes. But just them he sometimes treats with scorn; he dwarfs them in order to make the others appear so much the greater.



It seems to me, and by and by it may be the general opinion, that however penetrating Ibsen's understanding of life may be, it is not equal to his passion and art. The reasoning of the dramatic poet runs principally along psychological lines, but at this point he has not always a sure footing. The construction is always matchless, as in "*Et Dukkehjem*" ("A Doll's House"). But the foundation upon which it rests is often unsafe, as when *Nora* is supposed not to know what forgery is, though she tells lies, and none need to be shrewder than those who practise that art. The premise from which the plot of "*Vildanden*" ("The Wild Duck") starts, is, that the young martyr, fourteen years old, believes in her father though he is hardly capable of speaking a truthful word. But it is well-known that children are swifter than any one else to discover whether or not the words of those upon whom they depend are to be trusted. When she was four years old she knew all about her father. Should any one have a doubt, please look a little more closely at the mother. How the amiable professor in "*Hedda Gabler*," educated by ladies, has happened to carry *Hedda* home as his wife, is as unintelligible as how that lady, charged with dynamite, has become about thirty years old without causing any explosion to safeguard the unwary.

It has touched us all to see the old poet, after so hard a working day and so long an exile, unfurl the Norwegian flag in the last scene of his last drama. Contrary to his custom the scene comes unprepared, a sure token that it is an inspiration. Certainly not without deep emotion he himself took the part of the hero. Generally this has been considered a reconciliation with society, but it is something more. When we grow older, the colors leave us; whiter and whiter our head sinks back into the air, which shall finally dissolve it. So too with our feelings. Their contrasting colors melt away in the infinite; they seek unity. Ibsen has learned how to wait with the expression of a great feeling until it gathers in a symbol. That is the unfurling of the flag.

In the fleet coming in, close by Ibsen's big dark ship, another appears entirely light, shining and resting broadly on the waters. It is Jonas Lie. Of him and some of his contemporaries I shall speak in another paper.

BJÖRNSTJERNE BJÖRNSON.



## THE UNAIDED SOLUTION OF THE SOUTHERN RACE PROBLEM.

MUCH has been said and written in the last twelve or fifteen years upon the race problem confronting the South. No solution of it yet proposed has met general acceptance. Perhaps it will be agreed that the discussion of the question thus far has resulted in little beyond securing recognition of its importance as only less than that of slavery itself, of which indeed it is the logical successor. Are we drifting, then, and are we to continue to drift as before the war until danger becomes imminent and critical? How fares it with the patient who has rejected the prescriptions of the social doctors? It is the cheerful thesis of the present contribution to the discussion that all is well; that nature unaided is working a cure; that the problem is already in process of solution by the spontaneous operation of the same fundamental economic law which, under the different conditions of slavery, brought it into existence.

As I take it, the race problem arises out of the unequal distribution of the negro race in the United States. It will certainly be agreed that, if the negroes now within our borders—constituting as they did in 1890 scarcely 12 per cent of our population—were evenly distributed over the country so that in no State or region did they form more than one eighth of its population, we would have no race problem in the sense in which we commonly speak of it as existing now. The presence of the negro as a small and—unaided as he must be by immigration—relatively diminishing minority could not be regarded as an influence to be dreaded in our development, or become a matter of such concern as to be called a problem affecting our national life. We may concede that the negro is inferior in his present development to the white man; we may go farther and concede that he will never become as a race the equal of the white. Granting this, such a minority of negroes would be taken up and borne forward on the resistless tide of our advancing civilization, without being felt as an incubus. It is the presence of an undue proportion of negroes in the southern States that at once gives rise to the race problem and makes it a question be-



longing peculiarly to the South. The question itself may be fairly stated as follows: Is the presence of the negro in relatively excessive numbers to permanently differentiate the South from the North? Is the South or any portion of it to be dominated industrially, socially, or politically by the negro? Are there to be in the South race-wars, race-riots, or other forms of lawless aggression by one race upon the other?

No true patriot, no friend of the negro, can desire that any of these questions shall be answered affirmatively. Surely no intelligent student of history, no candid observer of existing facts, can doubt the reality of racial differences and the strength of race antagonisms, however he may hold himself superior to their influences. This generation has seen the people of the Pacific Coast—as cosmopolitan, and perhaps as intelligent a population as any in the world—united with practical unanimity to exclude the Mongolian. No patriotic American desires to see within our borders distinct communities even of Germans or Scandinavians. Still less can he desire distinct communities of black men, or communities dominated by black men, as integral parts of the Union. The Union of our patriotic hopes is a Union forever delivered from such divergent influences as grew out of the introduction among us of the African. If the South is to be differentiated by the presence of the negro in relatively excessive numbers, then it will lag behind and become a drag upon the remainder of the Union. If the negro be not the inferior race, his warmest friend must admit that he is at a far lower stage of development. He may have progressed: he may continue to progress in the continuance of present conditions, intermingled with the whites, ruled by them politically, and taking up their standard of living industrially. But nothing is more certain than that race development is a thing of the centuries, if not of the ages. No constitutional amendment or act of Congress could lift the negro up to the white man's level at one step. A separate community of negroes, or a community dominated by them, though speaking our language and under our forms of government, would not uphold American civilization. With the example of Hayti in view and certain aspects of life in our own "black belt,"—where the negroes have been comparatively unsustained by the influence of any considerable number of whites,—it is morally certain that the negroes in such a community would retrograde.

If these views be correct, if the race problem arises and exists for the South alone because of the unequal distribution of the negroes be-



tween South and North, if the presence of the negro is a menace only when he dominates and determines industrial and social standards,—then obviously the comprehensive consideration of the question must include the distribution of the negroes within the South itself, and if that be unequal, its tendency to become more or less so. These questions have been, I think, too little considered in the discussion hitherto. Yet here especially there exists a misapprehension of facts which needs to be corrected. Is it not true that the popular idea of the South in the North, and in Europe perhaps still more, has been largely founded on the single book which is credited with having done more to precipitate the civil war than anything else,—“Uncle Tom’s Cabin”? Is it not true that the conditions therein portrayed belonged only to a limited part of the South, though popularly ascribed to the whole? The conventional southerner certainly is the large planter. The big cotton or sugar plantation, with the spacious mansion of the owner and the many cabins of the negroes, is the accepted type of southern industry. In the popular apprehension the wide and diverse territory covered by the southern States is simply “The South,”—“The Solid South,”—a whole alike in all its parts, over which the negro is uniformly diffused to do the work, while the white man devotes himself to politics and the art of conversation. Does not such a misconception seem incredible—even grotesque—to any one who knows the actual conditions existing in the southern States?

This misconception has not been without the most important practical effects. It is a well-known fact that foreign-born whites are distributed between North and South in an inverse ratio to that of the black populations of the two sections. If one asks the reason at Castle Garden, he is told that the foreign immigrant fears the negro—that he will not willingly compete with negro labor, or come down to the negro level. The assumption is that in the South the negro alone labors; that there is no place for the white immigrant who would work in the fields. And it may be recalled that it was published as one of the “discoveries” of the recent New England investigation into the southern cotton-weaving industry, that the work in the mills is done by native whites, and that the factory operatives are not as such held in dishonor. Is it not even true also that the South has misconceived itself in a measure, and that because it fought the civil war, as a loosely united whole, and for nearly a generation afterward held to a single political party—it has mistakenly supposed itself homogeneous? Has it not been with something of the shock of surprise that we have been



lately reminded, by the passing of "The Solid South" and the rise of the Populist to power among us on lines of cleavage distinctly sectional, that we are not all alike south of Mason and Dixon's line—that the South has always been divided within itself, presenting the very sharpest contrasts in the character and in the industrial and social organization of its people—that in every southern State, indeed, the institution of slavery made between sections differences the same in kind and little less in degree than those that distinguish South from North? Have we always remembered that in much the greater portion of southern territory the negro has remained an insignificant element of the population, and have we been aware that over large areas he is actually diminishing and already disappearing from the soil?

The official census, while giving the distribution and contrasting the relative growth of whites and blacks, in its discussion of results deals only with States and groups of States. The deduction, thus drawn, of a race movement of the blacks,—“slightly south but in much greater degree west”—while true, is not the whole truth, and may even be termed misleading. The census returns also give the distribution of the two races by counties, and the county may be made the geographical unit. Ten years ago, from the figures of the census of 1880, I calculated the percentage of blacks to total population and the respective rates of increase of whites and blacks for the preceding decade in every county of the southern States, entering the results as to distribution upon a large county map by putting down in black ink the black percentage of the population over counties where the blacks were in the majority and in like manner indicating white majorities in red ink. I have recently done the same with the returns of the census of 1890. The results as they are presented on the map before me are striking to the eye. "The Solid South" falls apart into six decidedly distinct regions—three black and three red. Delaware, Maryland (excepting three counties), the western three fifths of Virginia, all of West Virginia and Kentucky, Tennessee (except three counties in its southwestern corner), something more than the western half of North Carolina, the western sixth of South Carolina, the northern fourth of Georgia, the northern half of Alabama, and the northeastern seventh of Mississippi,—form one solid body of contiguous red, unbroken by a single black majority county. In this vast region, extending from Mason and Dixon's line in a general southwestern direction to Montgomery, Alabama,—a distance of more than seven hundred miles, and with an average width of about four hundred miles,—there lived, in



1890, 7,055,856 whites and 1,716,097 blacks, the blacks forming 19.56 per cent of the total population, and showing an increase of only 7.93 per cent during the preceding decade against a gain of 19 per cent for the whites. This division includes the mineral districts of the South, and embraces the territory sometimes poetically named "The Land of the Sky." I shall refer to it as the "Upland South."

Bordering it on the south and east and reaching to the coast in Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina, lies a region I shall distinguish as the "Lowlands." This is black but not unbrokenly so, an irregular fringe of red appearing along the coast line of Virginia, and broadening out in North Carolina, where marked changes have taken place since 1880, while several red spots appear even in South Carolina. In Georgia it is split, sending a narrow strip along the shore line into Florida, while the broader belt turns across the State to its western border, whence, after throwing off a projecting wedge southward into Florida again, of which it covers eleven counties, it continues west and northwest across Alabama to its termination in eastern Mississippi. In this long strip of country, whose average breadth hardly exceeds one hundred miles, there lived, in 1890, 1,820,371 whites and 2,710,767 blacks, the blacks constituting 59.82 per cent of the population. Their rate of increase was substantially the same as in the Upland region—7.90 per cent against a white rate of 13.93 per cent. South of this "black belt," as it is more commonly called in the Gulf States, there appears another unbroken body of white majority counties, which I have designated the "Gulf Coast" region. This covers more than four fifths of Florida, a fourth of both Georgia and Alabama, perhaps a third of Mississippi—where it stretches up along the central watershed of the State to a junction with the Uplands; a fourth of Louisiana, and twenty-five counties of eastern Texas, its western limit being marked by the city of Houston. Its population in 1890 included 1,159,703 whites and 569,656 blacks, the blacks constituting 32.94 per cent. The rates of increase—33.61 per cent for the whites and 28.73 per cent for the blacks—show an immigration of both races.

The second of the black majority districts is almost described by its name—"The Mississippi Bottom." It borders the banks of the great river and its tributaries, forming one strip about one hundred and twenty-five miles in width, extending from just above New Orleans to Memphis, and another hardly one third so broad, reaching along the Red River across Louisiana to the borders of Arkansas and Texas. In this area there were, in 1890, 501,405 whites and 1,101,134 blacks,



the black percentage here reaching the maximum—68.71 per cent. Here too the blacks increased the faster, their rate being 20.59 per cent against 14.58 per cent. In the third of the white regions, which I have called "The Western South," there are comprised four fifths of Arkansas, a seventh of Louisiana, and about six sevenths of Texas. The blacks form less than one sixth of the population, the numbers being 2,246,559 whites to 459,445 blacks. The rates of increase—46.83 per cent for the whites and 34.63 per cent for the blacks—show that the migratory movement of both to the westward still continued large down to 1890. If, following the usual historical classification, we regard Missouri as a southern State, it belongs to this division, and we then have for it a white population of 4,775,017 to 589,629 blacks, the blacks forming only 10.99 per cent of the total, which is less than would result under our hypothesis of an equal distribution of the negroes over the United States.

There remains the third black majority division, which I designate as the "Texas black belt." Its importance rather consists in its position, as separating the Western and Gulf Coast regions, than in its magnitude. It comprises fifteen counties, with a population of only 82,310 whites and 126,297 blacks, the percentage of blacks being 60.54.

These figures show conclusively that for much the greater portion of the South the race problem does not exist in the sense in which we have defined it. For the Upland and Western regions certainly, and almost equally for the Gulf Coast, there is no reason to fear negro domination. In the whole South the tendency is distinctly toward the more equal distribution of the blacks and the dissipation of black majorities. The Mississippi Bottom is the only important apparent exception, and it may be said of this in passing that in its present sanitary conditions it is the region least fitted for the abode of the white man; that while it has received a heavy immigration of blacks from the eastward it shows in its entirety a rate of increase for the negroes greatly less than either the Gulf Coast or Western region, and in one third of the counties comprising it a relative gain of the white population. It may be added that the same forces hereinafter shown to be at work in the other and greater black majority districts are undoubtedly operating in this also, and that their effects have been only temporarily counteracted by the immigration of blacks which is believed to have now ceased.

From the Upland and Western regions no white immigrant knowing simply the relative numbers of whites and blacks will be deterred by the fear of entering a country where negroes alone labor. The



small farmer tilling his own land is in possession and control, and each region is, in the popular phraseology, "a white man's country." Of the Western it is not necessary to add more than that it has already for several years received a heavy white immigration from the Northwestern States. Of the Upland it serves my purpose to show that a minute examination of the statistical evidence is even more reassuring, and warrants the assertion that from a great portion of this region the negro has already begun to disappear. In three of its eleven component districts,—Kentucky, the western half of Virginia, and northeastern Mississippi,—there was an absolute loss of negro population in the decade 1880–90. This indicates a tendency not confined to those districts. As in Kentucky, while there was a net loss for the entire State of more than 3,000, we find a gain of 8,000 in Louisville and of upwards of 2,000 in three smaller cities on the Ohio, showing a loss of 13,000 in the remainder of the State, and indicating a much greater loss in the country precincts as distinguished from the cities: so in Tennessee, while there was a gain of over 13,000 blacks in that part of the State which enters into this region, we find the much larger gain of 24,000 in the three counties containing the principal cities,—Nashville, Chattanooga, and Knoxville,—showing a net loss of more than 10,000 outside these cities. So in Maryland, while the gain in the entire State was 5,000, that in Baltimore was 13,000, showing a net loss outside the chief city of 8,000. In eighteen of the twenty-four counties of this State there was a loss of blacks. The blacks also suffered loss in thirty-nine of fifty-four counties of western Virginia, in twenty-four of fifty-four in West Virginia, in seventy-eight of one hundred and nineteen in Kentucky, in fifty of ninety-one in Tennessee, in twenty of fifty in western North Carolina, and in eighteen of forty-five in northern Georgia. In northern Alabama, where their rate of increase reaches the maximum for this region, no less than 27,089 out of the total gain of 47,987 are found in the county containing Birmingham. In the rich agricultural district known as the Tennessee Valley, the blacks increased less than 1 per cent, and they suffered loss in four of its seven counties. In the northern third of this State their rate fell below the average for the entire Upland region, being only 7 per cent, in contrast with a white rate above the average and as high as 25.31 per cent. The high rate for the northern half of the State is thus seen to be evidence merely of the attractive power of the Birmingham mineral district upon the negroes of the subjacent black belt.

These facts—and they are only a part of those conducing to the



same result—establish a well-defined tendency of the blacks to drift away from the farms into the cities and mining districts. The low average rate of increase also indicates a migratory movement out of this region altogether. Whither has this movement led? Certainly not into the Lowland region to the south and east. On the contrary the facts support the inference that this region has itself received accessions to its black population from that,—as notably in the case of Alabama just referred to. Contrasting the two as entireties, the black rate of gain is slightly lower in the Lowland region, though this contains a much greater number of negroes and its milder climate might well be supposed more favorable to their rapid multiplication. The more detailed examination of the black belt also shows the same tendencies and suggests the same influences at work there as in the Upland region. Thus in Virginia, in all the thirty-six black majority counties taken together the black rate of increase was only 2.47 per cent, against a white rate of 10.07 per cent. While all eastern Virginia shows a gain of 12,246 in its black population, a larger gain—12,459,—is found in the five principal cities of this part of the State—Richmond and Norfolk showing 10,574. In only seven of thirty-five black counties did the whites fail to increase their proportion, and six counties were changed from black to white majorities. In North Carolina the continuity of the black majority counties, which in 1880 extended across the State from north to south, had been broken in 1890—seven counties having been changed from black to white. In seven of the fifteen remaining black counties the blacks suffered an absolute loss of numbers, and in only four did they maintain their proportion. While in all eastern North Carolina they gained in numbers only 7,701, nearly one half of this is found in the three chief towns—Wilmington, Newbern, and Charlotte. In South Carolina the whites increased their proportion in seventeen of the twenty-five black counties, and changed one county from black to white. In Georgia they increased their proportion in twenty-two of the sixty-two black counties, and of the total black gain of 74,017 the four principal cities—Augusta, Columbus, Macon, and Savannah—show 22,343. Of the ten black counties of Florida the whites increased the faster in eight, and their rate of gain in them all taken together was 30.60 per cent, against 12.03 per cent for the blacks. Of the total gain of 11,649 in the black population, more than half was in Jacksonville. In Alabama the low rate of increase of both races—2.05 per cent for the whites and 4.32 per cent for the blacks—is the most noteworthy feature, explained as



already suggested by the immediate proximity of the Birmingham mineral district. Yet the black population of Montgomery increased more than 30 per cent. In five of the twenty black counties the blacks suffered loss; in six the whites increased their proportion; and in two black majorities were changed to white. In eastern Mississippi the whites increased their proportion in seven of the nine counties, and in all taken together their rate of gain was 14.44 per cent against the low black rate of 4.28. In two counties there was a loss of black population.

While these facts are in their nature the same as those shown in regard to the Upland region, the tendencies and migratory movement indicated have much greater significance and importance here than in the more northern territory. Nor is this merely because the black population of this region is so much the larger. It was expected that here, if anywhere, the negro would have strengthened his hold upon southern soil. Here, by reason of more fertile land and a climate suitable for their working upon it, the negroes were massed in the time of slavery. Down to the time of emancipation, holdings of land and holdings of slaves increased together in this territory. It was here the slavery system attained its highest possibilities as an instrument of production. Whatever its defects and essential weakness from the economic standpoint, up to the war it continued effective as a producer of wealth on these lands. In this Lowland region was centred the material wealth of the South as well as its controlling political forces. The lands were intelligently farmed, either, as was more common, under the personal supervision of the owners who resided upon them, or under the superintendence of overseers whose very calling put a premium upon the application of brain power to agriculture, and who as a class were farmers of superior skill and administrative capacity. As agriculture was the only important interest of an intelligent people, it was intelligently directed. Each plantation became a highly organized industrial unit, well-nigh self-sufficient. The labor of the slaves was in a considerable degree differentiated, and in a measure it became skilled. Each property had its own gin and cotton-press. The boy who showed aptitude was taught blacksmithing or carpentry. Leather was tanned and shoes made on many plantations. The women were not merely taught to sew, but to spin and to weave, and the clothing worn was very often literally "home-spun."

In the mild climate of this region animal life can be sustained at less cost perhaps than in any other outside the tropics. Its



natural advantages in the production of food-stuffs were used: corn and wheat, peas and potatoes, molasses, meat, milk, butter, poultry and eggs, fruits and vegetables were produced on the plantations in overflowing abundance. What has been since the war a "theory," was then a "condition"; cotton was, as it ought to be, largely a surplus crop, and this region in consequence realized the scriptural conception of a land flowing with milk and honey. It was a land of plenty and of solid material comfort for the blacks as well as for the whites. Even yet there can sometimes be heard from those, of the generation now fast disappearing, who had their youth "before the war," the expression of a lingering regret for those good old days of peace and plenty, in the form of a half-pity for us who have known only poverty and struggle without the solace of such happy memories. For it all ended with the war, and it has not come back, nor anything like it. There has been no "New South" in the black belt yet. The process of deterioration and decline which the ravages of war began, has indeed hardly yet been stayed. With emancipation the plantation organization of negro labor was at once dissolved. The negroes for the most part did not feel that they had their freedom until they used it to get away from their old homes. The skilled mechanics and the trained domestics among them were naturally among the first to seek the towns and cities and to move northward. The plantation owners undertook to work their big properties with wage-hands, and, tempted by the high price then prevailing, planted largely for cotton. The late slave could not at once become a good hireling. His mind was soon occupied with political cares. The glowing vision of "forty acres and a government mule" was industriously held up before him. "Free nigger labor" became among the whites the synonym of unfaithfulness and inefficiency. On the other hand to this day, to work for wages for a white man subjects a negro in the black belt to the badge of social inferiority among his fellows.

Again, of all occupations that freemen follow, agriculture least admits of being carried on upon the wholesale plan which had succeeded under slavery and was attempted by the planters under the different conditions of freedom. With cotton at prices that now seem fabulously high, the big plantations steadily brought their owners into debt. The "share-system,"—a species of agricultural partnership in which the landowner furnishes land, tools, and stock and the laborer feeds himself and takes half the crop—was next tried. But this had too much resemblance to the other, both in its nature and its re-



sults, to suit either party long, and was soon generally succeeded by the practice—now almost universal—of renting from year to year. Under this system the negro has cultivated the land as an independent contractor, the master of his own time, and in greater or less degree, as he was removed from proximity to his landlord, according to his own methods. For the most part it has been in the greater degree and progressively greater as time has gone on. Country life, which had been so attractive to the owners of plantations, soon lost its charm in the new conditions. They left the country to educate their children in the towns. Their plantation homes fell into disrepair and in some instances were even given up to the use of the negro tenants. As the years went on without bringing the promise of change for the better in existing conditions, many of the landowners moved farther away from their properties. There was no opening at home for young men as they came forward: they emigrated in large numbers. The white population steadily decreased, and presently there came about something like the Irish condition of absentee landlordism, with a tenantry more thriftless and improvident,—almost realizing the illustration given in the political economy text-book of that tribe of South American Indians who, while being taught agriculture by the missionaries, killed their plough-oxen when they felt hunger after a day's work.

All the evils incident to the separation of the ownership and the cultivation of land have naturally followed in aggravated form. The negro tenant for the year cares only for the year's crop. If a plum-bush springs up, he will plough around it; if a terrace-bank breaks, the wash forms a gully; if a ditch fills, the field it drains is abandoned. With all, the same crop has been planted year after year on the same lands, unsustained by fertilizers, and unstirred except by the shallowest of ploughing. The discipline of slavery did not make the negro a farmer, but left him merely a muscle-worker. To farm is more than to plough and to hoe. The farmer must be industrious, but industry alone will not give him success. He must exercise sound judgment and wise forethought: he must have more than one string to his bow—he must diversify and rotate crops. The black belt negro meets none of these conditions, and he has fixed his dependence on cotton alone. It is indeed a commonplace in the South that the negro can only grow cotton—that he cannot grow corn. Corn will not bear neglect; to fail to plough at the proper time means the loss of the crop. Though cotton must be worked much more, it bears the delays incident to negro methods much better. With cotton



tending downward in price concurrently with the increase of production by the white farmers of Texas, and of the Gulf Coast and Upland regions,—in both of which, lands deemed unfit for its growth before the war, have by the intelligent application of fertilizers been rendered highly productive,—it is easy to understand how, under these conditions, the rich black belt, which in the time of slavery was a garden of plenty, has become the poorest and most backward region in the country.

The tenant system of farming has proven more wasteful and destructive than slavery ever was anywhere. The productiveness of the lands has been lowered; buildings have undergone great deterioration; live stock has decreased in quantity and is of inferior quality; orchards and gardens have disappeared. Poverty and even destitution may be found where of old there was good living for all. The negroes have accumulated nothing; they are still living on the credit of the crop yet to be grown. In good times they have gotten but a subsistence: under the stress of hard times very many have been brought literally to the ragged edge of starvation. They are naturally dissatisfied and restless, ready and eager for a change. Their migration in large numbers is only a question of their ability to get away. They respond quickly therefore to the invitation of the labor agents.

The negro has failed as a farmer: in thirty years he has gained practically no hold upon the soil. He has not acquired ownership of the land to any appreciable extent, though very low prices have prevailed and even government land open to entry has been comparatively near at hand. But he is a good laborer under supervision. He is a success in the mines and has even won preference with many operators over trained foreign-born white miners. He has found acceptance in the iron furnaces and about the coke-ovens. He is in great demand in periods of railroad construction. On many southern railroads he serves not merely as section-hand but as fireman and brakeman. He is wanted in the growing cities in many other capacities than that of a domestic servant. It is not merely because of his love for the gaiety of crowds,—though this is an influence,—that he seeks what he calls public works and city life. It is also because he finds in these the best market for the muscle upon which he remains practically dependent in the industrial struggle for existence into which freedom has brought him. In these a constantly widening field now opens before him. The development of mining and manufactures and the extension of the railroads in the South have brought with them the rise of inland cities. Atlanta,



Birmingham, and Chattanooga are but types of many that are following close upon them. The resultant increase of commerce has given new growth to the older cities along the coast. Urban population is now rapidly expanding all over the South. In 1880 the entire South had only ninety cities containing upwards of 4,000 inhabitants: in 1890 there were one hundred and sixty-three. In 1880 such cities had an aggregate population of 2,171,236, of which 546,233 were black. In 1890 their aggregate population was 3,458,274, of which 876,823 were negroes. In the ninety cities of 1880 the black rate of increase during the decade was 35.31 per cent. The census of 1890, varying in this respect from that of 1880, makes a population of 2,500 the criterion. On this basis the urban-dwelling negro population of the South in 1890 was 1,031,666.

This passing of the negro from the fields into the towns is obviously a fact of the greatest importance, not only in its bearing upon his status and distribution within the South itself, but also upon the question whether he is to remain in the South in relatively excessive numbers and as an element of its population not shared in an appreciable degree by the North. Once loosed from the stability of country life, taught to maintain himself in the city, and placed on the great highways of travel, the negro has taken the first and longest step out of the South altogether. The transition from Richmond to Philadelphia, from Atlanta to Cincinnati, from Birmingham to Pittsburgh, or from Nashville to Chicago is comparatively easy, and it may be made by easy stages.

I have already indicated the existence of a movement of the blacks away from both the Upland and Lowland regions. While this has undoubtedly tended in some measure southward into the Gulf Coast region and westward into the Mississippi Bottom, it has also and in perhaps greater volume flowed out of the southern States altogether into the cities and towns of the North. The single State of Pennsylvania increased its black population between 1880 and 1890 by 22,061, while the aggregate gain of the blacks in the whole tier of border States of the South,—Delaware, Maryland, West Virginia, Kentucky, and Missouri, with Virginia added,—was only 19,451. New Jersey, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois also showed large gains in negro population, though none so great absolutely as Pennsylvania, which in 1890 contained 107,595 negroes—a number more than one third as large as is contained in Arkansas, a typical southern State nearly one fifth larger in area. In all the northern States taken together and including the District of Columbia, which may be fairly classed with



them, the aggregate increase of negroes was 116,033, or 21.42 per cent. It is significant that more than one fourth of this gain was in the region west of the Missouri River, and no less than 7,280 in the three States on the distant Pacific Coast. The number of blacks in the northern States in 1890 was 657,646, or 8.79 per cent of all in the United States. In 1860 the percentage of blacks north of Mason and Dixon's line was only 5.46. These figures suffice to show that the negro is capable of migration on a large scale, and that neither by choice nor necessity is he to remain fixed in the southern States. On the contrary we have every reason to believe that his movement northward will be henceforth progressively increased.

In the South itself it is a common observation that his average condition varies inversely with his ratio to the total population. In the white majority districts, where he approaches more nearly to the white man's standard of living, he is better off, both absolutely and relatively, than in the black. The stimulus of the white man's example, the lift up to the white man's industrial level, are necessarily greater everywhere in the North than in any part of the South. In the North the standard of living in the economic sense has been fixed by the white man alone: the rate of wages is higher, the demand for labor greater. The great cities of the country are in the North, and though seven tenths of all the negroes there in 1890 were in the cities, there is room for many more before they have received their proportionate share as compared with those of the South. While in the South they form 25.93 per cent of the urban population, in the North they are only 2.18 per cent.

There are potent inducements other than the industrial to such a northward movement of the blacks. The political and social status of the negro is higher in the North. This is not to say that race prejudice does not follow him in the North, for it unquestionably does. But the people of the North have not known him as a slave. His vote is often strong enough to decide between the closely balanced political parties. At the same time he is not strong enough to be regarded or to regard himself as a distinct element, social and political. No "Jim Crow" car is assigned to his separate use. In New York city he may now eat at the best restaurants. His children almost everywhere go to the same public schools with those of the white man, and may follow them to college if they choose. These and other like differences constitute an advantage of position for the negro in the North, which he is quick to grasp and slow to give up. In a somewhat ex-



tended course of personal observation and inquiry on this subject, I have never known or heard of a single instance in which a negro who had once established himself in the North ever returned to the South to live.

Are there any in the North who deprecate and would resist this movement? Are there some in the South who would dissuade the negro from it? There ought not to be. It is best for the negro; best for the South; best for the whole country. It comes as the unaided result of the unrestricted operation of economic law upon a condition of affairs unprecedented in history, and justly regarded by all thoughtful minds as filled with menace of danger for the future as well as responsible for many past evils. It brings the promise, nay the assurance, of deliverance. It should rather be welcomed, and aided if it needed help. But it needs no other help than the maintenance of peace and tranquillity, assuring the undisturbed action of natural forces.

As the negro passes out of the South he opens the door long closed by his presence to white immigration. The small beginnings of this were felt even in portions of the black belt as early as 1890, and are reflected in the race statistics of east Mississippi, of tidewater Virginia, and of eastern North Carolina. As a result of even a moderate infusion of new white blood, these districts are all in better condition than at any time since the war. Within the last year the movement has assumed much greater proportions. Successive good crops in the South, in which because of its liberal and comparatively constant rainfall there has never been a complete failure, have been coincident with successive years of drought and crop failures more or less entire in the Far Northwest, which had come to be the new land of promise for the emigrant whether native- or foreign-born. Georgia and Alabama in 1894 sent solid train-loads of food-stuffs to the famine-sufferers of Kansas and Nebraska. Corn was also shipped commercially from Mississippi into Iowa and Illinois. The railroads have followed up this practical advertisement of southern resources by putting immigration agents to work in the northwestern States. As a result they have been during the last year almost daily bringing in parties of home-seekers over their lines. Georgia has been especially favored by these immigrants, and is now receiving a colony of several thousands from Indiana. Arkansas too is reported to have received from the States north and northwest of it within the last twelve months a hundred thousand new citizens. But the movement is not confined to any particular region. It may be, and it will be but natural, that at first comparatively few will enter the black belt. But the black belt is too rich to be passed over by an



invading army of western farmers. Already in some portions of it the land is passing into new hands and is being enhanced in value. The continuance of the movement can only result in the early subdivision of the big plantations into small farms tilled by their white owners. This is the one sufficient cure for all its economic ills. It needs only this to make the region again the richest in all this rich country, and the home of a prosperous and progressive people. Its natural resources, its fertile level soil, its salubrious, genial climate, its wide variety of products, are unchanged or substantially unimpaired. And with this, the one great region that has lagged behind in the rehabilitation of the South, taking its proper place in the forefront of development—with the resultant breaking up of the political storm-centre which the black belt has ever been and still remains,—who can measure the possibilities of southern progress?

But the story of southern progress has been told in the pages of *THE FORUM* and is sufficiently familiar: I need not even recapitulate it to enforce the point I have to make in conclusion. The South is large: it yet remains thinly peopled and practically undeveloped. Great as has been the industrial advance made, considerable as appears the present immigration movement, they but faintly foreshadow the development now at hand. If so much has been done in the last thirty years under such disadvantages and practically unaided by immigration, what may we not expect when that rich tide which has created the Empire States of the Northwest is turned in even greater volume southward? Only the marvellous growth of the great West itself can guide the imagination in attempting the forecast, and even that must be surpassed. To the South unquestionably belongs the future. In such an expansion of its population and wealth as even a single generation has witnessed in the West, its race problem must vanish even though the emigration of the blacks should cease; sectional lines must be blotted out and South and North merged in the indivisible Union, which is identity of interest and conditions, as well as of blood, of language, and of history. The people of the South are ready for this the more perfect Union, the prophetic aspiration—never the attainment—of the fathers: Louisville, Chattanooga, and Atlanta have spoken our feeling. It but remains for the people of the North to come and share "all the wonder that shall be."

A. S. VAN DE GRAAFF.



## PESTALOZZI AND HERBART.

“Every philosopher of the present must go through Kant, and every pedagogue through Pestalozzi and Herbart.”

THE twelfth of January, 1896, has vividly recalled to contemporary thought the memory of the great Swiss educator. One hundred and fifty years have passed since his birth at Zurich: years of earnest endeavor in the field of educational science. It was Pestalozzi who aroused this activity: his ideas came rapidly to the surface and were seized and developed by others; they penetrated the innermost consciousness of leaders of men and fructified the intellectual and moral life of the people. Not all, however, who labored for the education of the people were inspired by his spirit, nor did his influence affect all in an equal measure. In the higher institutions, particularly in the secondary schools, the effect of his work was but slightly felt. It is only in our time that the higher schools are coming in contact with him, though frequently only indirectly through the mediation of Herbart. Hence the latter in this respect fills an important mission which, though delayed, is not yet too late. Some educators will not admit a close relationship between Herbart and Pestalozzi. Only recently an attempt was made in Germany to have the teachers declare for either one or the other: this in spite of the protest of many who agree with Mager, a man thoroughly familiar with both Herbart and Pestalozzi, that “Pestalozzi, seized and developed by the philosophic thought of our times, must be studied in Herbart.” The truth contained in Mager’s declaration is to be shown in this article.

After completing his studies in the University of Jena (1794–97) Herbart became a tutor in a Swiss patrician family at Bern. In his reports to the father of his pupils we possess a splendid proof of his earnestness and zeal, and his high conception of his educational duties; they show his spirit and reveal how deeply he had already, as a young man, penetrated into the ethical as well as the psychological foundation-truths of education. It was only natural that this teacher should, in his youthful enthusiasm, wish to make the personal acquaintance of Pestalozzi. But his modesty for a long time prevented him from seeking an



interview with the great educator. In January, 1798, he wrote to a friend: "It was by chance that I was brought face to face with the venerable Pestalozzi. I avoid molesting literary men whom I have not yet sufficiently learned to appreciate from their writings, and whom I cannot directly ask to instruct me." It appears from this quotation that in the beginning of 1798 Herbart knew Pestalozzi more from reputation than from his writings. But after the Pestalozzian school had been transferred to Burgdorf, in the Canton of Bern, he was among the first to visit it. This was in 1799. He was greatly impressed by what he saw and heard there, and became a warm friend of the distinguished headmaster of the institution. The effect of the latter's personality and ideas upon him was deep and lasting. He kept up a correspondence with Pestalozzi, of which, unfortunately, nothing has been preserved. After his return to Germany he was for several years continuously at work upon the investigation and elaboration of the educational plans of the great teacher. It was Herbart's impulse and work that brought the school system of Bremen under the influence of the spirit of Pestalozzi, and it was through him also that the great teacher's ideas received, in the course of time, the right interpretation.

Herbart has explained his conception of the Pestalozzian system of education in several lectures and writings. Among the latter are three which are particularly interesting: "On Pestalozzi's Latest Work, 'How Gertrude Teaches Her Children.' To Three Women" (1802); "Pestalozzi's Idea of an A B C of Intuition, Investigated and Scientifically Treated" (1802); and "On the Standpoint of Judging the Pestalozzian Method of Instruction" (1804). These works are eloquent testimonies of the depth and permanence of Pestalozzi's influence, and at the same time manifest Herbart's anxiety to show the true significance of Pestalozzi's educational ideas and to aid in their dissemination and practical adoption. Herbart consistently maintained this feeling of veneration, free from fanaticism, to the end of his days, long after the universal enthusiasm for Pestalozzi had died out and even disdain had in many quarters taken its place.

In order to show the educational progress which began with Pestalozzi and which was greatly augmented by Herbart, prominence must be given to the principles underlying the educational theories of both men. The first question to be answered is, naturally, What did they believe to be the aim of education? For upon the spirit and formulation of the aim depends the character of the whole system. Hence the teleological principles of these two thinkers must first be noticed.



The great aim of all Pestalozzi's labors is *the promotion of the welfare of mankind*. He expects of political and sociological reforms an advancement of the interests of mankind in general, but to education he looks for the securing of the welfare of each individual. According to his view, the particular problem of education is to develop the purely human in man. He follows in this the dominant theories of the *Aufklärungszeit* ("Era of Illumination," as Carlyle calls it). Education is meant for man, and for man only: "to teach him to be man,—that means to educate him, and this is the greatest blessing man can grant to man." Thus a prominent representative of the German "Storm and Stress" period had written in 1770, and this expresses also Pestalozzi's conception of the general aim of education, which he calls "humanity." For years he lived among beggars in order to learn how "to make beggars live like men." But what is meant by humanity? It involves above all the concept of power; only through the unfolding of the original powers of the human soul can education hope to develop humanity in the pupil; and instruction, from this point of view, is to produce nothing else but "developed skill and accurate concepts." Nor are skill and knowledge to be ends in themselves, but they are to be cultivated for the sake of the development of power derived from their methodical acquisition. The powers themselves are designated as powers of cognition, of ability (skill), and of willing: intellectual power, art power, heart power. The chief characteristics of humanity, accordingly, are intellectual, technical (including physical), and moral-religious culture. These three powers, however, are not to remain isolated forces representing an aggregate of endeavors, but are to be combined in a higher unity whose character is to be determined chiefly by the religious and moral elements. Hence Pestalozzi's idea of "harmonious equilibrium of powers" must be understood to mean always that in the unfolding of the powers a leading rôle is accorded to heart culture. Insight, strength, and will for the good, united in equal measure and harmoniously represented and completed in action and conduct,—that is Pestalozzi's ideal of humanity. Thus it stands for moral-religious disposition and fitness united in the personality. Its foundation-principles are the two ideas of moral freedom and perfection of the powers.

This abstract ideal of humanity, according to Pestalozzi, must be present in the mind of the educator. But there are limitations which he must also recognize. Pestalozzi constantly emphasizes the demand that education deal with individuals; hence he wants the educator to



consider the individual state of his pupil, *i. e.*, the life-conditions of that social circle in which the child belongs by reason of his birth. The problem as to how the child can be formed with reference to the nature of his highest destiny as well as to the changing contingencies of his position and circumstances, is solved by making the object a two-fold one: (1) to form the pupil to humanity; (2) to adapt him as early as possible to his individual situation and to cultivate within him an attachment to the reality of his life-conditions. The universally human cannot remove the existing differences, but it can break through and conquer them. The ideal is to be realized in the given frame. Hence Pestalozzi made it the object of education to form not merely men, but individual men fitting into the appointed matrices of actual life.

Pestalozzi has been frequently misunderstood on this particular point, and his name has often been used by those whose educational aim is an abstract concept of humanity. Hence I may be pardoned if I dwell upon this idea a little longer. Pestalozzi lays particular stress upon the thought that all humanity is, according to its nature, equal and has only one way to satisfy itself; he insists that the cultivation of this universally human is the most important side of education. But, on the other hand, he does not at all overlook the social environment in which the pupil grows up. All the elementary educational means must aim to effect a chaining of the pupil to the conditions of real life and to form him through them and for them. Pestalozzi makes a very careful distinction between the equality of the inner nature of the education of children of all classes of society, and the necessary inequality of its external appearance, depending upon special conditions in the outer educational means of the children of the poor, of the bourgeoisie, and of the wealthy. Thus Pestalozzi—as democrat—defends the equality of all citizens, because he finds it impossible to see in the nature of man a predestination for rulership or obedience. But he recognizes the social articulation of men, as it is founded upon circumstances which, according to his conviction, will exist for all time. The conditions of labor and acquisition always involve the coexistence, beside each other, of an agricultural class, an artisan class, and a class of the higher merchants and scientifically trained. But he fails to see in this the necessity for rank-classes of humanity, because the worth of man with him depends upon the grade of humanity, which is not bound to class and vocation. Those work-classes, however, are with him realities which cannot be demonstrated away by any doctrine. Within them are the roots of the power of the



individual, and for this reason Pestalozzi calls the disregard of them a deviation from the laws of nature.

Herbart's teleological principles run along the same lines. To him also the destination of man is dependent upon higher, *i. e.*, ethical, laws, while the growth of human powers rests upon conformity to psychological laws. But while in Pestalozzi the concepts are somewhat vague and changeable, as it were, they are given by Herbart in a clear and precise form. Thus Pestalozzi has accepted as the key-note for the harmonious equilibrium of powers—the tone which determines the sound-color of the chord—the idea of moral freedom; but nowhere has he attempted to give a closer or more philosophical definition of morality. He usually explains it as “faith and love.” All the human powers are to be united for their final destination in the freedom of the human will through faith and love. Herbart, on the other hand, was able to formulate the final aim of all education precisely and definitely, because his philosophical ethics offered him the complete equipment for a clear explanation of the concept of moral personality. According to him the aim of moral culture is to make the moral ideas, in all their precision and purity, the essential objects of the will, in order that the innermost real content of character,—the core of the personality,—may determine itself in accordance with them. These ideas, which are precisely developed and clearly explained by him, are: inner freedom, perfection, benevolence, right, and equity. Where these ideas as inner lawgivers command the will of man, there is character-strength of virtue and morality. Education sees before itself a clearly defined aim: to make the moral ideas ruling powers in the life of the pupil, powers that give him the right hold on life, completely penetrate his dispositions, and determine his doings. That is the ideal picture of the human personality which the pupil shall approach.

But this abstract ideal of humanity obtains a definite stamp in its application to different classes of races and vocations. Just as Pestalozzi with his “universal power of humanity” did not want to soar above mankind, but to enter into the world, so also the intention of Herbart is not to separate the pupil from his individual environment, but he desires, as does also Pestalozzi, that the pupil should grow into it; also, of course, learn to control and conquer it by virtue of his moral character—which can prove itself equally powerful in poverty and in wealth, in the lower strata of society and in the upper ones.

The concept of character-strength of morality expresses the conduct of a person who under the rulership of the moral ideas pilots his will



safely, consistently, and vigorously through the experiences and struggles of life, without shifting the centre of gravity of the individual self. That is what Pestalozzi also wanted, for he said :

“ The pupil shall be so educated that the plain people may point to him and say : ‘ That is a man as he should be ’ ; and looking back upon his life may say : ‘ This man showed in all on which he passed judgment, in all to which he advised, and in all he undertook, a healthy and experienced intellect, firmness, vigor, capability for every effort of a benevolent heart, and a readiness and perseverance in action that in every case secured him success in all he undertook. ”

Both Pestalozzi and Herbart are intimately united in the ideal direction they give to education. Both go back in this to a common source, Kant's theory of ethics. But while Pestalozzi disdained to derive the aim of education from a scientifically established theory, Herbart, standing upon the principles of Kant, has sketched out a system of philosophical ethics and from this deduced the aim of education in sharp outline and clear concepts.

A similar relation between the two pedagogues will be found when we examine the methodological principles which are to determine the ways and means to the attainment of the aim of education. Here, however, the reforming power of Herbart stands forth even more strongly. An agreement between them is found, firstly, in the presupposition that mental growth and development proceed in accordance with psychological laws. But in the conception and representation of these laws they differ. Pestalozzi undoubtedly stands upon the faculty-psychology of Wolff, which Herbart rejects. In spite of his explanation that in his empirical investigations he did not depart from any positive theoretical standpoint, it is evident that his psychological system points back to Wolff, in so far as he believes every kind of mental activity to be founded upon some particular, real power of the soul. Standing upon the basis of such a theory, the object in education, according to Pestalozzi, is the cultivation of independent, ever-separated capabilities and powers, each one of which unfolds itself in accordance with peculiar inner laws. Upon this road Herbart could not follow him.

Let us still farther examine Pestalozzi's views. According to the principal categories of the powers to be cultivated, he distinguishes an intellectual, a physical, and a moral-religious culture. The characteristics of these principal sides of education consist in the following :

I. *Intellectual Culture* is essentially a matter of instruction ; the object of investigation is the mechanism which leads from obscure per-



ceptions to clear concepts. The aim of instruction, accordingly, is thus stated by Pestalozzi: "distinct concepts and their ultimate means, definitions." To this he held fast, and opposed definitions defective in perceptions, as well as the wrong manner of communication in the schools. Of course he did not reflect (1) that his aim of instruction is too narrow, as it excludes concepts which are not capable of any definition, as, for instance, individual concepts, and (2) that this aim is much too high for elementary instruction. For these reasons the instruction in his own schools was a bitter disappointment. Though children are able to express their concepts in language, still the requirement that this be done in the logical form of definition leads necessarily to memory-verbalism, the very thing that Pestalozzi contends against. His aim of instruction, accordingly, cannot be accepted. It is different with his view of the beginning of knowledge, the point from which the ascending to concepts starts, a development which does not commence in school, but in the nursery, yes, in the cradle. Pestalozzi goes back in his investigations to the time when man does not yet distinguish particular things, when the world lies before his eyes like a flowing sea of chaotic perceptions. In the process of isolating a complex idea three points are considered: (1) how many and how many kinds of objects are before the eyes; (2) how they look, what are their form and outline; (3) how they are called in order to hold them fast by a sound. The resulting starting-points of knowledge are: number, form, and word. These are then extended by Pestalozzi to domains of knowledge in each of which the whole development is to proceed from obscure perceptions to distinct concepts. The three elementary means thus become three elementary branches of study: arithmetic, drawing-writing, and language.

The primary didactic principle which appeared to Pestalozzi established above everything else, is that of perception. He explains these perceptions to be experiences derived from contact with real things. The final maturing of every concept depends essentially upon the perfected power of its first germination. Everything imperfect in its germ is crippled in its growth. Pestalozzi wants to found intellectual culture upon real experience. No painted world is to be substituted for the real one. Only life forms the mind. Mental development—in the history of the race as well as in the imitating progress of the individual—consists in a procedure from obscure perceptions to distinct concepts. A conceptional view of the world is the final aim of this development, to which mankind has attained and to which the



individual must be led. Thus there are two main divisions in the course of the child's mental development: (1) a period of perception; (2) a period of its logical elaboration. This procedure from obscure perceptions to distinct concepts is taken in a double sense by Pestalozzi: once as the course of human development in general, and at another time as the psychical mechanism which produces, at a certain height of development, conceptional formations. Thus the psychogenetic is distinctly separated from the psycho-logical in the sequence of development.

Closely interwoven with this development are two fundamental ideas of Pestalozzi, of which the first includes the principle of elementary procedure, *i. e.*, the pupil is to be placed upon the way which the inventor of a science himself took and was compelled to take. The historical series of these steps—the history of the science—determines the series of its elements, or the thread of elementary introduction into it. This concept of elementary procedure later on developed into that of contiguity,—which has done considerable harm. The second principle culminated in the law of physical nearness and remoteness, *i. e.*, the clearness of my knowledge depends upon the nearness and remoteness of the objects with which my senses come in contact. With this the conclusion is connected that knowledge of truth must in man proceed from knowledge of himself. The individual circle of experience is the nearest, and at the same time the intellectual, organ of the appropriation of the remote. Pestalozzi recognizes, beside the sensuous, an analogical perception which explains the quality also of things that have never been brought before the senses and whose similarity is abstracted from other objects that have been observed.

II. *Physical Culture*.—Mind-culture, according to Pestalozzi, consists in the inner elaboration of impressions originally obtained from without; art, however, which embraces physical culture, takes the opposite course by reaching out and actively entering into the outer world, following inner impulses and states. In the group of art branches are included domestic and civic activities and the technical branches of the common school, namely, drawing, modelling, singing, and gymnastics. Pestalozzi firmly believes that the training of physical capabilities must conform to definite laws. But, while he originally assumed that the mechanism of the technical capabilities should take the same course as that of knowledge, he gave up in later years the idea of equal procedure in these two lines of development. But he held that, though their laws of development differ, they are, from the



cradle up, to vitalize each other and to be utilized in action. As Pestalozzi has given particular attention to language-study as aiding in the formation of concepts, he lays particular stress on drawing, among the technical branches, by emphatically protesting against that perversion of natural order which places reading and writing at the beginning of instruction. Exceedingly valuable also is the impulse which Pestalozzi has given in this field to the instruction of children in manual arts.

III. *Moral-religious Culture*.—Its foundation is the same as that of the two other divisions of education, namely, experience. Intellectual culture is based upon sense-perception and the ideas derived from it; physical culture, upon motor-sensation; the foundation of moral-religious culture is a state of consciousness differing from both of them. Pestalozzi calls this also perception—but inner perception which embraces all those feelings that are inseparable from the nature of the soul. Upon inner perception, or the moral feeling, he bases moral culture; and upon this, with the aid of phantasy, religious culture. Pestalozzi regards the relation between mother and child as the first circle of experience for this culture. In this intercourse the germs of love, of confidence, of gratitude, and of obedience develop even in the earliest years of childhood. The emotional excitations of conscience develop there also. Upon the analogy between the relation of the child to his mother and the relation of man to God is to be founded the idea of God. Then the child will begin and continue to do the right, as he has until now done it for the sake of his mother, for the sake of God. In the nursery of domestic education which places the child, also during his school period, under the full influence of a moral-religious family spirit, Pestalozzi sees the fundamental organization of moral education. Nothing is said of a formal instruction in religious and moral matters. The life in the family, the intercourse with the nearest relatives and friends, form the child's moral-religious circle of experience. Religion, history, and poetry, as branches of instruction, hold a very subordinate part in the system of Pestalozzi. For, according to his view, an instruction of this kind offers only words, and words have no effect upon the heart. The only effective educative means is life, life in the family. It never occurred to him to supplement the possible insufficiency of the child's home, with regard to inner experience, by instruction; his only aim is to enrich the domestic intercourse through suitable arrangements. Walks and excursions, play and domestic joys, are to widen the intercourse beyond the narrow sphere of instruction. For he will by no means leave the development



of inner perception to accident. It is true he has laid down neither an A B C of action, nor an A B C of the feelings or inner perceptions. But there is not a shadow of doubt that he believes in an elementarily progressive order of the same. In his work, "My Investigations on the Course of Nature in the Development of Mankind," Pestalozzi finds that the "course of nature" leads man from the animal state to the social and thence to the moral one. The first state is that of pure egoism; the second, that of legality; the highest, that of morality. For, like Kant, Pestalozzi sees morality solely in the good will of man. The pupil must be led through these three stages of animal, social, and moral existence and thus gradually rise to freedom.

The only educative momentum of instruction recognized by Pestalozzi is mental activity, which he awakens by observing, comparing, and abstracting. Thereby he does not discern any other motives of effort in a genuinely Kantian sense, such as love of duty and love of an object for its own sake, which must be secured through instruction. Hence the school with its meagre intercourse stands, in his plan, only in an indirect relation to moral culture. The highest guidance to which it can attain is pure striving for this culture. Only a highly developed school-life would be able to exercise a direct influence upon moral culture. This would lead also to a union with life, to the formation of maxims. Instruction would get no farther than doctrines and not to principles, to pious wishes and not to resolutions. Therefore he opposes instruction in morality and religion, and protests against a specialized catechism. This explains also the charge of irreligion which contemporaries have often raised against his method. But this charge was based upon the double mistake:—in that Pestalozzi's theory of an education through intercourse was overlooked, and in that his opposition to a premature religious instruction was put down as a sign of his alleged religious indifference, while he adhered only to his psychological conviction that "words are of no avail." Pestalozzi designates his theory of the formation of virtues as the keystone of his whole educational system. Here all threads unite. To the practical realization of moral-religious culture, physical and intellectual culture must lend their powers in order to call into being that inner unity which Pestalozzi calls "the universal power of humanity."

Thus Pestalozzi's educational plan is well thought out in bold outlines and forms a great unified whole. Although he has nowhere presented it in systematic form, there still remains, in the agreement of his manifold elaborations, the proof that this plan was active within him.



The same may be said of Herbart,—with the one difference that he elevated pedagogics to the rank of a science by his systematically complete representation of his educational plan. As this is shown already in the derivation and establishment of the aim of education from a scientifically constructed theory of ethics, so also will it be recognized in the derivation of the necessary educative means from his psychology. With him, as with Pestalozzi, these means all unite in the formation of the moral character. Fully conscious of this fact he continues the labors of Pestalozzi in this direction. Thus he writes:—

“A perfect (taking all considerations into account) regularity of the succession, arrangement, and conjunction of that which is to be taught simultaneously and that which is to be taken up consecutively,—this was, from the beginning, the great ideal in which I recognized the most powerful means of insuring the right effect to all instruction. If Pestalozzi has not found that sequence, efforts must be made to find it or at least improve and develop his idea.”

None was so fully equal to this task as Herbart, by reason of his profound psychologic insight and his scientific mastery of the historico-humanistic studies as well as of mathematics. Above all he established the possibility of mental cultivation in a convincing manner. According to Herbart, the soul is a simple essence, not subject to any change whatever in its quality. The concept of educability thus cannot be based on the “what,”—the original nature of the soul,—as this excludes mutation, but only upon the contents of the soul, upon the ideas and feelings, and the tendencies connected with them. Sensations and ideas are the simplest elements of psychical occurrences. Every single idea acts by reason of its oppositions to other ideas as a power. Hereby motion is aroused in the mass of ideas; there originate fusions, complications, serial associations, etc., whose production is subject to definite psychical laws. Mobility and legality form the basis of mental activity. With this is given to the educator the possibility of exercising an influence upon youthful development, in so far as he can fix ideas in the soul of the pupil and can connect with them tones of feelings and endeavors. It is possible to him to gain an influence upon all these expressions of our soul, but not upon the real bearer of the same, who, as soul-reality, is the unchangeable foundation. Here are the limits of education.

It is evident from these psychological presuppositions that in Herbart's plan of education the part assigned to instruction must be far more important than in that of Pestalozzi. Thus Herbart could say:—



“Instruction aims primarily to form the circle of thoughts; education, to form the character. The latter is a nonentity without the former. Herein consists the sum total of my pedagogics. I confess to have no conception of an education without instruction, just as, conversely, I do not recognize any instruction that does not educate. One has education in one's power only on condition that one is able to bring into the youthful soul a circle of thought,—closely connected in all its parts,—which possesses the power to outweigh what is unfavorable in the environment, and to dissolve within and unite with itself what is favorable in the same.”

Thus Herbart's aim of instruction is in closest relation with the educational aim,—is actually derived from it; instruction is so to form the circle of thought that the right volitions will spring from it. This is accomplished if instruction transposes the pupil into a state in which he is self-active, works and strives forward with delight and love, impelled from within so that he cannot do otherwise. A spur from without is not required; the impulse is within him. Herbart calls this state “interest.” Production of interest—this medium between knowing and willing—is, accordingly, the aim of instruction. Thus in Herbart's plan the concept of interest forms the central point of educative instruction; it is the true life-principle of all general instruction; and Herbart has explained this in all its bearings, as well as the ways and means at the command of the educator to awaken interest in the pupil. From this concept result the following requirements for the choice of material: (1) A lasting interest produced in the developing human being by the pursuit of the evolution of civilization, represented and apprehended in the light of moral discernment. Hence chronological procedure from the older and simpler conditions of human life to the more complex conditions of modern times. Upon this line is found a part of the necessary sequence which Pestalozzi sought. (2) Classical representations which the pupil can grasp are to be placed at the beginning of instruction. Only these are able to invite the pupil to a retrospect; only these give to the interest lasting nourishment and a healthy direction. (3) Large, whole, coherent masses of material are alone able to excite the interest in sufficient depth and hence to have a character-forming effect. (4) From the concept of interest flow, furthermore, valuable directions for the co-ordination of the branches of instruction and for a fruitful treatment of the subject-matters in relation to the pupil.

With the latter point Herbart takes up the Pestalozzian course of procedure, “from the percept to the concept,” resolves it into its various stages and shows the psychological reasons of each of them. In this



the development of the suggestions derived from Pestalozzi is especially recognizable. Thus no one will be able to dispute the fact that Herbart has greatly furthered the labors of Pestalozzi and that he is, in a philosophical sense, the true successor of the latter,—whose true adherents, indeed, are not those who disseminated his errors of practical execution, but those who grasped his ideas in all their fulness and depth and knew how to give them a right and appropriate expression. Certainly a great deal of what was given in the plan of Pestalozzi is not to be found in that of Herbart; but the essence is there and in a clear and comprehensible form—the derivation of the aim of instruction from the educational aim and the derivation of the ways and means of teaching from the aim of instruction. On the other hand, great gaps in the Pestalozzian plan are filled out,—thus, above all, the significance of the history of civilization for the education of the growing generation. Pestalozzi's attention was too much directed to the narrow circle of his environment, upon that which the world of the senses presents to man; thus the historical aspect of evolution, with its rich culture-material, remained shut off from his view. The opinion that Herbart's theory of education has no connection with the great pedagogical movements of the ending eighteenth and beginning nineteenth centuries, is wholly unfounded and shows superficiality of judgment. On the contrary, what is good and justifiable in those movements flows into his pedagogics to be united into one inherently complete whole. This could also be proved in details, in the logical connection and in the construction of the rules of educational measures, as, for instance, in the treatment of the special ways of instruction. Pestalozzi wanted to bring about, by means of instruction, a conceptional view of the world; Herbart, an æsthetical view. Not formal development of power, but formation of character through introduction into the possessions of civilization,—that is the watchword of Herbartian didactics.

Finally, if we turn our eyes to the life and character of these two heroes, at the first glance a greater contrast is hardly conceivable. The life of Pestalozzi is full of outer and inner worriments and trials. He has hardly caught a firm foothold in any position before he is driven onward; his way through life is only too closely paved with unsuccessful experiments and hopes; at times near to despair, he always rises again, till at last he finds an abiding-place in Yverdon. Contrast with this the life of Herbart. In its antique repose and classic equipoise it appears wholly satiated by the beautiful and the good. Exceedingly simple, without exciting crises and heavy buffet-



ings of fortune, in seclusion and stillness, never disturbed by cares for the outer conditions of life,—a life, in short, admirably suited for philosophic reflection. There are no dramatic complications, no rapid changes of events, as in the development of Pestalozzi. This contrast in life is reflected also in external appearance: Herbart, in the equanimity of his nature, inwardly and outwardly an imposing man, measured in his carriage, clear and definite in his manner of expression; Pestalozzi, on the other hand, vivacious, struggling with the lack of ability to express himself clearly, easily given to most varying impressions, therefore often completely erring in his judgment of persons and conditions. But both are full of kindness and the love of mankind; both are embodiments of the ethics which they represented, and thus, in spite of all external differences, inwardly one.

But, with regard to the success of their teachings, Herbart had to experience the tragic of life far more deeply than Pestalozzi. He did not live to see the fruit of his labors. Constantly growing more lonesome with advancing age, he had fought an unpromising battle against the fashionable philosophy of his days; but his contemporaries ignored his pedagogics. Only after his death did his ideas begin to exert a decisive influence, to impregnate the mental life of his people. Some of his adherents taught in the great universities; others were active as school councillors, principals of teachers' training-schools, rectors of gymnasia, etc.; a vast literature is connected with his name; a large society and many branch societies are spread over Germany and other countries; and a large number of periodicals serve to disseminate his ideas. But all this has come about after his death; thus the truth of the poet is illustrated:—

“For what to man life only gives in part  
Posterity shall give in its entirety.”

This is entirely different from Pestalozzi's fate. His popular romance, “Lienhard and Gertrude,” soon carried his name into huts and palaces. It found an enthusiastic admirer in Queen Louise of Prussia, and an eloquent herald in the distinguished philosopher Fichte. The whole pedagogical world turned out to see his school at Yverdon. The school system of the German states was arranged in accordance with his principles; thus, especially, the system of people's schools in Prussia; and a cloud of pedagogic writers set to work in his spirit. These writers were, indeed, only too active, so that, particularly in special methodics, an empty formalism has drawn its web around the healthy thought, and a renewed effort has become



necessary to remove the rubbish and reveal the original and lasting ideas of Pestalozzi:—the high conception of the entire culture of the people; the search for connection among the measures of education; the revelation to the school, in its branches of instruction, of the final and true elements and their corresponding mental activities, in order to shape teaching through the combination and ramification of these elements and make learning a sequence of psychical activities which must follow one another from an inner necessity.

Into this depth of conception Herbart could follow him; and, after Herbart, other men who were influenced by him, as Mager, Dörpfeld, and others. They all agree with Pestalozzi as regards the far-reaching general problem of education,—in the emphatic demand that the impressions of instruction must be together in the pupil's one circle of thought, and fuse in one total effect which is not merely intellectual, but ethical. It is just at this sore point of modern culture,—which a great deal of pedagogic talk and writing never touches,—that Pestalozzi and Herbart apply their instruments; their disciples, however, are active to sharpen them and make them increasingly useful in the service of a healthy culture of the people. Thus has been fulfilled the hope which comforted Pestalozzi at the close of his life, when he looked back upon his manifold incomplete and misdirected undertakings; the hope, namely, that the foundations of his system would, after his death, be investigated with ever-growing thoroughness and recognized in their truth and purity, and that the end of the nineteenth century would see the uninterrupted continuation of his exertions in the hands of men who owe the inspiration and aim of their endeavors to his appearance in the educational field. Always—this is our hope—there will be men who, stimulated by the memorial celebration of 1896, will take up his ideas and make them fruitful for the people; who, in a respectful spirit, will give prominence to the thought that the educational work of our day had its deepest foundation in the two men who, in the present century, are the great authorities in the development of the science of education,—Pestalozzi and Herbart.

In the Thuringian poet-city, Weimar, we see the two poet-heroes, Schiller and Goethe, united in statue. In the nicest manner the artist does justice to the individuality of each and, at the same time, to the idea of the inner kinship of both; in a similar manner there stands before our mental eyes the statue of Pestalozzi and Herbart united in one representation of their true nature.

WILHELM REIN.



## MODERN ARCHÆOLOGY: RECENT EXCAVATIONS IN GREECE.

THE historical importance and the artistic interest which attach to the origin of our civilization, namely, the social and political development of ancient Greek life, are so great and so absorbing that the literary records of that epoch, though unrivalled in perfection and beauty, are meagre in comparison with the subject itself. Hence the acquisition of any tangible and visible relic of classic times is a gain of the highest value to science. The study of such remnants of antiquity as were already available was sufficient to urge scholars to search for more. The charm and the fascination of Greek works of art which escaped the devastations of war, religious fanaticism, or the inroads of barbarism, captivated even the ignorant and the uncultured; and it is to this irresistible pleading of the mute but all-powerful creations of Greek genius that we owe the preservation of those masterpieces which survived through the Dark Ages and were bequeathed by the awakened consciousness of the Renaissance to our later times. But even then they were prized more as objects of beauty, beyond the rivalry of contemporary artists, and as best fitted for the decoration of palaces and pleasure resorts. Their scientific and educational value was understood by few, and that imperfectly. As for archaeology, it was perhaps owing to its first faltering steps, to its unscientific ways and often absurd conclusions, that it was exposed for a long time to the reproach of idle curiosity and pedantic trifling.

Bernard de Montfaucon's "*L'Antiquité Expliquée et Représentée en Figures*" (1719-24), the labor of a true Benedictine, was an initial effort at a systematic review of antiquity. But Johann Joachim Winckelmann, who became a Catholic abbé, as it has been humorously said, that he might explore Rome the more freely, and would have turned Mussulman had he been allowed to excavate Olympia, was the founder of the science of archaeology. His "*History of the Art of the Ancients*" (1764) is a work which fixes a date in the annals of literature; and his "*Monumenti Antichi Inediti*," published a year before his assassination (1768), gave promise of even greater



things. Two generations later another German *savant*, Otfried Müller, was the first to coordinate and tabulate in his "Manual of the Archæology of Art" (1830) the results achieved by the new science up to that time. No doubt much was still unknown and seemed inexplicable. But the sonorous phrases of the past century now gave place to proven facts; abstract theories vanished before absolute demonstration. Archæology was no longer to be derided as a puerile pastime with potsherds, nor as a vain search after the dead bones of an irreclaimable corpse. It was manifest that it laid open before us the every-day life, elucidated the actions, and initiated us into the vivifying inspirations of that epoch of humanity which approached nearest to the ideal perfection. The necessity of research on the spot was as firmly established in its essential relation to archæology as is anatomy in its essential relation to medicine; the pickaxe and the shovel of the digger became as effective instruments in the advancement of the science as the pen and the paper of the scholar.

This new departure, however, demanded not only scholarship and many-sided erudition, but great enterprise and abundance of material means. And to these varied requirements must be attributed the fact that the earlier explorations are due, not to Germans, who possessed in a high degree the former qualification, but to Frenchmen and more especially to Englishmen, who possessed the latter advantages. It must also be borne in mind that the land which offered the widest and most promising field for this work was, during the earlier part of the century, exclusively under Turkish rule,—inaccessible, insecure, bristling with as many obstacles and dangers as it offered temptations to the archæologist. It was only later that many of these disadvantages disappeared, when facilities of communication, the development of engineering appliances, and the superabundance of wealth gave a great impetus to archæological enterprise.

But that which most stimulates the ardor of the excavator, laboring as he generally must amid difficulties and discomforts of all kinds, is the romantic interest of his pursuit,—a feeling so fresh and exhilarating as to throw into the shade the proverbial excitement of the gold-digger. No find of gold can outweigh the rapture of the explorer who brings old worlds into a new life. The sensation must be experienced to be understood: it is the fascination of a passionate love. Only a resurrection of the dead could surpass its transports. The soil which has been for ages the faithful custodian of an inheritance laid by in trust for the pious and worthy worker, yields to his persistent efforts



the treasures it has sheltered; it gradually reveals the secrets it has guarded so long; it is made to speak in a way more persuasive than the most eloquent historian; and, from its inner darkness, it sheds more light upon the past than the sun itself can give. A successful excavator creates new chapters of history. He lends substance to what were deemed but myths, and brings into being personalities not even dreamed of before. He fills up the gaps in whole epochs in art, and elucidates, beyond contention, the meaning of authors which the combined erudition of the learned was not able satisfactorily to explain. The determination of ancient sites fixes events in history. Buildings, statues, and other works of art make clear the evolution of civilization.

But especially inscriptions—those undying and unerring witnesses of truth—speak with a clear and resonant voice, supplying an abundant stream of invaluable information to every branch of history,—in art, in religion, in philology,—and supplementing the unrecorded wealth of an immortal language. Inscriptions are often the surest guides to the reconstruction of dilapidated monuments; the sequence of the writing reveals the dimensions, the form, and the age of the object on which it runs. It is impossible to exaggerate the importance of this one harvest from recent excavations. Within the last few years the earth at the foot of the Acropolis yielded the very stone from which Thucydides copied the words of a treaty he quotes; the inscriptions found at Olympia come, after two thousand years, to bear witness to the fidelity with which Pausanias described what he had seen; and the innumerable records unearthed at Epidauros and Delos bring us into as intimate intercourse with the every-day life of twenty-three centuries ago, as the papers treasured in English country-houses familiarize us with Queen Elizabeth's court or the doings of Cromwell's Roundheads.

The enumeration of these marvellous finds, however, should not mislead the reader into the supposition that, but for the hardships of the task, excavating is a simple matter, open to the first comer. Any one may dig for gold in a virgin field; but the exploration of a site, hallowed by the memories of a great past, is a labor to be entered upon only after much study and preparation, with feelings of reverence and with a sense of its responsibility. Nothing is more fatal to its success than the charlatanism of ignorance and the unscrupulousness of superficiality. Not only must the explorer be forearmed with every scrap of information bearing, even remotely, upon the history and topography of the locality, but he must be endowed with that great virtue in



science,—the habit of scepticism which leads to deeper inquiry. He must furthermore be trained to observe carefully what may at first sight appear immaterial,—as the layers of the soil, the disposition of a ruin, the directions in which fragments are strewn. He must even know how to handle the pickaxe, that he may direct his workmen and imbue them with reverence and care for every bit of stone or pottery unearthed. Much engineering skill and architectural knowledge are also called into play. Indeed the pursuit of excavating may be said to constitute now a special vocation, a distinct branch of scientific research.

The sites in which excavating is carried on may be divided into three categories: (*a*) particular buildings, wholly or partly exposed to view, details or fragments of which are sought in the immediate neighborhood; (*b*) sites whose localities are positively known, but are buried under successive accumulations of earth and rubbish; (*c*) sites of uncertain location, of which no visible trace exists above ground, but which it is sought to fix and bring to light. In each case the indications to be found in ancient authors, the evidence offered by the surrounding country, and the disposition of the ground itself must serve as initial guides. These indications, of course, often play an important part in such researches; one excavator may vainly labor within a stone's throw of the spot he is groping after, while another may immediately alight on a thread which may lead him to unsuspected treasures. The general course pursued, however, in the latter two of the above classes of sites, is to sink trial shafts in quest of some vestige—a building, a fragment, a tomb—which is then followed up just as a miner traces a vein of precious mineral.

The presence of later constructions often serves to indicate an ancient site. In Greece, almost invariably, ancient shrines are marked by Byzantine churches; and very remarkable, as an evidence of the unbroken continuity of the national tradition, is the unerring fidelity with which the characteristics of pagan deities have been transferred to corresponding Christian saints. The transition from paganism to Christianity was not a sharp severance between Hellenism and Byzantism. The Parthenon (the temple of the Maiden) was transformed into a church of the Holy Virgin. The Theseum was consecrated to the memory of St. George—the warrior saint who slew the dragon. Sanctuaries of Zeus are invariably marked by Christian shrines devoted to the Saviour; and temples of Poseidon were given over to St. Nicholas, the patron of mariners. At Eleusis, on the ruins of the temple of Cora—the virgin daughter of Demeter,—a Byzantine church



was found standing, dedicated to the Virgin; and so throughout all Greece and in many parts of Asia Minor.

Often a mere accident has led to the most startling discoveries. The ploughshare of a peasant striking against the apex of the loftiest mountain of the Ceramicus brought to light that unequalled highway of tombs at Athens; and the tilling of the fields around Tanagra was the beginning of the discovery of those marvellously beautiful terra-cotta statuettes, which revealed to us a hitherto unknown branch of ancient art,—and that in a part of Greece the least likely to be credited with artistic aptitude or inclination. On the other hand, a similar accident, giving the opportunity into evil hands, has caused irreparable loss to science by the ruthless destruction of objects whose real value was not understood by those into whose possession they came. Even worse is the trade in illicit excavating, its object being the export and sale of antiquities in contravention of the law. Such excavations are carried on by ignorant treasure-seekers in a way all the more destructive, as it is hurried and surreptitious. Unfortunately they are encouraged, not only by dealers, but by private collectors and even by museums.

No part of the ancient world offers so rich a field for archaeological research as the lands inhabited by the Greek race. Wherever Greek life extended in ancient times, there it has left the most instructive and beautiful traces of its activity. The antiquities of the other races may be quaint, curious, or even conducive to a certain kind of knowledge; but the remains of Greek genius alone serve now—as they did when still fresh from the masters' hands—as models of the highest ideals of art, as the richest sources of inspiration, enlightenment, and culture for the entire human race. It may be said without exaggeration that, especially within the limits of Greece proper, every acre of ground can be stirred into life by the tangible evidence of its former splendor and glory. Every rock speaks of some deed of valor; every hill records some sacred legend; the rippling brooks reecho the love-stories of the gods; and the whole earth of Greece enshrines the remains of heroes. No wonder that this diminutive country—the whole of which, as Macaulay said, one might cover with a pocket-handkerchief—should have attached to itself a larger share of antiquarian research than the rest of the world taken together. Let us then rapidly review what has been accomplished in the way of Greek archaeological exploration since the beginning of this century, so that we may enter the more intelligently upon an examination of the infinitely more important work achieved during the last few years.



The monumental work of J. Stuart and N. Revett on "The Antiquities of Athens" (1762-1816) was continued through the Society of Dilettanti, first by the expedition of Chandler to Greece (1765), and then by a series of superb publications recording successive researches in Greek lands up to the present day; the most memorable of which is perhaps Penrose's epoch-making discovery of the true principles of the architecture of the Parthenon. Two other Englishmen, W. M. Leake in his "Topography of Athens" (1821) and Ed. Dodwell in his "Classical and Topographical Tour through Greece" (1819) and "Views and Descriptions of Cyclopean and Pelasgic Remains" (1834), as well as Gell in several works of a like nature (1810-1819), contributed valuable information to the antiquities of the country. Contemporaneously with the first of these English explorations, the Comte de Choiseul-Gouffier, French ambassador to the Porte, undertook his memorable journey through Greece and Asia Minor, recording his researches in the sumptuous "*Voyage Pittoresque de la Grèce*" (1782-1809). Like his immediate predecessors and contemporaries he carried away a considerable number of valuable antiquities, and through the agency of the French consul at Athens secured in 1787 a few fragments of the sculptures of the Parthenon, now in the Louvre.

The rivalry then existing between England and France and the interest in Greek antiquity aroused in England by the Society of Dilettanti, led Lord Elgin, the British ambassador at Constantinople, to procure a firman (1801) authorizing him to remove "a few blocks of stone with inscriptions and figures." On the strength of this limited authority he proceeded to employ several hundred laborers, under an Italian painter absolutely ignorant of archæology or architecture, in removing from the Parthenon, with irremediable damage to the structure itself, almost all the sculptures of the pediments, the metopes, and the frieze, together with one of the caryatides and a large number of inscriptions and other pieces from the Acropolis. This act was severely stigmatized by Lord Byron and has continued to the present day a theme of controversy. On a report by Canova and Visconti as to the merits of what have come to be known as the "Elgin marbles," they were purchased in 1810 by the British Government.

Similar was the fate of the less celebrated Phigaleian marbles. The temple of Apollo at Bassæ, in the Peloponnesus, was first discovered in 1765, and Chandler visited the site a year later. In 1811, however, two Englishmen, C. R. Cockerell and J. Foster, assisted by the Austrian consul at Athens, and Baron O. M. von Stackelberg, a



German (author of pictorial works on Greece), removed the twenty-three tablets, constituting the frieze of the temple, to Corfu, and sold them by auction to the British Government for \$75,000. In the same year the English and German travelers secured from the island of Ægina the sculptures of the temple of Athena and sold them for the sum of nearly \$20,000 to Ludwig, then Crown Prince of Bavaria. They are now the pride of the Glyptothek at Munich. Lord John Spencer Stanhope had already visited the plain of Olympia and published widely the result of his researches, when, after the battle of Navarino, Charles X of France despatched to the Peloponnesus (1829) a body of troops in aid of the Greeks. This expedition was accompanied by a scientific mission, whose published "Proceedings" (1833-40) form one of the most sumptuous and valuable works on Greece. The archæological section of the mission carried on excavations on the site of the temple of Zeus at Olympia. The exploration of the site continued for about six weeks and remained then incomplete, but a considerable number of sculptures were removed to the Louvre in Paris.

The liberation of Greece, with political emancipation, brought ridance from these cruel spoliations to which she was continually exposed, and which tore from her ruthlessly her loveliest inheritance. It reflects the highest credit upon the government of the kingdom, that, distracted and devastated as was the country after emerging from a savage war of eight years' duration, one of its earliest cares was the enactment of a law for the preservation of antiquities. Though inadequate to present requirements, that measure has done much to preserve and safeguard what still remained to Greece of her glorious heritage. The consciousness of the duty devolving upon the nation by the very sacredness of that heritage found expression in the establishment, as early as 1837, of the Greek Archæological Society. The "Journal" and the "Transactions" of the Society, extending over sixty years, offer an unparalleled record of most varied and fruitful labors in the richest field of archæological research in the world.

The political settlement of the country and the readiness of the Greeks themselves to explore its ancient remains attracted the attention of European scholars to the advantage of seeking in Greece those opportunities which they had in view in frequenting Rome. With a better knowledge of the conditions of archæological study, it had become evident that no effective pursuit of science was possible without some familiarity with the material side of ancient life and with the physical aspect of the localities. The necessity was felt of establishing



permanent centres in the country itself, to which students might be sent, and from which explorations might be organized. And, as the interest offered by ancient Greece to men of culture remained pre-eminent, Rome had to give place to Athens the moment that necessity was admitted. Athens then became the sanctum of archæology.

The French Government was the first to establish, in 1846, a School of Archæology at Athens. It claims now among its *alumni* some of the most eminent French *savants*, and the record of French archæological work in Greece includes the memorable excavations at the foot of the Propylæa by Beulé in 1853. The lead which German scholarship always maintained in regard to Greek archæology,—evidenced by the Athenian excavations, as early as 1834–36, of Ludwig Ross, and by the more recent “Prussian Expedition” in 1862,—rendered the establishment of a German School at Athens dependent only upon political opportunities. These proved favorable on the rise of the empire, and the Archæological Institute, founded in 1874, achieved at once great reputation by the excavations at Olympia. It flourishes now under Dr. Wilhelm Dörpfeld, its distinguished chief. The American School came third in 1882 and the British fourth in 1886; the latter being fortunate enough to have Mr. Penrose as its first director. Of the excellent work done by both I shall make mention hereafter.

The concentrated efforts of these powerful and thoroughly organized bodies, all full of enthusiasm and eager to win distinction, brought about a healthy competition, resulting in brilliant achievements. It is not within the scope of this article to refer to the numerous and important excavations carried on beyond the limits of the kingdom of Greece. Much space would be needed to give even a brief account of the work of Sir Charles Newton at Halicarnassus, Cnidus, and Branchidæ; of Fellows at Xanthus; of Wood at Ephesus; of Lebas and Waddington in Asia Minor; of the German expedition to Pergamos; of the excavations of General di Cesnola in Cyprus; or of Schliemann's on the site of Troy. But in seeking to obtain a connected view of the explorations in Greece proper within the last few years—the most eventful epoch in archæological research—we first meet the last named renowned excavator—a German by birth, an American citizen by adoption, a denizen of Athens by preference, and the father of a Greek family. His romantic career is too well-known to need comment here. Suffice it to say that the whole-hearted devotion, the undaunted perseverance and energy with which he entered upon a pursuit quite new to him, coupled with the surprising luck which at-



tended his every step, achieved triumphs which have secured to his name a foremost place in the annals of archæology. He was certainly the greatest excavator that ever lived.

Unfortunately his proneness to adhere to *a priori* theories, unsupported by adequate authority and untenable by the results of his own researches, often led him into absurd conclusions; and this kind of *amour propre* was such as to induce him to discontinue an excavation rather than to permit it to bring forth evidence exceeding what he deemed necessary for the maintenance of a ready-made theory. He misconceived the bearing even of the greatest of his undertakings—the excavations at Hissarlik—because he persuaded himself that he had discovered the treasure of Priam. The munificence of the German Emperor, however, enabled Prof. Dörpfeld to resume and continue these excavations during the last three years, with the result that the actual Troy of Homer has at last been unearthed. Its walls stand on a higher and more modern level; they are more extensive and of a much finer workmanship than those of the smaller and poorer town found by Schliemann, which is now proved to have been a considerably older foundation, perhaps 2000 B.C. The walls discovered by Dr. Dörpfeld are well preserved and answer, in all essentials, as does also the pottery found there, to the remains of Mycenæ and Tiryns—strongholds which Homer describes as inferior to the sacred city of Ilion. This similarity has a material bearing upon the investigations which we will now enter upon.

This short reference to Schliemann's work beyond Greece was necessary, as we have now to consider, in the first place, his exploration of sites in Greece proper. In the recent great development of archaeological researches in Greece, Schliemann's excavations do not come first in point of time; but they reveal an entire era of Greek civilization hitherto unknown, and they demonstrate, in the clearest manner possible, its earliest growth. Therefore, they are essential to a reliable appreciation of the value of excavations relating to later periods. His enthusiastic admiration of Homer, which had urged him to excavate Troy, would not allow him to rest, as he himself declared, until he had traced the heroes he worshipped to their own Hellenic homes. He sought the footprints of Odysseus in Ithaca (1878) and essayed some search at Orchomenos (1881) and later at Pylos and in Laconia. But the spot in Greece which most attracted him was the city of Agamemnon—Mycenæ of mythic renown—the colossal, grim, and rugged remnants of whose battlements had looked down for ages,



sphinx-like, upon the wayfarer from the plain of Argos to Corinth. Standing on the remote and inaccessible plateau of a rocky eminence, the huge Cyclopean walls of this desolate citadel, which rise in parts to a height of more than thirty feet, have suffered less than many a later building on the lowlands. Two rampant lions of strange Asiatic aspect, sculptured over the great northwestern gateway which leads into the triangular enclosure, lend additional mystery to a spot inseparably associated with the most tragic stories in early Greek tradition. This was the scene of the terrible feud between Atreus and Thyestes; it was within these walls that Agamemnon, on his return from Troy, was murdered by his wife Clytemnestra and her lover Ægisthus; and here Orestes later took vengeance upon his own mother. The poets who made these traditions the theme of some of the greatest of Greek tragedies must have visited the scene of the legends,—so faithful are some of their descriptions of the fortress and its neighborhood. The “Agamemnon” of Æschylus, the “Electra” of Sophocles, the “Orestes” of Euripides, added to the dread which popular fancy gave to the ruins of Mycenæ, left desolate after its destruction by the Argives, 463 B.C.; and travelers are taken over the scene of those successive tragedies, as we know from the testimony of Pausanias, who relates that he also was shown by the *cicerone* of his own time the five graves of Agamemnon and his companions, as well as the place, outside the consecrated ground, where Clytemnestra and Ægisthus were laid to rest.

A statement so circumstantial was enough to fill Schliemann with the determination to substantiate it. It is true that the words of Pausanias were generally understood to point, for the site of the tombs, to the lower town, remains of which are visible below the citadel, and which, encircled also by a Cyclopean wall, contains the famous “Treasury of Atreus.” This is a circular and vaulted chamber lined, until a comparatively recent time, with plates of bronze, such as Homer describes in the case of similar buildings. The richness of this decoration, which was ruthlessly torn down and looted by the Turkish governor of the Morea, gave rise to the popular legend that this and six other adjoining structures were royal treasuries. It has now been positively established, however, that they were used as tombs.

But Dr. Schliemann was determined to disinter Agamemnon; and, after some preliminary trials during February, 1874, he proceeded in August, 1876, to clear the space next to the upper wall and to the right of the entrance through the Lion Gate. Having soon come upon some pieces of archaic pottery, traces of Cyclopean structures, and sepulchral



slabs bearing rude sculptures, he felt encouraged to persevere on this spot. There, shortly afterward, he discovered a circular construction, eighty-two feet in diameter, marked by upright stones which supported horizontal slabs. They evidently formed a semicircle of benches, and these Schliemann identified as the circular agora referred to by Euripides; and as Homer speaks of the elders sitting on stones which formed a sacred enclosure, and Pausanias alludes to an ancient custom of burying kings and chiefs in such places, Dr. Schliemann felt convinced that the desired tombs would soon be found. Luck, indeed, favored him again. Toward the end of October, after coming across an opening, cut into the rock, twenty-one feet by ten feet, which was in fact an empty tomb, he discovered, fifteen feet below the level of the same rock, five tombs within the space of the agora and a sixth just outside it, containing, on a layer of pebbles, the remains of seventeen persons in all, of whom three were women and three were children. One body, which must have undergone some sort of embalming, was found almost perfect. The theory which Dr. Schliemann evolved from the position in which the bodies were found, in order to make it tally with his assertion that the bodies were those of Agamemnon and the other victims of the tragedy, need not here be insisted upon. He was very determined to make the discovery fit in with the passage in Pausanias, which is at best of doubtful interpretation, and, having announced in a famous telegram to the King of Greece that he had unearthed his illustrious predecessor, he suddenly put a stop to the excavations. No more tombs were required. Unfortunately for this romantic theory, the Greek Archæological Society shortly after continued and completed those excavations, bringing to light many more tombs.

Be that as it may, Schliemann's discovery was in itself so marvelous, so important in its bearing on archæology, that it needed no legendary attributes to enhance its merit. The vast number of valuable objects that Schliemann triumphantly brought to Athens—jewelry, armor, apparel, vases, and the like,—and which, according to very ancient custom, had been buried with the illustrious dead and were at the time of this discovery unique of their kind, announced the existence of a civilization and an art hitherto unknown. The wealth and splendor of these tombs spoke both of the high rank of those whom they enshrined and of the advanced state of culture in which they must have lived. The "Mycenæan treasure," as it may now be seen exhibited in the Central Museum at Athens, shows those heroic skeletons arrayed in diadems of gold, gold belts, and baldrics, with leaflets of



gold spread over their robes, their richly inlaid armor lying beside them. In one case a pure gold mask, reproducing the features of the dead, was laid over the face; and the stone mould on which similar masks were pressed out was found during later excavations on the same spot. The women lay decked in jewelry of the finest workmanship, with diadems, necklaces, finger- and ear-rings, bracelets and brooches; and in each tomb, gold and silver vessels, which had held provisions for the next world, were placed within reach of the dead. The actual money value of the gold found reached \$20,000, a sum which must have been equal to untold wealth at that very remote time; while the artistic and scientific worth of the find is simply incalculable.

To what date, then, could those marvellous objects be referred? Prior to their discovery Greek history was not traceable farther back than the beginning of the seventh century B.C. We have now tangible evidence of an advanced state of civilization at least five centuries earlier, and of the existence of a powerful kingdom in the Peloponnesus long before the Doric invasion. Not only this, but the opinion long entertained is now confirmed that "the Homeric poems represent not the beginning but the decay of an old civilization, not the first springing into life of a youthful culture, but the experience, and even the sadness, of men who were heirs to bye-gone greatness and felt degenerate in comparison with their ancestors."

At first, the complete absence of any similarity to the art of later classic times induced many to ascribe the Mycenæan finds not to that pre-Homeric period, but to very recent decadent and barbarous times. Their heavy design and intricate ornamentation, their *naïve* conception and clumsy execution, reminded the casual observer of Byzantine or Celtic workmanship. Others associated them with the Gauls, who overran Greece during the third century of our era, or with the Middle Ages—much in the way that the heraldic appearance of the lions over the great gateway of Mycenæ misled the French officers of the expedition to the Morea into the supposition that they were remnants of the French occupation of the Morea during the thirteenth century. The fact, however, has now been established that the Mycenæan art is the immediate outcome of the Phenician intercourse with Greece. And in this instance again we recognize the fidelity with which Greek legends reflect historic facts, when they refer to Perseus as having built the walls of Mycenæ with the help of the Cyclopes from Lycia, and trace the descent of the Pelopidæ from Tantalos, King of Phrygia.

These conclusions have now been firmly established, thanks to the



exhaustive excavations continued at Mycenæ by the Greek Archæological Society. Within the citadel the foundations of a palace have been unearthed, of the same period as the tombs and answering to the Homeric description of a kingly abode; also the ruins of a later Doric temple. In the lower town nearly a hundred tombs, similar to those in the agora and almost as rich in objects—in gold, silver, bronze, and ivory—have been found. But the most conclusive confirmation has been obtained in excavations carried on within the last few years in the Greek islands, by way of which Phenician trade extended to Greece—in Rhodes (necropolis of Ialysus), in Cyprus (necropolis of Arsinöe), in Crete (necropolis of Cnossus), in Santorin (amid remains earlier than the volcanic eruption which transformed the aspect of the island), and in Amorgos. Also on the Greek mainland, in Thessaly, in Laconia, in Bœotia, in Attica, and in the Acropolis itself; and finally in Prof. Dörpfeld's excavations at Hissarlik, to which reference has already been made. The remains of the Homeric Troy are deemed the oldest of what is now known as the "Mycenæan civilization"; those of Santorin are ascribed to the sixteenth century; those of Ialysus to the fourteenth; and those of Mycenæ itself to the twelfth or thirteenth century.

Contemporaneous with these latter are the majestic walls which crown Tiryns, a rock rising from thirty to sixty feet out of the southern extremity of the plain of Argos and overlooking the Ægean Sea. Its flat and sloping surface, nine hundred and eighty feet long and three hundred and thirty feet broad, forms an upper and lower citadel surrounded by fortifications of which Pausanias speaks as no less wonderful than the pyramids of Egypt and which won for Tiryns the Homeric epithet of "wall-girt," or rather "rich, powerful in walls." They are the most magnificent example of Cyclopean architecture extant, and are built up of enormous, rough-hewn blocks of limestone, measuring from five to ten feet in length and three in breadth and thickness, the smaller weighing from three to four tons, while an immense slab, forming the floor of a chamber, weighs some twenty tons. The walls, which in parts rise to a height of sixty-five feet, are more or less uniformly twenty-six feet thick, except in the upper citadel, where they attain to fifty and even fifty-seven feet thickness and contain a vast number of niches, passages, and chambers. Staircases sunk in these walls connect upper and lower galleries, and towers of enormous strength rise at the angles of the enclosure, which is entered by a gate similar to the Gate of Lions at Mycenæ. The details of this unique



specimen of military architecture have been brought to light by the excavations of which we shall now speak, but the position and grandeur of its remains had not failed to attract the attention of early travelers.

Tiryns was fabled as the birthplace of Hercules. In common with its suzerain at Mycenæ, it was deprived of its ancient power by the Doric invasion, and, after it finally succumbed to the jealousy of Argos, remained desolate. The evidence of the blocks strewn about shows that the place is practically in the state in which it was left immediately after its destruction 463 B.C. The huge mass of ruins which encumbered the upper citadel had not been disturbed by any systematic search; the *débris* of a church and other Byzantine structures did not invite much notice. It was left for Dr. Schliemann to repeat here, in a much more complete and perfect manner, the triumphs which his enthusiasm seemed always to insure. While exploring Mycenæ, he had sunk here also some shafts; but he undertook the excavation of the citadel of Tiryns resolutely in 1884–1885, and he took the precaution this time to associate with him in his labors a distinguished architect and archæologist, Dr. Dörpfeld, the present director of the German School at Athens, who conducted the work on strictly scientific lines. It was not long before Schliemann was enabled to announce, in a sensational telegram, the discovery of a vast palace with innumerable columns, wall-paintings and vase-paintings of plants and animals—"a discovery which has no parallel." Partly on account of the previous hasty conclusions of the discoverer, and partly owing to the prominence of Byzantine remains and the insufficiency of the then extant data regarding the newly discovered epoch of civilization, Schliemann's assertions were doubted and even ridiculed. The discovery was set down as nothing more wonderful than those of late Byzantine structure. A hot controversy ensued and Dr. Schliemann, accompanied by Prof. Dörpfeld, met the critics face to face at a memorable meeting held in London under the auspices of the Hellenic Society. The proof they were enabled to lay before the learned audience was so incontrovertible as to establish beyond doubt the discovery of another and more important link in the continuity of Greek culture and to confirm the historic value of the Homeric poems.

The palace Schliemann had announced was no deception. It was a complete and perfect example of such an edifice as Homer describes as the residence of great kings—Priam, Menelaus, Alcinous,—with its *megaron* (men's apartments), *gynaicon* (women's apartments), *aule*



(courts), bath-room, vestibules, porticos, etc.; and its dimensions and character fixed its age with unerring precision, proving it to have been even grander and older than anything mentioned by Homer. Its decorative remains were no less remarkable. Some rooms were paved in concrete, ornamented with red and blue designs; portions of the alabaster frieze of the *megaron* were inlaid with a blue glass-paste forming ornaments such as those of Mycenæ and Orchomenos; and fragments of plaster were found with vividly colored spirals, meanders, and rosettes. These attempts at fresco-painting are, no doubt, rude and only five colors appear in them; but they are marked by extraordinary vigor of execution and freshness of treatment, especially the remarkable fragment representing a man in a kneeling posture on the back of a furious bull and holding on by the horns. The pottery unearthed at Tiryns is also similar to that of Mycenæ, and the same Phenician influence, both in ornament and architecture, is manifest. The system of fortifications is the same as that met with at Hadrumetum, Utica, Thapsus, Carthage, and other Phenician centres. And the blue glass-paste referred to above is none other than the *kyanos* of which Homer speaks as used in decorating the frieze of the palace of Alcinous. It is known to have been of Phenician manufacture.

Of the origin and date of this civilization there is, therefore, no longer any doubt. The excavations of the citadel and of the palace of Tiryns have furnished us with the evidence of its last efforts and of the beginning of its decadence. With the downfall of the power of Mycenæ and Tiryns a retrograde epoch set in under the rude and hardy Dorian conquerors from the north, until a revival supervened, the character and exact bearing of which were, until lately, shrouded in deep mystery. The exuberance of beauty, the almost superhuman grandeur, of the classic art of Greece seemed a marvel comparable only to the mythical birth of Athena, armed and fully developed; but the pickaxe of the excavator has now solved the riddle, and the marvellous discoveries of the last few years have supplied the missing link in this romantic search after the unknown. The results obtained will form the subject of a second and concluding article.

J. GENNADIUS.



## IS THE POWER OF CHRISTIANITY WANING?—NO.

MR. CHARLES A. DANA recently said that "religion is the strongest, the most enduring, the most vivacious of all the powers in our world," and that there is "far more religious activity" in our times than in any previous age since Christianity was established. Mr. Dana speaks, of course, as a trained observer of the world's doings,—independent, impartial, and candid,—and not as an advocate of any particular form of Christianity. This deliberate statement, therefore, carries much weight. Certainly, in an impartial study of the events of the world, religion appears to have an important, if not the predominating, influence in the shaping of them; and, among the leading faiths of mankind, Christianity is unquestionably foremost. It has lost none of the missionary spirit which made it so aggressive in the first two or three centuries of the Christian era. The zeal of the myriads of modern Christian apostles has carried it, in the nineteenth century, into well-nigh every inhabitable corner of the globe: its doctrines are heard in every language, nation after nation opening its doors to its missionaries. Mission stations and missionaries have accompanied—in some cases, preceded—the explorer and trader to regions almost entirely unknown a quarter of a century ago. Savages of the South Seas have been Christianized, and cannibal tribes of but yesterday are Christian preachers and teachers of to-day. It is also true that the governing forces of the world are the Christian Powers, which practically divide the earth between them, either in the form of colonies, "spheres of influence," or suzerainties.

The dominance of Christianity is, moreover, much more than a political or missionary dominance. Notwithstanding the unfavorable presentation of certain forms of Christianity in Christian countries like England and the United States, which are interpreted by its foes, and a few of its pessimistic friends, as indicating a waning of its power, religious activity is in no wise diminished. More churches are being built, more ministers trained, more congregations gathered, more members added, more money raised for current needs and for a multiplicity of Christian benevolences than ever before. But whether



the doctrines of Christianity are held as sincerely, as firmly, as widely as they used to be; whether faith in the Bible as the word of God, divinely given, divinely sufficient, and divinely authoritative is still undiminished; whether belief in the supernatural elements of Christianity is wholly genuine; whether what is called the spiritual life of the Church is as vigorous as it was half a century ago—these are questions that can be authoritatively answered only after a most diligent observation and investigation of well-ascertained facts. Some of these facts are furnished by statistics which are indubitable evidence of the state of religious activity, whether they are conclusive as to the reason or motive for such activity or not.

The last Government census included, as is generally known, a comprehensive and thorough inquiry as to the number of religious organizations or churches, their seating capacity, value of church buildings, and the number of ministers and communicants or members enrolled in religious work. It was discovered that, excluding the religion or religions of the pagan Indians, the number of denominations was one hundred and forty-three, of which all but six were Christian. Since then one denomination, which was somehow overlooked by the government authorities, has been brought to light, and two more have come into existence by the process of division. One small communistic society of only 21 members has, however, dissolved, so that the net increase is really only one, the total now standing at one hundred and forty-five. Of these denominations, the majority are small and insignificant, multiplying the divisions far more than the results. The great mass of Christians in the United States are found in twenty-seven bodies. This list includes all having 100,000 or more members. It will be seen from this that Christianity presents a more divided front in appearance than in reality.

If, in the five years since the census was taken, there has been a net increase of one denomination, showing that divisional influence has not entirely exhausted itself, it is a fact, nevertheless, that the movement toward consolidation has made not a little progress. The line of demarcation between Christian churches in the South is each year becoming less widely divergent; the northern and southern Baptists are approaching each other closely, and negotiations which promise to be successful are in progress for union between several other denominations. The disaffection and sectional differences which arose out of slavery and were so potent a cause of division before the close of the civil war are diminishing in force every year and will soon dis-



appear. Doctrinal barriers have been so weakened and overcome that in many cases their force is historical rather than actual. Differences of polity are still effective causes of continued separation; while language and racial peculiarities are responsible for many schisms. The fact that various branches of the same denominational group are drawn together at intervals in family council,—as in the Pan-Presbyterian Council, and the Ecumenical Methodist Conference,—is one of significance. When the twelve branches of Presbyterianism meet with the three branches of the Reformed faith, they find many points on which they are at one; when the seventeen branches of Methodism are gathered by representatives into one great meeting, they emphasize the questions on which they agree. The twelve bodies of Mennonites are earnestly trying to find a basis on which they can reduce their divisions by half or more; and the divisions of Lutheran bodies, many differing only on minor points, are planning for a more or less general system of coöperation in mission work, and for closer relations looking to ultimate union. This is an age of consolidation and centralization, and this tendency is manifest among religious denominations, whose work involves enormous expenditures of money, and teaches the necessity of economy. Experiments in rivalry show that it is extremely wasteful, and there is less and less of it.

According to the census of 1890, there were, in all, 20,618,307 communicants or members in the United States, and, from the statistics for 1895, that aggregate has, in five years, been increased to 24,646,584, a gain of 4,028,277. In the same period there has been a gain of 23,075 churches and 21,646 ministers. These gains are not wholly net gains, because the Waldenstromians, included in the returns of 1895, were not included in the census. Nothing was reported in the ministerial column for the Salvation Army in 1890. With these omissions taken into account, the net gains for the five years would be 17,609 ministers, 22,935 churches, and 4,008,277 communicants. The table on the next page will be most convenient for those who want to study the figures.

The increase for the five years, as can be seen, is a large one. It must be remembered that it is a net increase. Death is constantly at work among ministers and members, and the losses by discipline, withdrawal, and other causes are considerable. According to the returns given by the Methodist Episcopal Church there is 1 death annually in every 80 members of that large body. In the Congregational denomination there is 1 in every 74, and in the United Presbyterian



1 in every 70. On the average it is probably 1 in 75, at least, for all denominations, so that in an aggregate of 22,500,000, say, there would

	MINISTERS		CHURCHES		COMMUNICANTS	
	1890	1895	1890	1895	1890	1895
Adventists, all branches.....	1,364	1,362	1,757	1,993	60,491	73,312
Baptists, all branches <sup>1</sup> .....	25,646	33,291	43,029	46,871	3,717,969	4,068,539
Brethren, River, all branches.	155	155	111	111	3,427	3,427
Brethren, Plymouth, all branches.....			314	314	6,661	6,661
Catholics, all branches.....	9,196	10,382	10,276	14,931	6,257,871	8,014,911
Christians, all branches.....	1,435	1,485	1,424	1,480	103,722	110,250
Communitistic Societies, all branches.....			32	31	4,049	3,950
Congregationalists.....	5,058	5,400	4,868	5,500	512,771	600,000
Disciples of Christ.....	3,773	5,260	7,246	9,471	641,051	923,663
Dunkards.....	2,088	2,115	989	1,016	73,795	81,394
Evangelical bodies (two).....	1,235	1,234	2,310	2,817	133,313	145,904
Friends, all branches.....	1,277	1,314	1,056	1,087	107,208	114,711
German Ev. Synod.....	680	838	870	1,075	187,432	185,203
Jews, all branches.....	200	290	533	548	130,496	139,500
Latter Day Saints, all branches	2,043	2,075	856	1,011	166,125	234,000
Lutherans, all branches.....	4,591	5,685	8,595	9,493	1,231,072	1,390,775
Mennonites, all branches....	905	950	550	600	41,541	47,669
Methodists, all branches.....	30,000	34,141	46,138	52,550	4,589,284	5,452,654
Presbyterians, all branches..	10,448	11,097	13,476	14,530	1,278,332	1,458,999
Protestant Episcopal, all branches.....	4,224	4,580	5,102	5,979	540,509	626,290
Reformed, all branches.....	1,506	1,662	2,181	2,355	309,458	343,981
Salvation Army.....		2,037	329	682	8,742	33,500
Unitarians.....	515	519	421	455	67,749	68,500
United Brethren, all branches	2,798	2,746	4,526	5,026	225,281	262,950
Universalists.....	708	800	956	802	49,194	47,986
Various bodies <sup>2</sup> .....	1,191	1,264	2,001	2,293	170,764	207,855
	111,036	130,682	159,946	183,021	20,618,307	24,646,584

be an annual loss by death alone of 300,000. There is not sufficient data on which to calculate the losses by discipline. In some churches they are very small; in others an item of no little importance. The net loss from this source to the Regular Baptist bodies, having an aggregate of about 3,800,000 members, is in the neighborhood of 40,000 a year. In the Congregational body it is about 10,000. Now before any net increase can appear the losses by death and other causes must be made good. The denominations must, therefore, in

<sup>1</sup> Returns of the Regular Baptists are estimated for 1895, on the basis of the gains in 1894.

<sup>2</sup> Including Moravians, Swedenborgians, Chinese temples, Spiritualists, Theosophists, Christadelphians, and others.



order to prevent an actual decrease, add 300,000 new members annually to make good the mortality loss. The number of new members actually received by all religious bodies since 1890 is, therefore, an aggregate of, possibly, 5,900,000, indicating an annual addition of 1,180,000. The same series of facts applies to the increase of ministers. Hence it is apparent that the religious activity of the denominations must be very vigorously maintained to produce such striking results.

Comparing the ratio of increase of communicants with that of the population of the country, we find that the advantage is with the churches. The percentage of increase in population for the decade ending in 1890 was 24.86. Supposing it to be half of this for the past five years, we have a population of 70,400,000, which is manifestly an exaggeration. It is hardly possible that, with the decreased immigration of the first three or four years of the present decade, the percentage of increase of the previous decade has been maintained; but, conceding that it has, and that the rate is 12.43, we find this is far below that of the churches. Their growth since 1890 has been at the rate of between 19 and 20 per cent. This corresponds to the rate of increase which the leading denominations reported for the decade ending in 1890. The rate for that period was 42 per cent, against the 24.86 per cent representing the net increase of the population. It is clear from this that the churches are gaining on the population rapidly and steadily.

It is a well-known fact that women outnumber men in the membership of the churches. At least this is true of all denominations excepting the Society of Friends. Among the Friends the sexes are pretty evenly balanced. Few of the denominations give statistics of membership by sex, but, according to the returns of those which do, the proportion is about two female members to every male member. If this proportion holds good in Roman Catholic, as well as in most Protestant, churches, more than sixteen and a half millions of the total membership of the churches are women. From this it follows that the mass of the unchurched are men. Women constitute a very large and active force in most of the churches, outnumbering the men in attendance at public worship and particularly at the prayer-meeting; faithful in various kinds of church work, creating enthusiasm and raising money for missions, and conducting the business of their own societies with such zeal and success that some of the men have become ashamed of the less satisfactory record which the sterner sex is making, and have expressed their feeling in a paraphrase of a well-known hymn:—



“Shall women bear the cross alone  
And all the men go free?”

The New Woman, of whom so much is said, will appear in the church, as well as in other fields of usefulness, more prominently in the future. In several denominations, notably the Congregational, the Unitarian, the Universalist, the Free Baptist, the United Brethren, the Christian Connection, she receives ordination to the ministry and serves as preacher and pastor. In the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church she is eligible to any office or position in the church, and may aspire even to the Episcopate, and among the Friends there are no discriminations against her sex. A discussion has been going on in the Methodist Episcopal Church for several years concerning her admission to the general conference of that body as lay delegate. A majority are willing to admit her; but a three fourths vote of the ministers is necessary to make the constitutional change involved, and there is some doubt whether women will be allowed to sit in the general conference which meets this month. There is no doubt whatever that the change will be made sooner or later. Admission to ministerial orders is not likely, however, to be conceded to the weaker sex in this large and conservative church for many years. In foreign missions women are taking a much larger part than formerly.

It will be noticed that among the denominational families, or groups, (by which is meant those branches of the same name which are given in the table under one title, for example,—the Adventists, who constitute six divisions; the Baptists, thirteen; the Catholics, seven,) the Catholic leads in point of numbers. The growth of that denomination has been enormous. This has been due chiefly to immigration which has been largest from countries where Catholics are numerous or predominant. The eight millions ascribed to that group are all Roman Catholic except a few thousand Greek, Armenian, Old and Reformed Catholics. The last-named are really Protestant. The increase of Catholic communicants in five years has been about 1,757,000, which is twice as large as that reported for any other group, although less in percentage than that of the Disciples of Christ. It should be stated that statistics of Catholic communicants are not usually reported. The official denominational returns are for population, that is, for all baptized persons, or communicants *and* adherents. These returns are not made by actual count, as in the case of most other denominations, but as estimates, based upon the number of baptisms and deaths. As the vital statistics are by no means perfect, the estimates



for some of the dioceses are simply more or less shrewd guesses. It is reckoned that 85 per cent of the Catholic population are communicants, the remaining 15 per cent being held to represent children not yet admitted to their first communion, and those debarred from communion. The census returns for Catholic communicants were obtained by a different method, and are believed to be substantially correct. The increase in the number of priests since 1890 has been quite moderate—1,186—or a little more than 12 per cent, the increase in communicants being 28 per cent. The increase in churches and mission stations was 4,655, or more than 45 per cent. No other church has so small a proportion of priests and churches to its number of communicants. The Methodist group, with 5,452,654 communicants, or little more than two thirds as many as the Catholic group, has nearly three times as many churches, and more than three times as many ministers. The difference is in large part due to the fact that many more services are held in Catholic than in Protestant churches.

The Methodist group stands at the head of the Protestant division in number of ministers, churches, and communicants. Next to it is the Baptist, which has fewer communicants by some fourteen hundred thousand, but nearly as many ministers. The net increase of Methodist communicants since 1890 is 863,370, or somewhat under 19 per cent. The Baptist increase figures only 9 per cent, which is much below the actual rate. This is explained by the imperfect denominational reports. The census agent found hundreds of associations of which the regular denominational statistician gave no returns. Complete returns for 1895 would show a much larger percentage of gain.

Perhaps the gains can be studied with greater advantage if put in tabular form in the order of numerical importance :—

1. Catholic.....	1,757,040	5. Presbyterian.....	180,667
2. Methodist.....	863,370	6. Lutheran.....	159,703
3. Baptist.....	350,570	7. Congregational.....	87,229
4. Disciples of Christ.....	282,612	8. Protestant Episcopal.....	85,781

These six denominational groups and two single denominations absorb, it will be noticed, all the gains for the five years, except about 248,305, which is distributed among the other smaller groups, including Menonites, Friends, Reformed (Dutch and German), Mormons, Jews, etc. The foregoing table, therefore, affords a pretty accurate indication as to the churches which are having the most vigorous growth. All of these, except the Catholic, belong to the division known in Protestantism as Evangelical. The Catholic and Evangelical divisions of Christianity



are clearly the dominant Christian forces of the United States, and they are outrunning the nation itself in rate of increase.

The following table is interesting, showing how the denominations stand singly in numerical order :—

1. Roman Catholic.....	7,999,172	8. Presbyterian, North.....	902,757
2. Methodist Episcopal.....	2,629,985	9. Protestant Episcopal.....	616,843
3. Regular Baptist, South ....	1,448,570	10. Congregational .....	600,000
4. Methodist Episcopal, South.	1,379,928	11. African Methodist Episco-	
5. Regular Baptist, Colored....	1,343,530	pal .....	594,476
6. Regular Baptist, North.....	985,752	12. Lutheran Synodical Con-	
7. Disciples of Christ.....	923,663	ference.....	479,221

This dozen is the same dozen that constituted the leading denominations in 1890, but they do not occupy quite the same positions. The Methodist Episcopal Church, South, has advanced from fifth to fourth place, the Southern Baptists from fourth to third, and the Disciples of Christ from eighth to seventh. The Colored Baptists drop back two places and the northern Presbyterians one place.

The most remarkable instance of growth in the five years is that of the Disciples of Christ. This denomination, which is particularly strong in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Kentucky, Tennessee, Missouri, and Texas, was so little known to the rest of the country when Mr. Garfield became President that it was for years thereafter spoken of as the denomination to which President Garfield belonged. It is in spirit, doctrine, and practice not unlike the regular Baptists, from which denomination the Campbells and many others withdrew when the Disciples of Christ came into existence in the early part of the present century. It was organized as a movement "to restore the lost unity of believers and so of the Church of Christ by a return in doctrine, ordinance, and life to the religion definitely outlined" in the New Testament. It has no human creed, taking the Bible as its rule of faith and practice. Like the Baptists, the Disciples hold to immersion as the proper mode of baptism, and to the baptism of believers only. Unlike the Baptists, they baptize for the remission of sins, and celebrate the Lord's Supper every Sunday. It is not easy to arrive definitely at the secret of its growth, although the fact of the growth is clear enough. In 1880 it reported 350,000 members; in fifteen years, therefore, it has considerably more than doubled itself. The increase is at the rate of nearly 164 per cent. Their own idea of the secret of their success is because their plea is for Christian unity, their basis a Scriptural, union basis, their zeal in evangelization, and their plain, direct preaching.



The church affects human life and human affairs in many ways. It is not simply a religious, moral, and educational force, or a well-organized and effective system for the reformation of the vicious and refractory elements of society, or a ready instrument for the solution of certain sociological problems; but it has important business and financial aspects. The net increase of 23,000 church societies means a corresponding increase in church edifices. Before church buildings are erected lots must be purchased and paid for. Only the best lots on the streets will do for church sites. The church must therefore pay a good price and hence becomes an important factor in the real estate market. The building itself requires many different materials, thus giving occasion for the working of mines and stone-quarries; for the preparation of various kinds of wood, both foreign and domestic; for the manufacture of tapestry, carpets, furniture, furnaces, etc.; for the employment of architects, masons, carpenters, painters, artists, organ-builders, and others. They need in current operation a great variety of supplies besides fuel and light. They furnish employment and income to sexton, organist, and singers as well as to pastor. Both as a purchaser of materials and supplies, and as an employer, the church has important relations to business. It is manifest, therefore, that the financial affairs of the church must be on a large scale, when all its interests are considered. Its expenditures foot up to an aggregate which is truly enormous. It takes \$10,355,000 annually to pay the bills of the Protestant Episcopal Church; \$23,863,000 to pay those of the Methodist Episcopal Church; nearly \$14,000,000 for the expenses and contributions of the Presbyterian Church (northern); \$11,673,000 for those of the Regular Baptists, and \$10,355,000 for those of the Congregational denomination, making an aggregate of \$88,000,000 every year contributed by 10,768,000 members,—an average of \$8.16 per member. The grand total for all denominations could hardly be less than \$150,000,000, and it might be many millions larger. Most of this is made up of voluntary contributions. No tax is imposed, unless the amount of rental received for pews is so considered; nor is any very large part of the total amount received as income from vested funds. There are few endowments, although bequests are many and considerable. The value of church buildings, lots, and furniture, in 1890, was about \$680,000,000. It is quite probable that it is now fully \$800,000,000.

H. K. CARROLL.









Thriftly Phyllis goes to town,  
To buy her gallant riding;  
Phyllis makes her a gown,  
That's why she goes down,  
She would have buying  
Her soup, to cleanse it sweetly,  
That's how she'll deck it neatly,  
And she'll wear it home.



# The Forum

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JUNE, 1896.

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## ELECTION OF SENATORS BY POPULAR VOTE.

THE framers of the Constitution, foreseeing the probable necessity for amendments of that instrument in the future, did not leave the question, either as to the *right* or to the *mode* of amending it, an open one; they wisely provided that, with but a single exception, the power to amend should be unlimited, and they also prescribed the manner of amendment. The one great principle in the national structure deemed vital to the existence and perpetuity of the Government by the men composing the Constitutional Convention, and the one, therefore, which with remarkable prescience they determined should never be eliminated by amendment, without the consent of the State interested, involved the equality of State representation in the United States Senate. Article V of the Constitution, in providing for amendments, declares that "no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate." In all other respects, however, it was deemed wise by the framers of that instrument to leave it subject to amendment.

When the Convention, which was called together to revise the then federal system of government and which finally framed the Constitution of the United States, met at Philadelphia, May 14, 1787, one of the first questions that engaged the attention of that distinguished body—after having determined that the legislative power of the new Government should be vested in a Congress to consist of two separate Houses, and after having further determined the *ratio* of representation in each House—was the *mode* or *manner* in which the members of those two



Houses respectively should be chosen. From the first there seemed to be a strong feeling, approaching almost to a consensus of opinion, among the members that those of the House—or House of Delegates, as it was designated in the original plan—should be chosen by the people, although on the final vote, two States (New Jersey and South Carolina) voted No. Connecticut and Delaware were divided: Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, North Carolina, and Georgia voted in the affirmative. Roger Sherman of Connecticut, Elbridge Gerry of Massachusetts, and Pierce Butler of South Carolina contended vigorously against the election of members of the House by the people, insisting ably and with marked persistency that they should be chosen by the legislatures of the several States, substantially in the same manner as United States Senators are now chosen. Roger Sherman in the course of the debate contended that “the people immediately should have as little to do as may be about the government.” The announcement of such a doctrine might have been permissible in those early days; it would scarcely meet with the approval of a very great number of the people of this country at the present time. Opposed to this view, however, James Madison of Virginia, James Wilson of Pennsylvania, and others were heard in vigorous dissent. Mr. Madison declared that “the great fabric to be raised would be more stable and durable if it should rest on the solid foundation of the people themselves, than if it should stand merely on the pillars of the legislature”; while James Wilson of Pennsylvania, in his advocacy of elections by the people, said: “I am in favor of raising the federal pyramid to a considerable altitude and for that reason I wish to give it as broad a base as possible. No government can long subsist without the confidence of the people.”

The *mode*, however, in which the several States should choose their Senators was a subject that led to a diversity of opinion. These divergent opinions took a wide scope, ranging all the way from the aristocratic or monarchical scheme that the Senate should be chosen by the Executive out of a certain number of persons to be nominated by the individual legislatures, as strongly advocated by Gouverneur Morris of New York, Mr. Read of Delaware, and others, to the more democratic idea, as strenuously and persistently advocated by Mr. Wilson of Pennsylvania and others, to the effect that the Senate, like the House, should be chosen by the people.

Four distinct plans of choosing Senators, each of which plans had earnest and able advocates, were proposed in the Constitutional



Convention. The first was that they be chosen by the President of the United States; (2) by the House of Delegates, or, as it is now called, the House of Representatives; (3) by the legislatures of the several States; and (4) by direct vote of the people.

In the plan proposed by Mr. Edmund Randolph of Virginia and embodied in the series of resolutions, fifteen in number, submitted by him early in the proceedings of the Convention, he suggested that, while the members of the *first* branch, as the proposed House of Delegates or House of Representatives was then designated, should be chosen by the people of the several States, the members of the *second* branch, as the proposed Senate was then called, should be chosen, not by the people, not by the legislatures of the States, not by the Executive, but by the members of the *first*,—that is, the House of Delegates or House of Representatives,—out of, to use his own language, “a proper number of persons to be nominated by the individual legislatures of the several States.”

In the original plan of the Constitution submitted by Mr. Charles Pinckney of South Carolina, in which it was provided that the legislative power of the new Government should be vested in a Congress to consist of two Houses, one to be called “The House of Delegates,” the other “The Senate,” the mode of choosing members of the two Houses respectively suggested by Mr. Randolph in his series of resolutions was, with a single exception, adopted. In this plan the members of the House of Delegates were to be chosen every year by the people, and the Senators were to be elected or chosen by the House of Delegates, without any nomination or suggestion from either the legislatures or the people of the States respectively. The omission, in this plan, to permit either the legislatures or the people of the States to have any voice whatever in the matter, marked the only difference between the plan proposed by Mr. Randolph and that submitted by Mr. Pinckney.

Alexander Hamilton, in the paper said to have been communicated by him to James Madison about the close of the Convention in Philadelphia in 1787, and in which, it is claimed by contemporaneous authority, he declared was delineated the constitution which he would have wished proposed by the Convention—and in which also were enunciated the principles which he is said to have declared during the deliberations of the Convention,—suggested the electoral system as a mode of choosing United States Senators, a system somewhat similar to that which was finally adopted for the election of President and



Vice-President. In section 1 of article III of his ideal constitution it was provided as follows:—

“The Senate shall consist of persons to be chosen, except in the first instance, by electors elected for that purpose by the citizens and inhabitants of the several States comprehended in the Union, who shall have in their own right or the right of their wives an estate in land for not less than life or a term of years, whereof at the time of giving their votes there shall be at least fourteen years unexpired.”

Mr. Hamilton would also have provided in addition that Senators should hold their office during good behavior, removable only by conviction on impeachment for some high crime or misdemeanor. His plan also involved their right to vote by proxy in the Senate, but no Senator who was present should be proxy for more than two who were absent.

From the foregoing it will be seen that the plan of choosing Senators by the legislatures of the several States, as finally agreed upon by the men who framed the Constitution, was a compromise between widely divergent and conflicting views on that important subject among the members of the memorable Convention—one view being, as it was very properly characterized by Mr. Gerry of Massachusetts, “a stride toward monarchy,”—that is, the choosing of United States Senators by the President of the United States; the other, that of pure democracy, or the right of the people to control, and hence the choosing of United States Senators by a direct vote of the people. An impassable gulf separated the framers of our Fundamental Law in their opinions on this important question, and on the cognate question as to what *ratio* of representation the States respectively should have in the Senate of the United States. To such an extent did the contention proceed that for a time the dissolution of the Convention was threatened and the defeat of the great purposes in view became imminent. But through the wise counsels of Franklin, Edmund Randolph, James Madison, and others, mutual concessions were made and, in a spirit of compromise, the friends and advocates of the right of the people to be heard in the selection of the men who were to frame the laws of the country reluctantly surrendered something of their opinions, while those who held to the monarchical idea, that the President should choose Senators, and those who held to the equally absurd theory that Senators should be chosen by the House of Representatives, also surrendered something of their notions, and, as a result, the Convention finally met on common ground and decided that the Senate should be chosen by the legislatures of the several States.



Nearly one hundred and nine years have elapsed since that Constitution received the signatures of all the members, save three, of that distinguished Convention—the three exceptions being Mr. Randolph and Mr. Mason of Virginia, and Mr. Gerry of Massachusetts. It is a document which, as a whole, is worthy of the illustrious men who framed it. As a fundamental charter of government, it is unexcelled in the list of governmental charters of either ancient or modern times. It has stood the tempests of a century, unscathed by civil contention, unharmed by the fires of internecine war, and in wisdom and in architectural strength and beauty stands preeminent, second to none, among all the uninspired productions of the world. But does it follow that neither the added wisdom of one hundred years, the altered condition of things, nor the change in men's opinions wrought by the contact of an ever-advancing civilization with the questions of the political and personal rights of the masses, nor yet the altered conditions in the mental, moral, and social status of the nation and of the people of the several States as compared with those of a century ago, should not suggest advisable and important changes in the Fundamental Charter? Already fifteen changes have been made in the Constitution of the United States, and who to-day will insist that any one of them was not well-advised? In every one of these, progressively and step by step, with a stately and impressive grandeur, the doors of individual liberty have been widened, the sphere of human rights enlarged, and the spirit of monarchy rebuked.

It will be borne in mind that the first ten of these Fifteen Amendments were proposed to the legislatures of the several States by the First Congress on September 25, 1789, only two years and eight days after the completion of the Constitution by the Convention, and that all of them were ratified by the requisite number of States on or before December 1, 1791—the first to give its assent to these several Amendments being New Jersey, which ratified them November 20, 1789, the last being Virginia, which gave its assent a little over two years later, December 15, 1791. Then followed later on the Eleventh and Twelfth Amendments, and still later, after the war, for the purpose of garnering the fruits of that great contest, the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments. And thus we find that gradually, through a series of Fifteen Amendments, it has been demonstrated that the Constitution as originally framed was deficient, in numerous respects, in those guaranties of individual rights, including limitations upon the power of Congress in reference to freedom of speech and



of the press, and of enacting laws respecting an establishment of religion,—which are now vouchsafed to the people by virtue of these several Amendments.

What, then, are some of the reasons why a change in the method of choosing Senators should be deemed advisable?

It is submitted that they are in a great measure equal in importance, and not by any means distantly related, to those which led to the adoption of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments. The proposition, it is believed, is elemental as well as fundamental when considered in connection with the underlying principle upon which individual suffrage is based. The right to vote, which cannot be denied or abridged either by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude, carries with it the privilege or implied right—except as that right is destroyed by another provision of the Constitution—to exercise such privilege, not through the medium of a vicarious agent, but freely and directly.

Members of the National House of Representatives and United States Senators, and also the President of the United States, are, under our system, recognized as elective officers, as contradistinguished from those—federal judges, for instance—who do not come within that category, but are appointed. But in all elective officers each individual voter has a special interest, which, it is presumed, he has under our general system of suffrage a right to represent at the ballot-box. That right, it is submitted, should not be charged with restrictions which prevent its full, fair, and effective exercise. What the citizen is permitted to do *indirectly* or through the means of a *proxy* in the matter of suffrage, he should be permitted to do *directly*, in his own right and in his own proper person. If the individual voter has any interest to be represented by a Senator of the United States, apart from that general interest he has in the maintenance of the dignity of the state in its sovereign or political capacity, and in the preservation and vindication of its sovereign or political rights—and it is believed he has, or at least should have,—and if he has a right to represent that interest in any manner whatever at the ballot-box, then he should be permitted to do it directly and not indirectly,—in person, and not by proxy.

It is not always true that agents carry out the wishes of the principal. It is not always true that A, who is a candidate for the legislature and is voted for by B under the belief on the part of B, or perhaps under a pledge, either express or implied, from A that he will vote for B's choice, fulfils the wishes of B in the vote he ultimately gives for



Senator. His position, for instance, may from the first have been honestly misunderstood, or he may violate his pledge, given directly or indirectly. The latter, however, it is true, is scarcely among the probabilities, perhaps is of rare occurrence, and certainly is not possible with an honorable man. To fail to carry out the express or implied wishes of the voter in this regard would be equivalent to the act of a Presidential elector in refusing to obey his implied pledge, an act which no Presidential elector in this country could be guilty of with any hope of escaping the unqualified denunciation and condemnation of all honorable men. But, take it altogether, the choice which the people have as a rule in the election of United States Senators under our present system is involved in so many uncertainties, and surrounded by so many restrictions, that virtually they have no choice at all in relation to it. The present system is unrepublican, undemocratic, and vicious in all respects. It carries with it the insinuation that the people, the qualified voters of the State, are, for some reason, unfit for the full exercise of the elective franchise in the choice of their law-makers. It is practically saying that it is unsafe and prejudicial to the public interests to trust the selection of the people's law-makers to the people themselves. And no system can be properly termed free or republican which deprives the individual voter of his right to cast his vote directly for the man of his choice for any office recognized by our system as an elective office, whether it be a State office, member of the National House of Representatives, United States Senator, or President.

Thomas H. Benton once made the following statement in the United States Senate :

“The only effectual mode of preserving our Government from the corruptions which have undermined the liberty of so many nations is to confide the election of our Chief Magistrate to those who are the farthest removed from the influence of his patronage, that is, to the whole body of the American citizens.”

The same, it is submitted, is true as to the selection of United States Senators. In the former case, the bribery of patronage may reach the electors in every State, while it cannot reach the masses of the voters. So, in the latter case, the corruptions of a wealthy and unscrupulous aspirant for senatorial honors may and sometimes do reach and control a majority in the legislature, while such a thing would be absolutely impossible were the decision left to the great mass of the voters.

Furthermore, it is believed the election of Senators by popular vote will have a tendency to destroy what is known as “bossism.”



It will remove to a great extent the temptation, and destroy the opportunity, to use corrupt means in primary elections. It will tend to the destruction of corrupt rings and combines upon the part of unscrupulous and scheming politicians, and leave them less powerful, and with less opportunity, to defeat the will of the masses of the electors. It will discourage and in a great measure destroy the vicious system of gerrymandering States in the interest of a particular party. It will, in a word, lead in the direction of the purification of American politics. It will tend, moreover, to remove a feeling of distrust from the popular mind and create instead a sentiment of confidence and respect. Its tendency will be to disarm unjust criticism and establish more cordial relations than now exist between the people of the several States and the press of the country upon the one part, and Senators and the Senate of the United States upon the other.

To deny to the people the right to choose their Senators by a direct vote may be regarded in a certain sense as a reflection upon either the honesty or capacity, or both, of the voting class of the several States, while it is likely to wound the sensibilities of the voter in depriving him of his sovereign right to vote directly for his choice; and thus in a measure the people are separated from the choice of the legislature, and the harmony and unity of feeling which ought to exist between the masses of the people and their representatives, whether of the House or Senate, are impaired. The present system of choosing Senators carries with it the same vice which has in a great measure brought into disrepute the electoral system for the election of President and Vice-President. The injustice and unfairness of that system are exemplified in every Presidential election. They were made conspicuous in 1845, when the insignificant vote of about fifteen thousand, cast for Mr. Birney in the State of New York, resulted in giving the whole electoral vote of that State to Mr. Polk, and thus electing him President of the United States over Mr. Clay. In that election Mr. Polk received considerably less than 50 per cent of the popular vote, yet he received 62 per cent of the electoral vote.

Another unanswerable objection to the present system is to be found in the great length of time frequently absorbed by the legislature of a State in the choosing of a Senator, and the consequent distraction of the legislative mind from business which all agree properly belongs to such a body; to say nothing of the strife, ill feeling, and contention that too often follow necessarily in the wake of such contests. The history of senatorial elections in a number of States in



recent years, resulting in prolonged contests extending through the entire session and in ultimate failures to elect, and in other similar contests occupying the greater portion of the time of the entire sessions of the legislatures, affords a conclusive argument in favor of the proposed change in the manner of choosing Senators. It is but a few years since the contest in the legislature of the State of New York extended through the greater portion of the session. In 1882 the contest in the Oregon legislature extended through the entire session, resulting in an election only at its close. A similar struggle occurred in the Oregon legislature in 1895, to the great detriment of the public business. In 1892-93, the legislatures of the States of Washington, Montana, and Wyoming were severally occupied from the beginning to the end of their sessions in the vain endeavor to choose a United States Senator. There was a failure to choose in each case, resulting in the appointment of a Senator from each of those States by the Governors respectively, which appointees, after a protracted contest in the Senate, were denied admittance, on the ground that when the legislature of a State, whose business it is to choose a Senator for a full term, fails to do so, such failure does not create a vacancy, within the meaning of the Constitution, which the Executive of a State can fill by temporary appointment.

Again, in the last Idaho legislature, also in that of Washington, the greater portion of each session was wasted in protracted struggles in choosing a Senator. The last legislature of the State of Delaware was engaged in a turbulent contest from early in January, 1895, until May 9 of that year, the right of the person then claiming to have been chosen being disputed, and resulting in a contest now pending in the United States Senate. All are familiar, too, with the recent disgraceful struggle in Kentucky which was prolonged throughout the entire session of the legislature of that State, resulting in a failure to choose.

It will be observed that these distracting contests and failures are not confined to any particular portion of the country, but occur in all sections and in the old as well as in the new States. The frequent failures to choose by legislatures—and if Senators were chosen by popular vote there would be no such failures—have repeatedly and sometimes for many months deprived States in which such failures have occurred of their constitutional representation and suffrage in the Senate. For instance, the State of Washington was thus deprived from March 3, 1893, until February 19, 1895, a period of two years, lacking fifteen days; Montana had a vacancy from March 3, 1893, until Janu-



ary 16, 1895, more than twenty-two months ; Wyoming from March 3, 1893, until January 23, 1895 ; while Delaware still has a vacancy which has existed since March 3, 1895.

Another vital objection to the choosing of Senators by the legislatures, and in favor of the proposed change, is found in the fact that in the selection of candidates for the legislature whose business it is to choose a Senator, every consideration is lost sight of except as to how the candidates, if elected, will vote on the question of senatorship. This becomes the vital issue in all such campaigns, while the question as to the candidate's qualifications or fitness for the business of general legislation, or as to the views he entertains upon the great subjects of material interest to the State—taxation, assessments, schools, internal improvements, revenue, corporations, appropriations, salaries and fees of officers, trusts, municipal affairs, civil and criminal code, apportionment, and other like important subjects—is wholly ignored, and thus, not unfrequently, the most vital interests of the State are made to suffer from the very fact that the question of the selection of a Senator is a distracting and disturbing element, not only in the legislature itself, but in the primary and other elections involving the selection of members of the legislature.

Another strong reason in favor of the change is the fact that after much discussion an enlightened public sentiment demands it. This is not a mere passing craze, similar to the humors and whims that at times take possession of certain classes. An educated, enlightened public opinion has taken hold upon the subject, and the demand for the change is loud and emphatic. It is pronounced, earnest, imperative, not only among the individual voters, but the public press of the country, representing all political parties, seems to be almost a unit on the subject. The legislatures of no less than ten States, including those of Indiana, Wisconsin, and Ohio, have recently memorialized Congress for the change. The emphasis given to this popular sentiment in various ways is very properly having its effect in Congress. The first proposed amendment touching this subject was submitted to the United States Senate by the writer of this article at the first session of the Fiftieth Congress, December, 1887, no action being taken. It was again introduced by him in the Fifty-first Congress. And the first speech in support of this proposed change ever delivered in either branch of Congress was by the writer of this article in the Senate, April 22, 1890.

In the House of Representatives at the first session of the Fifty-second Congress, no less than seventeen different resolutions were pre-



sented upon this subject, and at that session, January 16, 1893, one of those resolutions, proposing an amendment to the Constitution, passed the House of Representatives by more than a two-thirds vote; while in the Fifty-third Congress three similar amendments were presented in the Senate and twelve in the House by as many different members, and on July 21, 1894, one of these passed the House, the vote being yeas 141, nays 50. At the present session of the Senate, after full discussion, the Senate Committee on Privileges and Elections reported favorably a joint resolution proposing this amendment to the Constitution, and it is now pending on the Senate Calendar.

Many further reasons might be urged in favor of this proposed change. There is a belief in the public mind that proper deference is not given by the Senate of the United States to the demands and interests of the people, and that this is largely due to the fact that Senators do not owe their positions to the people, who are permanent, but to the legislatures, which are transient. It is wholly immaterial as to whether this belief is well-founded or otherwise. That it exists to an alarming extent, all must admit; and the most effectual means of removing it is to change the mode of choosing United States Senators and remit the choice to popular vote. Restrictions of any kind which tend to prevent a full, fair, and direct expression at the ballot-box of the will of each individual voter, whether native- or foreign-born, white or black,—are obnoxious to the great fundamental idea upon which free government is based. Not the least offensive of these restrictions imposed by our present system is that which deprives the individual voter of the right to cast his vote directly, and without circumlocution through vicarious instrumentalities, for a United States Senator.

In conclusion, the arguments in favor of the proposed change may be thus summarized:

First. United States Senators, like members of the National House of Representatives, are, under our system, elective officers as contradistinguished from federal judges who do not come within that category, and the proposition to elect by a direct vote of the people is, it is believed, elemental as well as fundamental when considered in the light of the underlying principle upon which individual suffrage is based. The existence of the right of suffrage implies the right, or at least should carry with it the right, to exercise it *directly* and not *vicariously*. The political and moral supremacy of the people can only in this manner be rightfully expressed and maintained.



Second. It will afford a prompt and efficient remedy for the manifest evils made possible by, and unfortunately resulting too frequently from, the present system of senatorial elections, namely, the great length of time consumed in the election and resulting frequently in a failure to choose, the consequent distraction of the legislative mind from important legislative business, and the political and personal controversies, ill feeling, and strife which are the usual—the almost inevitable—accompaniments.

Third. It will render less possible, and therefore tend to the discouragement of, the use of improper means to influence the control of senatorial elections.

Fourth. It will greatly diminish the temptation to gerrymander senatorial and representative districts by State legislatures in the interest of the political party in control.

Fifth. It will be an enlargement of the political rights of the individual voter relating to suffrage, and, therefore, a concession upon the part of the Government, the effect of which, it is believed, will be salutary in tending to discourage unjust criticism of the Senate and its individual members.

Sixth. It will in a great measure eliminate from primary and other elections, involving the selection of members of the legislature, one great cause for irritation and unseemly contention wherein as a rule the question upon which everything is made to turn is as to how this or that man will vote for Senator, rather than upon the question as to his fitness for the office of legislator.

Seventh. No reform movement will so effectively as this tend to the destruction of "boss rule" and the elimination of political "bosses" from American politics in State, county, and municipal elections.

Eighth. A thoroughly-aroused and enlightened public opinion demands the change.

Hence, unless some good reasons exist to the contrary, this demand should be respected by Congress, to the extent at least of giving the people of the several States through their representatives in the legislatures an opportunity to pass upon the question.

The principal objection urged in opposition to the proposed amendment is one based wholly upon the unwarranted assumption that it would in effect disturb the political relation now existing between the States respectively and the National Government, and change the character of senatorial representation from that of the States in their sovereign or political capacity, as is now the case under the existing



provisions of the Constitution, and would thus, as it is alleged, tend to the destruction of one of the great principles of checks and balances upon which our Government is organized.

The answer to this, as already indicated, is brief though conclusive. The proposed amendment neither interferes with the existing *ratio* of State representation in the Senate, nor with the character of the representation itself. It has not the slightest tendency to invade that principle of the Constitution which its framers intended never should be destroyed, namely, the principle of equal State suffrage in the United States Senate. It in no respect changes the relation now existing between the States respectively and the National Government; the existing sovereignty of each in its respective sphere is not in the slightest manner disturbed.

If it be true that Senators now are, in virtue of the letter and spirit of the Constitution, the distinctive representatives of the States in their sovereign or political capacity, then this is not changed, nor is the principle involved in such representation invaded in any respect whatever by the proposed amendment. It is the *mode* of choosing Senators that will *alone* be affected, and not the capacity or character in which they shall serve, whether as the agents and representatives of the States as political entities, or of the people. The *ratio* of representation which each State must continue to have in the Senate remains wholly unaffected. Whatever sovereign functions attach to the National and State Governments within their respective spheres under existing conditions will be neither enlarged nor diminished. The people of the States now choose their Senators, but only indirectly through their representatives in the legislatures. This, and this only, is sought to be changed, thus enabling the people to do directly that which they can now do only in a vicarious manner.

All other objections urged may be comprehended under the general head that the people, as a whole, cannot be trusted to choose their own law-makers. Whatever may have been the distrust in this respect in the minds of some of the men who were members of the Constitutional Convention,—a distrust entailed by English conceptions and monarchical notions,—it is safe to say no harm is likely to come to representative republican government in America by intrusting to the qualified electors of the nation the right to choose by popular vote the men who are to make their laws, State and National.

JOHN H. MITCHELL.



## MODERN NORWEGIAN LITERATURE.—II.

JONAS LIE gave us his first book about twenty-five years ago, and since then we have had a book every year. They glided into our life quietly, regularly, like a mail steamer laying by, after a long and hard voyage, at a certain hour, in a certain place, saluted with national flags from the custom-house, by friends, and by those who expected something. Among the latter the ladies were always in a great majority, and it is not merely an incident. Not only is every great psychological fact treated in a discreet manner which pleases the lady of culture, but it is principally she he draws, her cause he speaks. As it has been said that the higher culture of a people can be measured by the number of pianos in the country, so it may be said that the deeper feeling of responsibility in a people can be measured by the place which women hold in the homes. In his calm, clear drawings of our grandparents, our parents, and ourselves, up to this very day, the measure is put to rights for us. But we must use it ourselves. He only narrates.

In the times of our grandparents, Norway was a cozy little domain of bureaucracy, boisterous captains, fat parsons, omnivorous jurists, navy officers with hankerings after the nobility, judges and magistrates with the arrogance of small potentates. Down in the sailor's hut and up in the shipowner's house the house-father stood as the representative of the social order of the patriarchs, master by the grace of God. About 1840 a modest movement toward political liberty was begun, but it did not become dangerous to the "establishment" until about 1860. It pushed onward, however, soon touching also the social relations; and when its literature entered the field, providing the politicians with ideas of a dissolving and expansive character, a storm burst over the country, with calumnies and backbitings, with social ostracism and ecclesiastical excommunications. But was it to be wondered at? All those people were suddenly awakened from the firm belief that the "establishment" was founded, socially and politically, on solid Bible-ground not to be shaken. But while this battle was still raging, Jonas Lie went to the doors in the rear and into the houses, apparently without any particular aim—at least he told no one



what he wanted there. But when he came out again he brought with him the habits, the customs, the ideas of the "establishment" from its golden days. It was not the worst homes but the best he had searched, and when we saw what he had found, we asked involuntarily, "But is that worth keeping?" Next moment, however, we added, "Yes, there is something in it which must be spared," and that is the glory of his authorship. In one of his later books he chastises with great dignity that small part of the Norwegian youth which has been unpatriotic enough to become boisterous agents for the Parisian decadence. But even here he is perfectly impartial; he gives them their due. He also does justice in his representation of woman. How is she looked upon? And what is she herself looking after? The measurement is not altogether in her favor, consequently not altogether in favor of society either. But in the ruin and devastation one feels the work of spring and not of fall; it is health casting off disease.

His latest book, "When the Sun Sets," is as excellent as those preceding it, though without adding anything new. The subject is an unfaithful wife who keeps the whole family in deadly suspense until the husband, a physician, gets rid of her by poison. Thus peace is restored in his home and no outsider suspects what has been done. Psychologically this picture is undoubtedly true; at any rate it is interesting. But it may be questioned whether the plot is not derived from French literature rather than from Scandinavian life. In France the sexual relations play a much larger rôle than in Norway, and consequently marriage stands somewhat lower. With us woman is not the property of man any more, and, even when caught sinning, she cannot righteously be shot, stabbed, or poisoned to death. We begin to understand that it is better to let an unfaithful wife follow him she loves than to slay her. She belongs more to him than to the husband she does not love, and under no circumstances can a human being become a piece of property. Those few cases—always in the big cities—in which a husband takes so frightful and, I may add, so cowardly a vengeance because his love is no longer returned, but secretly betrayed—are not those few cases also a fruit of the reading of French novels and criminal stories? That sense of honor which cannot feel satisfied with less than an expiation in blood has begun to look somewhat antiquated and pharisaical to most of us. But by what he paints the poet prepares the way for something else, consciously or unconsciously; his finer conception of man, his higher view of the race, compel him to do so. We shall probably live to see Scandinavian



literature separate itself entirely from Romanic literature in the chapter of adultery. In another novel Jonas Lie introduces us to a family of distinction. After many futile starts, the children turn out to be good-for-nothing; miserable, and in her wrath, the proud mother blows up herself and them with dynamite. But this startling finale—is n't that too an imp of French contagion? Would it not have been truer to northern character if she had taken them to the potato-field and begun digging?

Jonas Lie's art has no side-shows. It is concentrated with strong directness on the task in hand. In such a case one should expect to find the plot very elaborate; but it is not so. Large prominent pictures of strongly concentrated scenes are also rare. The narrative moves along smoothly through minor details of characterization, often exquisitely fine, through every-day events, more or less plastically represented, and by the aid of connecting remarks, always from the lips of one of the characters. Often we meet with a droll but nevertheless winning inaptitude; we see at once the line sought for and the means applied to find it. But those difficulties never appear at points where even a master might feel embarrassed, but on the contrary just at points over which the bungler skips easily. The greater the difficulty, the easier to him; he is embarrassed only when handling that which is easy. Nor does the language flow redundantly from his pen, though it is always sufficient for the demand. When the narrative begins to gather around the decision, the reader notices with admiration how much has been quietly prepared and how free and clear the characters stand in the perspective. This is to some degree the result of his method of narrating,—always placing the objects in the calm light of a shaded lamp. He may stand by and look down between the lines with a roguish smile; but the lines themselves are not allowed to laugh. His soul may be trembling with indignation or exultation, but the moment the feeling begins to make the picture unsteady, some indifferent words are dropped in, and everything is smooth again. The heat is there, but mildly distributed through the whole. Year after year, always at the same time,—just before Christmas,—those novels come home to us from across the sea (for Jonas Lie always lives abroad), visiting every harbor along our coast and received with steadily increasing gratitude by large and growing numbers of readers. But what a surprise and disappointment, when one Christmas there came, instead of those homespun stories which we used to read while the apples were baking on the stove, a book full of the wildest, weird-



est tales—trolls, phantom-ships, and huge birds with human reason, reflections of ourselves immensely magnified by the air, the sun, and the earth! And next Christmas came another book of the same kind.

These tales are the outlines of powerful poetical conceptions, by themselves grand and marvellous. None who read and understood them could doubt any more that in one way or another some external pressure had for years kept Jonas Lie fettered by work which was too small for his powers and consequently toilsome; for it was evident that he was born to hunt over the heights, where the wide survey can be taken, where life is always healthy and dreams always nearer to the heart of nature. What vigor in that which had been forced down, since late in years it could still break forth with such a luxuriance! And what sadness in knowing that with a small people it is always mere chance whether a great creative genius ever reaches to its true poetical sphere! That form of narrative which Jonas Lie has been compelled to work out for himself has certainly the bright gleam and the free breath from the heights toward which his longings were drawn. But how powerfully would that brightness and that freedom have swung around us, if from his youth he had taken us along with him up those romantic heights! For there can be no longer any doubt that he would have been the romantic element of the period, cloudy at first, but so much the stronger and the more radiant afterward; that far above the dreary clearing-up of the Naturalists he now would have soared like the skylark over them for whom it is still morning. Though in those singular tales a rich thought has marked out the goal and a great imagination lifts its wings to flight, they have hardly achieved more than giving sketches, only here and there a full-born work of art; for even the strongest power cannot reach maturity when hedged in.

Here comes the most elegant or—to tell the truth—the only elegant vessel in the whole Norwegian fleet. Two long, glittering steel tubes show in front and tell that the vessel is not sailing for pleasure. But as the quick-firing cannons are the very best, so is everything aboard,—new, shapely, elaborate, though not according to fashion, only according to the master's own ideas, in spite of fashion, even proudly challenging it.

In the fall of 1878 I was present at the celebrated ball which the French president, Marshal McMahon, gave in the palace of Versailles. I had made the round of the grand gallery of mirrors together with the Norwegian giant—the painter Fritz Thaulow,—when I discovered



a young man still more striking than Thaulow himself. He was the tallest and handsomest man of all the thousands present. I met him in the glamour of the place, the pomp, the music; still he looked like a revelation of a taller and stronger race. Everybody looked at him, only they could not understand why he wore none of his grand crosses, for certainly he was at least a royal prince from some far-off snowland in whose people the power of race is still felt. And I shall not deny that I was proud when he addressed me in Norwegian. It was Alexander Kjelland. Complete and finished, this favorite of the gods stepped into our literature with new subjects, a new style, and a splendor over his works as over his person when in the Versailles gallery of mirrors. If he had devoted himself to fashion, he would certainly have become the favorite of all. Every quality, external or internal, which is demanded in order to become the choice of the drawing-rooms, or the *enfant gaté* of a whole people, was his, and no doubt he was tempted by that energetic vitality which bubbles in every sentence he has written. Nevertheless, Alexander Kjelland is the most manly character in our literature.

If style is understood to be the power of an intellectually interesting personality to make itself felt solely in the expression and through the form, regardless of the matter treated; and again, with respect to the form, regardless of its polish, its dexterity, its harmony, and simply as the self-revelation of one soul to other souls—well! then Alexander Kjelland's style is, since the time of Ludwig Holberg, the most perfect in the literature common to Denmark and Norway, certainly in the Norwegian part of it, and I think also in the Danish. No other style is at once so witty and so weighty, so simple and so manly; it reminds one of a young animal sporting; it is a tiger's spring, but graceful. And it has yet another power. When his deep intimacy with nature or his truly fraternal love for his kind is allowed full play, he finds colors so delicate as otherwise are met with only in sentimental art. But in all he has written, there is not one drop of sentimentalism. With him everything is sharp, fresh, radiant; and whenever the expression becomes ingratiating, beware!—it is covering an attack.

I wish to give a quotation, the only one I shall use. It may lose a great deal by being translated, but I am nevertheless sure it will take the reader. I have selected it from his most aggressive novel, "Arbeidsfolk" ("Laboringmen"). He goes into a house of the veriest bureaucracy, not quietly, like Jonas Lie, in order to dust off and save,



but in order to throw every bit and bundle out into the street. There are tears in his laughter while he is at the work, but he is too furious to be a looker-on while such homes play havoc among the people and push numbers of them into the emigration boat. Suddenly he stops working and rests awhile in an idyl like this:

“The banks of the Nile were packed with birds, broiling in the glowing sun. They picked at their feathers and smoothed them, and then flapped their wings to try them, and lazily snatched one of the worms or lizards swarming in the swamps. Food was indeed too plentiful, it was too hot, too quiet; they longed for cold rain, cloudy weather and a spanking breeze. Innumerable flocks of wild geese swam about in the pools between the rushes and out to the far-reaching swamps. Here and there, rising above the others, the storks and the herons stood on one leg, crouching and hanging their heads; they felt bored, frightfully bored. All kinds of snipes and water-fowls, lapwings, ruffs, brent-geese, water-hens, quails, swallows—yes, even the common starling,—all bored!

“The ibis felt scandalized by the presence of that foreign, shabbily-dressed trash, and went even so far as to lower itself by complaining to the ridiculous flamingoes which otherwise it so utterly despised. The crocodiles blinked their slimy pale-green eyes, now and then snatching a fat goose, that raised a cry and a clatter which were answered up and down the river, at last dying away in the distance—far away. And again the stillness of the desert reigned throughout the glowing landscape and among that host of drowsy birds, sitting and waiting for—they didn't quite know what they were waiting for. Then a little gray bird flew straight up in the air, hung quiet there for one moment and, flapping its wings with great rapidity, poured forth a tiny bit of a twitter; then it descended and hid itself in the grass.

“All the birds had raised their heads and listened. And at once there was a jabbering and a gabbling and a great bustle in every nook. Young foppy snipes flew up making cartwheels in the air, to show what expert flyers they were. But the cranes were more sensible; they held a general meeting to consider the lark's proposal to break up. All of them had recognized the lark by its notes, although it had but two or three, the full power of song not being in its throat yet. But while the cranes held council a terrible splash was heard and the sky darkened. The wild geese were breaking up. Divided in huge flocks they began circling in the air; then, forming a line, they started northward, and soon their cries were lost in the distance. In black throngs the starlings rose, the lapwings followed, in couples the storks screwed themselves up in the air, high up, and, becoming almost invisible, they winged their way toward the North. The great noise and uproar, of course, upset the cranes' meeting; all the world was bent on getting away, there was no time left for considering. Every moment new flocks of birds passed over North Africa, and, looking down, each with its beak greeted the merry, blue Mediterranean. The nightingales tarried the longest; but when the Danish birds started they too, for old friendship's sake, went away. The travelling fever had spread to such an extent that even the swallow and the cuckoos went along; at all events they would cross the Mediterranean, and in the meantime they could make up their minds what to do next. The ibis had regained its composure and, like an archbishop, strutted with gravity along the



beach, the rosy flamingoes making way for His Grace, while with a solemn air they drooped their foolish heads with the broken bill.

“It grew quieter and hotter along the Nile, and the crocodiles had now to be content with nigger-beef and, on rare occasions, with that of a tough English tourist.

“But day and night the birds of passage were on their way to the North. And as a flock reached well-known places and recognized their homes, they descended, crying “goodbye” to those who were bound for a longer journey. And so they spread life and merriment throughout old frozen Europe—in woods, on fields, around the houses of the people, far out among the rushes and on the big quiet lakes. In Italy they shimmered with clusters of tiny rose-buds, up toward Southern France. The apple-trees were snowed over with pinky blossoms, and on the Parisian boulevards the leaves of the chestnut-tree were about to burst their glossy, tenacious covers. The good people of Dresden stood on the “Brühlsche” Terrace, basking in the sun and watching blocks of ice drifting down the river and piling up before the massive pillars of the bridge. But farther north it was cold, with patches of snow here and there, and a cutting wind from the North Sea. On their way the larks had decreased in number, many of them having their homes on the fields near Leipzig, others on the heath of Lüneburg. When the remainder reached Slesvig, the Danish larks asked the Norwegians whether it would not be advisable for them to wait there awhile and see how the weather turned out. In Jutland the snow still lay in the ditches and on the fences, and the northwest wind shook the beeches of old Denmark, their rolled-up leaves snugly wrapped in their brown covers. Behind rocks and under the heather birds crouched, a few of them venturing near the farm houses, where the sparrows kicked up as if they were masters there.

“All agreed that they had started too early, and if they had caught the scapegrace who had lured them away from the flesh-pots of Egypt, they would have plucked his feathers. At last a southerly wind sprang up, the Norwegian birds bade “goodbye” and across the sea they flew. When they reached home, Norway looked dreary enough. On the mountain slopes there still was snow, and in the dense forests it lay a yard high. But with the south wind came rain and soon everything was changed—not gradually and peaceably, but in a trice,—with snow-slides crashing, and torrents roaring, so that the land looked like a giant washing himself, the ice-cold water streaming down his sinewy limbs. Delicate green veils hung over the birches on the mountain slopes, along the bays, the fjords, over the western plains facing the sea, the cloudberry-bogs, along the ridges, clefts and crevices and the narrow valleys among the mountains. But the mountain peaks remained snow-covered, as if the old rocks did not think it worth while to raise their caps to such a flighty madcap of a summer. The sun shone with warmth and cheerfulness, and the wind coming from the south was fraught with more warmth, and at last the cuckoo arrived, as grand master of ceremonies, to see that everything was in order; hither and thither he flew, then seated himself in a snug nook in the innermost depths of the thicket and crowed, Spring has come!—at last old Norway was complete. And there she lay—radiant and beautiful in the blue sea,—so lean and poor, so fresh and sound, smiling like a clean-washed child.

“In the havens along the coast were life and bustle, and the white sails glided out from among the rocks and made their way across the sea. The snow-shoes were stuck up under the rafters in the ceiling, the fur-coats well powdered



with camphor and hung away ; and, just like the bear when he comes out of his lair and shakes his shaggy coat, so the people shook their heavy limbs, spat in their hands and started their spring work. Down the river went the rafts, paddled through the cold snow-water, and in the broad, fertile parts of the country the ploughs were cutting long, black furrows ; up north the people were busy with the salted cod, spread out upon the bare mountains ; on the western plains near the sea came wagon-loads of seaweed to be strewn on the fields, while on a hill stood a little blear-eyed man looking after a fallow horse."

Is there any people that has a more beautiful national hymn, although this is not written in verse ? But how did it happen that a writer who is the proudest character in Norwegian literature, who has drawn portraits—*Else*, for instance—which belong to the finest art our time has produced, and who has exalted his native country, as it is done in the above quotation—how did it happen that such a writer was compelled to abandon literature ? that the Storting repeatedly refused to grant him the pension which all his colleagues enjoy ? that not only "the right" to the last man agreed in that refusal, but a large part of "the left" too, and that at a time when "the left" was in power ? It happened during a heavy political disturbance. Politics can be the noblest part of the life of a people, and ought always to be so, for it is the highest form our time knows for love to one's neighbor ; but sometimes, and not so rarely either, it is the very essence of national crudity. Every people has something which makes one proud of belonging to it, but every people has also something which is humiliating. If we have powers ourselves, it is the humiliation and not the pride which strengthens our love. Alexander Kjelland proved it—and that was his crime. The situation was critical. Around his noble ship closely gathered all the anxiety and pious despondency of scared conservatism, with a great deal of vulgarity and stupidity on the outskirts. By "vulgarity" I do not refer to the poor outcasts clamoring and fighting around the heaps of refuse, the only things left them ; I think of the rabble in the service of hypocrisy, popular infatuation, and royal favoritism ; I think of the unclean instincts germinating both in art and business. On the bridge of the gallant vessel stood a man who had pursued them all without mercy. Now it was their turn. The greatest politician Norway ever had—Johan Sverdrup—was the president of the cabinet, and he gathered where Alexander Kjelland had sowed. But, in the critical moment and for the sake of political gain, he too forsook the knight of our literature, a knight *sans peur et sans reproche*. How many more Alexander Kjellands shall fall before political morals become a clean thing ?



I also mentioned "stupidity." Well, we are still a young people with no artistic tradition ; even his admiring friends did not fully comprehend what Kjelland was. At that moment Naturalism reigned supreme, and he bewildered many a mind, slow to comprehend, when by a few strokes, as in the foreshortening of the caricaturist, he gave more than the most arduous pencilling could yield. But the style? Was his style not duly appreciated? Yes and no! Set the most exquisite Chinese porcelain before an average Norwegian who has had no opportunity of studying and comparing, and he will find the design somewhat flimsy and the colors a little weak. How can he understand why the French place the letters of Madame de Sévigné among their most precious book-treasures? Even the letters of Alexander Kjelland, though as yet mostly private, would be enough to make his name cherished ; anything like them is hardly written now-a-days. It was my purpose to use only one quotation from Norwegian literature and, because he has been ill-treated, I selected from Kjelland's writings the above quotation, which will make every reader suspect what an amount of homely, spirited mirth there is in his nature, mirth of that kind which can be enjoyed only when we look down from above, and at which we often laugh in order not to weep. With joy I hear just as I am finishing these lines that something new may be expected from him.

But life must be seen from all sides. Here comes a great writer from the Westland. The family lived in plain circumstances, tossed about by the sea and ill-used by pietism and narrow fanaticism. Such a family shall certainly not teach us to look at life from above. Personally Arne Garborg began as an anxious believer who doubted ; then he became a doubter who believed, that is, he doubted his own doubt ; and finally he found refuge in the fashion of the day, in mysticism ; making, so to speak, life's voyage with a round-trip ticket. This easily-impressible, everlastingly-searching character can most aptly be likened to a commander of a swift, dark-striped cruiser. Anything up,—he is there, suspicious, sharp-tongued. His form is the "remark" falling naturally, calmly, and well-expressed. An uncommonly sharp eye looks satirically up from it, but in the next moment the glance becomes kind, even warm. He is the "artist of the remark," as perfect as no one else is in our language. His business is to give advice, counsel, judgment, concerning anything passing by. His verdict may be and probably often is wrong, because he is nervously uncertain and passionately predisposed, and has any amount of outside errands to do.



But it comes so strongly that it clings to the popular mind. One has to carry it along until it wears off and falls away, if, in the meantime, it has not grown up to be a new energy within us.

Garborg's remarks are generally short, but they may develop into treatises, novels, poems, as the occasion may demand. His verses are melodious and his narrative is firm. But neither one nor the other is born of that enthusiasm and that agony which create and transport. They are imitations masoned-up with fine critical sense, and Garborg is consequently not an original genius. Nevertheless, the purpose, the effect, the form of his writings have secured them a place in literature, at least so far. Voltaire himself is, in literature proper, nothing but an artist of remarks. We have in Norway another writer of high rank, and of the same artistic character, Mrs. Camilla Collet, the talented and energetic champion of woman's emancipation. She has written novels in which, with eloquent appeal and fiery accent, she has put the finger just on the sore spot, and done so with good effect. But the special result of Arne Garborg's novels is a break made into the pietism of the Westland peasants, for in Norway the well-to-do peasant is a reader of literature. Those lively people of the Westland, who for so long a time have been betrayed by their own imagination, Arne Garborg has helped to look beyond the Bible-bars. But perhaps it is necessary to be a Norwegian in order to appreciate the importance of what he has done, and, alas! it is as yet only a beginning.

A modest and unpretentious woman once said that the female sex is only a frame to which man adds the picture; that, as a poet, she wants to imitate man, but ought to restrain herself to her own particular views. If such a thing had been said to "George Eliot" or "George Sand," those two writers would certainly have felt embarrassed, for where is the boundary-line between their views of life and man's? The readers too would be at sea. Now and then they might say, "This is due to the finer sense of a woman; that is her particular experience." But with respect to the great bulk of their writings nothing of this kind could be said. And should all that be stricken out, though it belongs to the highest art the century has produced?

Once I received an anonymous letter speaking of a new book just published. The address was given and I answered, finishing by saying that the letter was written by a woman. Another anonymous letter arrived. It was rather sharp and sought to prove by the form and contents of the first that I was mistaken and a poor psychologist. But it had a postscript, and the postscript ran thus: "I will confess to you,



however, that it was written by a woman." The anonymous writer was Amalie Skram, afterward married to the Danish author, Erik Skram.

She did not begin writing until after mature age, but most of what she first wrote was unsavory on account of its outspoken Naturalism, and it took some time before she became what "respectable" people call "readable." This circumstance, however, proves better than anything else how original she is. The hard road she had before her she had herself broken and levelled, inch by inch. But that power of will and endurance she obtained from her husband—or from any other man—as little as she obtained her natural powers and the art she has developed. How many of her works are studies and nothing more, has now become an unimportant question. The important thing is that she succeeded in producing a great novel like "Forraadt" ("Betrayed"), a masterpiece of psychological depth and powerful painting, leaving an impression as if you were out on the sea, looking down into the waters and meeting there a pair of eyes, though no face could be seen,—large eyes, opening and shutting, opening and shutting, but as cold as the sea itself. She paints secular people or the secular side of them, that is, our lifelong slavery and more or less useless contest with passions and external circumstances. She rarely paints the holiday side of people and never holiday people themselves, that is, the power to rise above surroundings, partly or altogether. And, because she chiefly paints the secular part of life, the sky in her pictures is low and gray. They resemble the pieces of Gerhard Hauptmann, whose singularly hypnotizing art lures us farther and farther into a long bottle, and hearing it being corked, we exclaim, "Gracious! how are we to get out again!" Amalie Skram's art is nimbler; we are carried along more briskly and through a greater variety, but not without a similar feeling of oppression. She likes best to portray life in the Westland, people from Bergen and its vicinity,—her birthplace and the scene of her youth. True to nature she paints the every-day life of these people,—their sins, their illusions, their stubborn perseverance,—and no one has done it better, no one is so rich in original studies. It is not possible to look at a photograph of Bergen or its surroundings without peopling it with the lively and striking figures from her pen.

Yet Alexander Kjelland, in his novel "Fortuna," has drawn a lady from Bergen, *Mrs. Wencke*, in whom the good traditions of the old commercial city unite with the enlightened wish for progress characteristic of our time. Even to-day it may be said of Bergen,—which still maintains a steady communication across the sea with England,



Germany, France, and Spain,—that its inhabitants are more eager travelers and possessed of a livelier aptitude for business than those of any other city in Norway, probably in Scandinavia. The best part of the population, much mixed up and always fanciful, has in its old civilization a safe foundation for the new. *Mrs. Wencke* is a lovely type of a lady from Bergen with all her characteristics curiously blended together. Thus she becomes—I shall not say more Bergensian than those in the gallery of Amalie Skram, for that would be wrong; but I dare say that only when Alexander Kjelland's portrait of *Mrs. Wencke* is hung in the hall we have to pass through when entering into and returning from the gallery of Amalie Skram,—only then has the latter obtained its necessary supplement.

I should be very much mistaken if Amalie Skram—she and nobody else, or, at least, she before anybody else—has not stood as a model for Alexander Kjelland's *Mrs. Wencke*. For that character compels us to think of Amalie Skram as she is when beaming with sympathy and combativeness, and this leads us to believe that not all in her rich nature has been worked out yet. Her last book is an event. She entered a hospital for mental diseases, seeking rest and wanting nursing under nervous sufferings. Thus she found an opportunity to study one of those alienists who are too much inclined to see a token of alienation in any contradiction, and who in the vanity of their infallibility commit grave errors. Of him, the patients, the nurses, of the whole establishment, she gives a picture so clear in its lines and so interesting by its contents that it takes its place beside the best novels: its title is "Professor Hieronymus." To those who in the name of humanity attack the often misused, not sufficiently controlled power of the insane asylums, this masterly representation of the interior of such an establishment has become a weapon superior in strength to any other, it being the first time in literature that a great writer, with mental faculties perfectly sound, has had an opportunity to make such a study. But in another respect also the book is most interesting, for here her art shows itself with the greatest distinctness. What is its secret? Simply that she describes only what she has seen and studied to the very core; until then she says not a word about it, and consequently she needs so very few words to explain it. In that respect she is the very opposite to Zola, to whom she is often compared. He starts from a loose outline, and only as the pen runs on and one sentence pushes forth the other the picture takes form, swelling with the incidents met with on the way.



There are still several modern Norwegian poets who should be mentioned here, but those of them who are really kings in their own realms, those who by the indisputable right of true personality are masters of their subjects and of form, could not be introduced here in a long list without doing them injustice; and the readers of magazines have only a certain amount of patience defined by tradition. I shall therefore select from among them only two representatives, my choice to be determined simply by a consideration of who may appear as the most characteristic to a foreign public.

Norway too has become a tourist-land; I am sorry to say so. Thus it may happen that some of my readers have been up on those high rocky table-lands and felt their overwhelming loneliness while gazing on the eternal glaciers far off. As you have gone on, you may have met one other human being; one—only one. He or she suddenly rose like a vision, came nearer, looked around, said a couple of words in greeting, passed by and vanished. But, in the loneliness, the impression of that one human being,—its gait, figure, eyes, voice,—becomes so strong that whenever afterward yonder waste of land is recalled to your mind, that human being follows along with it, passes by you, looks at you, says a few words and vanishes, always surrounded by a peculiar coolness from the place. Now imagine a poet who takes this passer-by into your very room in the city and does it in such a manner that, in looking at the stranger, you see again the waste of the plain and the glitter of the glacier, feel again the coolness of the place and the sweet aroma of the heather, remember the freshness of the water from the brook, and hear his voice and yours, not as if it were you and he who spoke but somebody else from behind.

Such a poet is Hans Rinck. In order to attain this power of illusion he has made the strip of neutral ground stretching between the land of the tale and the land of the novel a domain of his own. But the buffer state is not neutral any more, for he makes inroads across the frontiers on both sides. Language he treats in the same manner. He uses both the current speech and the peasant's tongue, and between the two he has fabricated an intermediate dialect which shall give musical form to the primitive impression. But this last attempt is certainly a mistake; it is fancy on a wrong track. Any peculiarity must be worked through until it finds a form intelligible to all who are familiar with art, otherwise it is not art at all. He can, however, weave the flower-gleams of the slope and the evening mists of the moor so deftly into the love-longings of the young girl that, when on



Sundays she goes down to the church in the valley, the flower-gleams of the slope and the evening mists of the moor go to church too, and, while there, play her such tricks that the sermon of nature in the presence of the sermon of the minister causes her the sweetest anxiety. At least she is no more conscious of self than is the balm-breathing heather she passes returning to the heights. To speak plainly: his peasants are the lyrical incarnation of the spirit of valley, mountain, sea, etc.; the many-voiced expression of the nature in which they live and with which they work; and in his conception of the relation between figure and landscape—I must repeat it here in its right place—he is certainly superior to all the poets of the peasant's tongue taken together.

As surely are Knut Hamsun's descriptions of nature in the sonorous use of the current Danish-Norwegian speech the best, the grandest in Norwegian literature. I would beg all who have read the beginning of "Pan" in a translation to consider well before undertaking to state where the like of it can be found. He is tall, light, and handsome; he sprang from an old peasant stock in Gudbrandsdalen, which moved to the Nordlands near the sea. The family showed a natural turn for art; his grandfather on the paternal side was a silversmith. He himself has been a working-man and emigrant. In literature he began by committing about all the follies which it is possible for a talented boar to do in a civilized society. It seems quite Norwegian for a young author to believe that he cannot find room for himself without first trying to oust all the others; one proof among others that our civilization is still in its apprenticeship. I should not have mentioned this if it had not been so strikingly apparent that with him these and other pranks of rudeness originated from a feeling of uneasiness in the new company, a feeling which—vain and defiant as he was in the consciousness of his powers—led him to attack others simply to conceal his own weakness; perhaps he at last considered himself a reformer. But behind that appearance a good-natured face is laughing and catches your eye, and in his last works he has shown the most painstaking discretion in building up his plots and conducting their events. To that period, however, during which he committed his follies, our literature is indebted for a full-grown character of world-wide fame.

One day there appeared a tall, handsome fellow in a small town on the coast. Nobody knew him and nobody could make him out. Gifted externally and internally he filled the town with admiration, but also with amazement. He began by everywhere making the best



impression, which, however, he immediately took the greatest pains to blot out again, was arrogant though by no means egotistic, loved those who did not like him and bit those who loved him; bragged in the grandest of style and told the worst lies about himself; he ended, a conundrum to himself and to everybody else, by jumping into the sea during an attack of fever, while a storm of twaddle was gathering over him from all points of the world, from the drawing-rooms too. The looker-on stood in danger of becoming as crazy as he himself was. The same surprises are plentiful in his style. He piles up thick layers of hypotheses one upon the other, higher and higher, with paradoxical boldness, while we retire farther and farther back for fear of the whole heap coming down upon our head, and, suddenly, he strikes the edifice with a witticism and down it comes tumbling, with noise and dust. Nevertheless, his "Mysteries" is one of the great books of our literature. What a strength in that hailstorm! What a stirring-up of the bog-waters of village conventionality!

And here I will stop. With this portrait of something powerful, though still unfinished, I will stop. Thus the future seems richer to my eyes.

But—in the whole Norwegian literature-fleet there is not one pleasure craft; even this last perplexing construction has an errand of its own. There is always something Knut Hamsun wants to free us from, always something he wants us to reach. With each day that passes he feels himself more and more strongly enlisted in the service of the fatherland. By its works Norwegian literature acknowledges that it shall take a part, and the greater part, of the common responsibility; that a book which does not clear away or build up in such a way that it tends to increase our power, enhance our courage, and make life easier to us, is a poor book, however perfect its art may be. Simply to get an opportunity to say this to the world, I have undertaken to write this sketch, the only one of the kind I have ever written or shall write.

This distinguishing mark of wholesome responsibility, characteristic of Norwegian literature as a whole (the exceptions are always set aright by general consent), is partly due, I believe, to the fact that it is the conscience of a plain democratic people, and partly to the circumstance that most of the poets were children or grandchildren of peasants, as Ludwig Holberg, Peder Dass, Henrik Wergeland, Camilla Collet, Aasmund Vinje, Ivar Aasen, Jonas Lie, Arne Garborg, Amalie



Skram, Knut Hamsun, indeed almost all of those I have mentioned and nearly all of those I have not mentioned. This holds good of the artists too, and no other people, so far as I know, shows this peculiarity. It explains why, though the artistic talent may be great and many details marvellous, the whole work is, nevertheless, not always perfect. Artistic talent is an inheritance. It must be remembered that "art" reaches far beyond the studies and writing-desks. When a young girl attracts the sympathy of all, the reason generally is that she has an understanding of herself and of others which she applies in her address. That application is art. When a person is said to have a knack for getting anything to fit, he has already the rudiments of the sculptor's hand. With the artisan this often becomes very apparent. But it is no wonder that a turn, a talent, for art very frequently develops in a people settled among grand natural surroundings and under circumstances which compel to self-help and self-confidence. They do not live close together, but each family on its farm; there are always dangers around them, and always sharp eyes upon those dangers.

Inherited artistic aptitudes, however, are not culture. Culture means appreciation of any one and everything according to true worth. The power of fine and sure discrimination may suffice for the peasant, the artisan, the official, and yet fail—when higher up and farther out. However, it can be conquered by study. But that refined sense of harmony which is found in families of old culture, is, so to speak, a privilege. It is hard to acquire, and it is often missed in the works of artists of peasant stock, if that stock has not received blood from the families which through long times have carried the national civilization onward. It is true that such a mixture of blood has taken place in many of those peasant families from which our poets and artists sprung, but then Norway is poor and lonely situated. What has its people seen and heard? What has it been able to gather of art treasures? Nevertheless, we can be proud, I dare say, of what we have achieved in literature and art.

BJÖRNSTJERNE BJÖRNSON.



## THE FALLACY OF TERRITORIAL EXTENSION.

THE traditional belief is that a state aggrandizes itself by territorial extension, so that winning new land is gaining in wealth and prosperity, just as an individual would gain if he increased his land possessions. It is undoubtedly true that a state may be so small in territory and population that it cannot serve the true purposes of a state for its citizens, especially in international relations with neighboring states which control a large aggregate of men and capital. There is, therefore, under given circumstances, a size of territory and population which is at the maximum of advantage for the civil unit. The unification of Germany and Italy was apparently advantageous for the people affected. In the nineteenth century there has been a tendency to create national states, and nationality has been advocated as the true basis of state unity. The cases show, however, that the national unit does not necessarily coincide with the most advantageous state unit, and that the principle of nationality cannot override the historical accidents which have made the states. Sweden and Norway, possessing unity, threaten to separate. Austro-Hungary, a conglomerate of nationalities largely hostile to each other, will probably be held together by political necessity. The question of expedient size will always be one for the judgment and good sense of statesmen. The opinion may be risked that Russia has carried out a policy of territorial extension which has been harmful to its internal integration. For three hundred years it has been reaching out after more territory, and has sought the grandeur and glory of conquest and size. To this it has sacrificed the elements of social and industrial strength. The autocracy has been confirmed and established because it is the only institution which symbolizes and maintains the unity of the great mass, and the military and tax burdens have distorted the growth of the society to such an extent as to produce disease and weakness.

Territorial aggrandizement enhances the glory and personal importance of the man who is the head of a dynastic state. The fallacy of confusing this with the greatness and strength of the state itself is an open pitfall close at hand. It might seem that a republic, one of whose



chief claims to superiority over a monarchy lies in avoiding the danger of confusing the king with the state, ought to be free from this fallacy of national greatness, but we have plenty of examples to prove that the traditional notions are not cut off by changing names and forms.

The notion that gain of territory is gain of wealth and strength for the state, after the expedient size has been won, is a delusion. In the Middle Ages the beneficial interest in land and the jurisdiction over the people who lived on it were united in one person. The modern great states, upon their formation, took to themselves the jurisdiction, and the beneficial interest turned into full property in land. The confusion of the two often reappears now, and it is one of the most fruitful causes of fallacy in public questions. It is often said that the United States owns silver mines, and it is inferred that the policy of the state in regard to money and currency ought to be controlled in some way by this fact. The "United States," as a subject of property rights and of monetary claims and obligations may be best defined by calling it the "Fiscus." This legal person owns no silver mines. If it did, it could operate them by farming them, or by royalties. The revenue thus received would lower taxes. The gain would inure to all the people in the United States. The body politic named the United States has nothing to do with the silver mines except that it exercises jurisdiction over the territory in which they lie. If it levies taxes on them it also incurs expenses for them, and, as it wins no profits on its total income and outgo, these must be taken to be equal. It renders services for which it exacts only the cost thereof. The beneficial and property interest in the mines belongs to individuals, and they win profits only by conducting the exploitation of the mines with an expenditure of labor and capital. These individuals are of many nationalities. They alone own the product and have the use and enjoyment of it. No other individuals, American or others, have any interest, right, duty, or responsibility in the matter. The United States has simply provided the protection of its laws and institutions for the mine-workers while they were carrying on their enterprise. Its jurisdiction was only a burden to it; not a profitable good. Its jurisdiction was a boon to the mine-workers and certainly did not entail further obligation.

It is said that the boundary between Alaska and British America runs through a gold field, and some people are in great anxiety as to who will "grab" it. If an American can go over to the English side and mine gold there for his profit, under English laws and jurisdiction, and an Englishman can come over to the American side and mine gold



there for his profit, under American laws and jurisdiction, what difference does it make where the line falls? The only case in which it would make any difference is where the laws and institutions of the two states were not on equal stages of enlightenment.

This case serves to bring out distinctly a reason for the old notion of territorial extension which is no longer valid. In the old colonial system, states conquered territories, or founded colonies, in order to shut them against all other states and to exploit them on principles of subjugation and monopoly. It is only under this system that the jurisdiction is anything but a burden.

If the United States should admit Hawaii to the Union, the Fiscus of the former state would collect more taxes and incur more expenses. The circumstances are such that the latter would probably be the greater. The United States would not acquire a square foot of land, in property, unless it paid for it. Individual Americans would get no land to till, without paying for it, and would win no products from it except by wisely expending their labor and capital on it. All that, they can do now. So long as there is a government on the islands, native or other, which is competent to guarantee peace, order, and security, no more is necessary, and for any outside power to seize the jurisdiction is an unjustifiable aggression. That jurisdiction would be the best founded which was the most liberal and enlightened, and would give the best security to all persons who sought the islands upon their lawful occasions. The jurisdiction would, in any case, be a burden, and any state might be glad to see any other state assume the burden, provided that it was one which could be relied upon to execute the charge on enlightened principles for the good of all. The best case is, therefore, always that in which the resident population produce their own state by the institutions of self-government.

What private individuals want is free access, under order and security, to any part of the earth's surface, in order that they may avail themselves of its natural resources for their use, either by investment or commerce. If, therefore, we could have free trade with Hawaii while somebody else had the jurisdiction, we should gain all the advantages and escape all the burdens. The Constitution of the United States establishes absolute free trade between all parts of the territory under its jurisdiction. A large part of our population were thrown into indignant passion because the Administration rejected the annexation of Hawaii, regarding it like the act of a man who refuses the gift of a farm. These persons were generally those who are thrown



into excitement by any proposition of free trade. They will not, therefore, accept free trade with the islands while somebody else has the trouble and burden of the jurisdiction, but they would accept free trade with the islands eagerly if they could get the burden of the jurisdiction too.

Canada has to deal with a race war and a religious war, each of great virulence, which render governmental jurisdiction in the Dominion difficult and hazardous. If we could go to Canada and trade there our products for those of that country, we could win all for our private interests which that country is able to contribute to the welfare of mankind, and we should have nothing to do with the civil and political difficulties which harass the government. We refuse to have free trade with Canada. Our newspaper and congressional economists prove to their own satisfaction that it would be a great harm to us to have free trade with her now, while she is outside the jurisdiction under which we live; but, within a few months, we have seen an eager impulse of public opinion toward a war of conquest against Canada. If, then, we could force her to come under the same jurisdiction, by a cruel and unprovoked war, thus bringing on ourselves the responsibility for all her civil discords and problems, it appears to be believed that free trade with her would be a good thing.

The case of Cuba is somewhat different. If we could go to the island and trade with the same freedom with which we can go to Louisiana, we could make all the gains, by investment and commerce, which the island offers to industry and enterprise, provided that either Spain or a local government would give the necessary security, and we should have no share in political struggles there. It may be that the proviso is not satisfied, or soon will not be. Here is a case, then, which illustrates the fact that states are often forced to extend their jurisdiction whether they want to do so or not. Civilized states are forced to supersede the local jurisdiction of uncivilized or half-civilized states, in order to police the territory, and establish the necessary guarantees of industry and commerce. It is idle to set up absolute doctrines of national ownership in the soil which would justify a group of population in spoiling a part of the earth's surface for themselves and everybody else. The island of Cuba may fall into anarchy. If it does, the civilized world may look to the United States to take the jurisdiction and establish order and security there. We might be compelled to do it. It would, however, be a great burden, and possibly a fatal calamity to us. Probably any proposition that England should take it would



call out a burst of jingo passion against which all reasoning would be powerless. We ought to pray that England would take it. She would govern it well, and everybody would have free access to it for the purposes of private interest, while our Government would be free from all complications with the politics of the island. If we take the jurisdiction of the island, we shall find ourselves in a political dilemma, each horn of which is as disastrous as the other; either we must govern it as a subject province, or we must admit it into the Union as a State or group of States. Our system is unfit for the government of subject provinces. They have no place in it. They would become seats of corruption, which would react on our own body politic. If we admitted the island as a State or group of States, we should have to let it help govern us. The prospect of adding to the present Senate a number of Cuban Senators, either native or carpet-bag, is one whose terrors it is not necessary to unfold. Nevertheless it appears that there is a large party which would not listen to free trade with the island while any other nation has the jurisdiction of it, but who are ready to grab it at any cost, and to take free trade with it, provided that they can get the political burdens too.

This confederated state of ours was never planned for indefinite expansion, or for an imperial policy. We boast of it a great deal, but we must know that its advantages are won at the cost of limitations, as is the case with most things in this world. The Fathers of the Republic planned a confederation of free and peaceful industrial commonwealths, shielded by their geographical position from the jealousies, rivalries, and traditional policies of the Old World, and bringing all the resources of civilization to bear for the domestic happiness of the population only. They meant to have no grand statecraft, or "high politics"; no "balance of power" or "reasons of state," which had cost the human race so much. They meant to offer no field for what Benjamin Franklin called the "pest of glory." It is the limitation of this scheme of the state that the state created under it must forego a great number of the grand functions of European states; especially that it contains no methods and apparatus of conquest, extension, domination, and imperialism. The plan of the Fathers would have no controlling authority for us, if it had been proved by experience that that plan was narrow, inadequate, and mistaken. Are we prepared to vote that it has proved so? For our territorial extension has reached limits which are complete for all purposes and leave no necessity for "rectification of boundaries." Any extension will open questions; not close



them. Any extension will not make us more secure where we are, but will force us to take new measures to secure our new acquisitions. The preservation of acquisitions will force us to reorganize our internal resources, so as to make it possible to prepare them in advance and to mobilize them with promptitude. This will lessen liberty and require discipline. It will increase taxation and all the pressure of government. It will divert the national energy from the provision of self-maintenance and comfort for the people, and will necessitate stronger and more elaborate governmental machinery. All this will be disastrous to republican institutions and to democracy. Moreover all extension puts a new strain on the internal cohesion of the pre-existing mass, threatening a new cleavage within. If we had never taken Texas and Northern Mexico we should never have had secession.

The sum of the matter is that colonization and territorial extension are burdens, not gains. Great civilized states cannot avoid these burdens. They are the penalty of greatness because they are the duties of it. No state can successfully undertake to extend its jurisdiction unless its internal vitality is high, so that it has surplus energy to dispose of. Russia, as already mentioned, is a state which has taken upon itself tasks of this kind beyond its strength, and for which it is in no way competent. Italy offers at this moment the strongest instance of a state which is imperilling its domestic welfare for a colonial policy which is beyond its strength, is undertaken arbitrarily and has no proper motive. Germany has taken up a colonial policy with great eagerness, apparently from a notion that it is one of the attributes of a great state. To maintain it she must add a great navy to her great military establishment, and increase the burdens of a population which is poor and heavily taxed, and which has not in its territory any great natural resources from which to draw the strength to bear its burdens. Spain is exhausting her last strength to keep Cuba, which can never repay the cost unless it is treated on the old colonial plan as a subject province to be exploited for the benefit of the mother country. If that is done, however, the only consequence will be another rebellion and greater expenditure. England, as a penalty of her greatness, finds herself in all parts of the world face to face with the necessity of maintaining her jurisdiction, and of extending it in order to maintain it. When she does so, she finds herself only extending law and order for the benefit of everybody. It is only in circumstances like hers that the burdens have any compensation.

W. G. SUMNER.



## A KEATS MANUSCRIPT.

"TOUCH it," said Leigh Hunt when he showed Bayard Taylor a lock of brown silky hair, "and you will have touched Milton's self." The magic of the lock of hair is akin to that recognized by nomadic and untamed races in anything that has been worn close to the person of a great or fortunate person. Mr. Leland, much revered by the gipsies, whose language he speaks and whose lore he knows better than they know it, had a knife about his person which was supposed by them to secure the granting of any request if held in the hand. When he gave it away, it was like the transfer of fairy power to the happy recipient. The same lucky spell is attributed to a piece from the bride's garter, in Normandy, or to pins filched from her dress, in Sussex. For more cultivated persons, the charm of this transmitted personality is best embodied in autographs, and the more unstudied and unpremeditated the better. In the case of a poet, nothing can be compared with the interest inspired by the first draft of a poem, with the successive corrections—the path by which his thought attained its final and perfect utterance.

Tennyson, it is reported, was very indignant with those who bore away from his study certain rough drafts of poems, justly holding that the world had no right to any but the completed form. Yet this is what, as students of poetry, we all instinctively wish to do. Rightly or wrongly, we long to trace the successive steps. To some extent, the same opportunity is given in successive editions of the printed work, but here the study is not so much of changes in the poet's own mind as of those produced by the criticisms, often dull or ignorant, of his readers; those especially who fail to catch a poet's very finest thought, and persuade him to dilute it a little for their satisfaction. When I pointed out to Browning some most unfortunate changes in his later editions and charged him with having made them to accommodate stupid people, he admitted the charge and promised to alter them back again, although of course he never did. But the alterations in an author's first draft almost always come either from his own finer perception and steady advance



toward the precise conveyance of his own thought; or else from the aid he receives in this from some immediate friend or adviser—most likely a woman—who is in close sympathy with his own mood. Best of all is such a priceless thing as the Shelley manuscript in the Harvard University Library—given by Miss Jane Clairmont to Mr. William Silsbee and by him to the Library—containing many of Shelley's poems, sometimes in his own handwriting, sometimes in his wife's, and full of various readings and amendments in which both doubtless had a share. The University has reprinted in facsimile the "Skylark" thus illuminated; and Mr. Woodberry has used many of these various readings—though not so many, I think, as he might well have used—in his edition of Shelley. But the charm is, of course, in seeing and studying and touching the actual page, just as it is. For this a photograph is the best substitute, since it preserves the original for the eye, as does the phonograph for the ear. Even with the aid of photography only, there is as much difference between the final corrected shape and the page showing the gradual changes, as between the graceful yacht lying in harbor, furled, anchored, motionless, and the same yacht as a winged creature, gliding into port. Let us now see, by actual comparison, how one of Keats's yachts came in.

There lies before me a photograph<sup>1</sup> of the first two stanzas of Keats's "Ode on Melancholy" as they stood when first written. The manuscript page containing them was given to John Howard Payne by George Keats, the poet's brother, who lived for many years at Louisville, Kentucky, and died there; but it now belongs to Mr. R. S. Chilton, United States Consul at Goderich, Ontario, who has kindly given me a photograph of it. The verses are in Keats's well-known and delicate handwriting, and exhibit a series of erasures and substitutions which are now most interesting, inasmuch as the changes in each instance enrich greatly the value of the word-painting.

To begin with, the title varies slightly from that now adopted, and reads simply "On Melancholy," to which the word "Ode" is now prefixed by the printers. In the second line, where he had half written "Henbane" for his incantation, he blots it out and puts "Wolfsbane," instantly abandoning the tamer suggestion and bringing in all the wildness and the superstition that have gathered for years around the Loupgarou and the Wehrwolf. This is plainly no amendment suggested afterward by another, but is due unmistakably to the quick action of his own mind. There is no other change until the

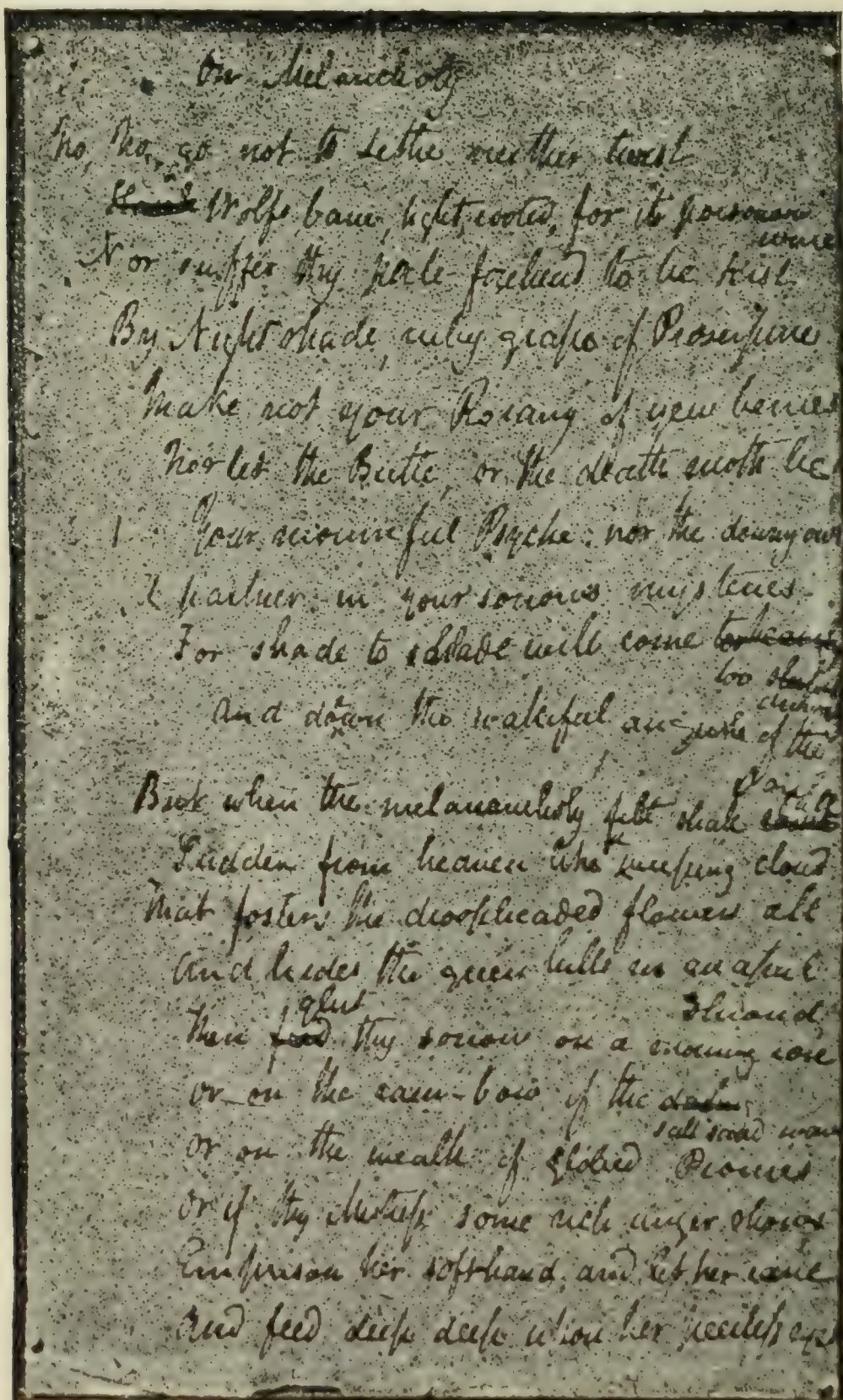
<sup>1</sup> See following page.



end of the first stanza, where the last two lines were originally written thus:—

“For shade to shade will come too heavily  
And drown the wakeful anguish of the soul.”

It is noticeable that he originally wrote “down” for “drown” and, in afterward inserting the *r*, put it in the wrong place—after the *o*, in-



stead of before it. This was a slip of the pen only; but it was that word “heavily” which cost him a struggle. The words “too heavily” were next crossed out, and under them written “too sleepily”; then



this last word was again erased and the word "drowsily" was finally substituted;—the only expression in the English language, perhaps, which could have precisely indicated the exact shade of debilitating languor he meant.

In the other stanza, it is noticeable that he spells "melancholy," through heedlessness, "melanancholy," which gives a curious effect of prolonging and deepening the incantation; and this error he does not discover or correct. In the same way he spells "fit" "fitt," having perhaps in mind the "fytte" of the earlier poets. These are trifles, but when he alters the line, which originally stood

"But when the melancholy fit shall come,"

and for "come" substitutes "fall," we see at once, besides the merit of the soft alliteration, that he gives more of the effect of doom and suddenness. "Come" was clearly too businesslike. Afterward, instead of

"Then feed thy sorrow on a morning rose"

he substitutes for "feed" the inexpressibly more effective word "glut," which gives at once the exhaustive sense of wealth belonging so often to Keats's poetry; and seems to match the full ecstasy of color and shape and fragrance which a morning rose may hold. Finally, in the line which originally stood

"Or on the rainbow of the dashing wave"

he strikes out the rather trite epithet "dashing" and substitutes the stronger phrase "salt-sand wave," which is peculiar to him.

All these changes are happily accepted in the common editions of Keats; but these editions make two errors that are corrected by this manuscript and should henceforth be abandoned. In the line usually printed

"Nor let the beetle, nor the death-moth be"

the autograph text gives "or" in place of the second "nor," a change consonant with the best usage; and in the line

"And hides the green hill in an April shroud"

the middle word is clearly not "hill" but "hills." This is a distinct improvement, both because it broadens the landscape and because it averts the jangle of the closing *ll* with the final words "fall" and "all" in previous lines.



It is a fortunate thing that, in the uncertain destiny of all literary manuscripts, this characteristic document should have been preserved for us. It will be remembered that Keats himself once wrote in a letter that his fondest prayer, next to the health of his brother Tom, would be that some child of his brother George "should be the first American poet." (This letter, printed by Milnes, was written Oct. 29, 1818.) George Keats died about 1851, and his youngest daughter, Isabel, who was thought greatly to resemble her uncle John, both in looks and genius, died sadly at the age of seventeen. It is pleasant to think that we have, through the care exercised by this Americanized brother, an opportunity of coming into close touch with the mental processes of that rare genius which first imparted something like actual color to English words. To be brought thus near to Keats suggests that short poem by Browning, where he compares a moment's interview with Shelley to picking up an eagle's feather on a lonely heath.

THOMAS WENTWORTH HIGGINSON.



## THE PROMISES OF DEMOCRACY: HAVE THEY BEEN FULFILLED?

As a people we have been taught through the passing years, marked by the events of our national life, to expect great results from a democratic form of government. The very name of democracy, as opposed to monarchy and aristocracy, carries with it the weight of historic greatness. Since the days of the Athenian republic, that name has been, among liberty-loving people, not only an inspiration to freedom and patriotism, but has served as a prototype of the highest form of government. But in these days of ultimate analysis of theories and of positive conclusions drawn from the careful collection and classification of facts, many pointed questions are being asked concerning the actual results of popular government. Some excellent persons have gone so far as to ask in good earnest if it is not, after all, a failure. Others inquire, with some feeling, if it can long survive the rude shocks of injustice and inequality that occur repeatedly in this beautiful land of our most cherished thoughts. Others ask, with thoughtful concern, if it is possible to secure a fair and just popular government where all have a measure of equality in social, legal, and political usage. There is somewhat more than a faint suspicion abroad that, while men have prided themselves on a perfect form of government, they have in fact been living upon sentiment and seeing visions, and have promised themselves greater results than it is possible to obtain by a mere form of government. As the scales fall from their eyes, they observe that this nation is not saved from the grinding poverty, the excessive selfishness, the despotism and corruption of the Old World, and that many of the promises respecting a popular government, given by legislators, historians, and orators, have not yet been fulfilled.

The promises of history respecting the power and opportunity, as well as the responsibility, of popular government are many. Some of these are based merely upon false assumptions obtained from reading history carelessly and interpreting it falsely. They represent the momentum of accumulated error. Other promises are fair and legitimate,



based upon the principles of government, given with foresight and reason, and in many instances fulfilled. In the discussion of those promises relating to the privileges and benefits of democracy, there arises no greater delusion or misconception than that relating to equality, and yet there is no assumption brought before the people oftener, in political campaigns and legislative halls, than that of the equality of all persons in the practical workings of democracy. In the palmiest days of Athens, a large majority of the people of that magnificent state were slaves. In spite of all the philosophy, learning, and culture of the people of Greece, the most glaring inequalities existed in the Athenian democracy. But Aristotle, the greatest of the ancient philosophers, comes boldly to the relief of our cherished sentiment, stating that "equality is for equals and inequality for unequals"; and thus the argument closes, that it is equality of the members of a class that is sought in the Greek popular government. And so in the old Roman republic; the senate ruled with more arbitrary and dominant powers than any modern monarch, the Czar of Russia not excepted. The whole history of the Roman republic relates to the struggles of classes and the inequality in position, power, and opportunity, of the masses of the people. And after the republic broke down and the imperial power was once more dominant over Roman territory, these ideas of democracy passed away and were seldom referred to until the beginning of the formation of new nationalities after that mighty empire lay in ruins.

But there was started, in the Middle Ages, a new train of thought concerning the independence, liberty, and equality of man, though it was a long way yet from the assumption of political equality. It was in the renaissance period of Europe, when the whole western world was awakening to new thought and new life, when old forms were passing away, and when the mind was rediscovering its independence,—it was then that the significance of the individual in all departments of life was greatly enhanced. In fact, the individual now became a perfect type of life, while social life was thrust into the background. The right to think as one pleased concerning art, literature, and philosophy, led to great versatility of the individual life and established the principle that man could do what he chose provided he had sufficient courage and freedom of mind. The false assumption which accompanied this development was that, intellectually considered, one man was as good as another if he so willed to be, and that each had a right to set up his own opinion on the basis of intellectual equality. When this freedom



of thought and life passed into the religious world, the right to think as one pleased respecting the religious life, without regard to the dictates of the authority of the church, plunged Western Europe into a religious revolution. In this struggle there was brought again to the mind of the people an idea of religious equality as it was in the days of old when Christ walked upon the earth and taught His disciples the doctrine of the golden rule.

Scarcely had the wars ceased which had arisen out of these principles, when the same spirit of individual liberty passed into the political world, and thoughts of equality and fraternity in government arose. These ideas, struggling on through the irregularities of three centuries of political misrule, finally asserted themselves in the outburst of the French revolution. No one can find fault with the principles for which the people struggled in this great revolution, but the false assumptions arising out of it have led thousands of people into error and delusion respecting the rights and duties of man ; for, just as, in the struggle for intellectual and religious liberty, it was assumed that equal opportunity would bring equal power in the intellectual life or make men equal religiously, so it was now inferred, that political equality was a real thing and would make men equal in political power. And for a hundred years men have been reiterating and cherishing this idea of political equality, without ever being satisfied as to its results. In the varied shiftings of society the claims of freedom and equality have been enlarged by ideal reformers to mean something more than justice before the law, and fair political usage has often been interpreted to mean equality and fraternity and equal political powers and opportunities.

But the French revolution was something more than political ; it was also economic. It was an outcry against the injustice and inequalities of wealth. The whole revolution shifted from a political to an industrial basis. Inequality had become more manifest through the rapid increase of wealth and its unequal distribution than in political usage, and the cry went up that the rich were growing richer and the poor poorer ; that luxury and poverty were each increasing, side by side. It was assumed that the inequality was unjust and contrary to the guaranties of organized democratic forms of government. As the political passed into the industrial revolution, the false assumption of the equality of man in the economic and industrial world was an essential outcome of previous promises and conditions. While it may be freely admitted that the element of increased individuality



gave people the same opportunity of living, believing, and acting, there was no practical evidence of equality in intellectual, political, or economic power, and, consequently, equal privileges yielded not the same to all.

Prior to the French revolution, the American colonists sought only justice, not equality. At first they were organized into political groups, each group composed of people having similar ideas respecting government, the same religious beliefs, the same general social standing. They were men accustomed to the practices of local self-government, and at once assumed it on the basis of equality and freedom to all. They assumed the equality of all because the first colonists were supposed to be, according to the dictum of Aristotle, a band of equals. The first legislature of the colony, formed at Jamestown, Virginia, in 1619, was composed of members chosen by all the male inhabitants of the colony. The first legislative assembly of New England, held at Plymouth in 1620, was a purely democratic body composed of all the male inhabitants of the colony. But it came to pass, as people of different religious beliefs and political sentiments and of inferior social rank appeared, that all this changed, and there was a restriction of the elective franchise among these so-called young democracies. There was no unanimous assumption that the majority of all the people should rule, but an assumption in favor of the majority only of a certain chosen set who were supposed to have sufficient judgment, ability, and public spirit to rule. This restriction of the elective franchise extended through all the colonies, and it was not until after the French revolution that the question of the natural right of man to vote or to take part in governmental affairs was favorably discussed.

The Declaration of Independence asserts that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. The whole Declaration proclaims the spirit of the natural rights of man. But the several State governments continued to make the holding of property a qualification for voters. The spirit of the Declaration was forsaken in the attempt to admit to the full privileges of citizens in a republic, only those who were capable of self-government. Declaring that all men are created equal, the Government kept a large number of inhabitants in bondage and denied them the right of citizenship. Professing to believe that rulers derive their powers from the consent of the governed, those in power restricted the voice of the people to those who held property. Subsequently, the



spirit of natural rights proclaimed by the French revolution pervaded the American Republic to such a degree that men began to assume that every citizen has a right to vote on account of personal liberty, while, under the Constitution and the laws of the several States, such a position had not been maintained. The historical principle of the right of suffrage is a matter of capability and expediency rather than a natural right. A man has a right to vote if he is capable of intelligently exercising that right in behalf of his own interests and the interests of the community at large; otherwise he cannot claim that right. Yet orators, legislators, and even historical writers have promised us more.

And this delusion has led us into a large extension of the elective franchise, taking in masses of people who are not acquainted with the spirit of our Government and, therefore, not capable of exercising the rights and privileges of citizens. And this has been done under another delusion,—that the majority of the people are always right in their decisions and capable of ruling. There have been cases in the history of the United States wherein the majority have made a poor choice in the selection of representatives to the law-making body. There are communities in the United States to-day where, if power were turned over solely to the majority, they would be unfit to rule. Yet we have promised ourselves that the majority shall rule and that the minority shall be ruled out.

It frequently happens in a state that nearly half the voters have no representation according to their own choice in legislative halls, while the party having a small majority elects every Congressman and every member of the legislature for the time being. This practically disfranchises a large number of the people. For years the minority party in Baltimore, although at times nearly equal to the majority in number, had no voice in the management of governmental affairs. They were, strictly speaking, without representation. So, too, with the State of Maine; there the minority party for years was without representation in the legislature. In the Congressional election of 1892, the Republicans, with 41.9 per cent of the total vote, elected 36.8 per cent of the Representatives; the Democrats, with 47.2 per cent of the vote, obtained 59.8 per cent of the Representatives; the Populists, with 8.7 per cent of the vote, obtained 3.4 per cent of the Representatives; the Prohibitionists, with 2 per cent of the vote, secured no Representative. In 1894, the Republicans, with 48.4 per cent of the total vote, elected 68.8 per cent of the Representatives; the Democrats, with 38.1 per



cent of the vote, obtained 29.2 per cent; the Populists, with 11.7 per cent of the vote, secured only 2 per cent; and, as before, the 1.6 per cent of the Prohibitionists went unrepresented. So much for the modern method of plurality counting. If it has not been the cause of gerrymandering, it has at least made that corrupt practice possible. It is doubtful whether the handing over of the management of the Government to a majority for a period of time, while a large number is not represented, is an ideal principle of democracy. Indeed, it seems to be a gross imperfection of the representative system; no one would contend for an instant that this is a wholesome state of affairs. Though counting heads is at present the only method of determining who shall rule for the time being, it must be said to be a very clumsy method.

Yet there is a law of compensation in all this, from the fact that the majority does not always rule. There are many times when the opinions of the masses are registered, and when the majority comes off victorious; but if we inquire more carefully into the actual power of legislation and administration in this country, we shall find that it is the few who take the time and trouble, the few with the ability to govern, who shape things in the way that they are to go, while the great masses of the people look on and do little more than register objections from election to election. Yet we have been promised that the people shall rule on the basis that they are capable of ruling. We have also been told by ardent advocates of the democratic form of government, that the evils of the monarchies of the past have been dependent wholly upon their form of government, and hence that these would all disappear with the adoption of government by the people. A careful inquiry into the evils of monarchical forms of government in the Middle Ages, or in modern times, will show us that the trouble is not so much political as social, and that, under existing conditions, there would have been bad results under any form of government that might have been adopted. The attempt to show the failure of the Roman and Grecian republics merely on account of their form of government may be met with the same objection. Ineradicable social evils wrought the downfall of those republics, and we may infer therefrom that a republican form of government does not, in itself, ensure the well-being of a people, and that the form of government ought to depend, not upon the theories of reformers, but upon the actual conditions of social order among a people for whom the government is framed.

There is one creature that, apparently, the historical progenitors of



democracy did not count upon, or, if they did recognize his probable existence, seemed not to realize the extent of his powers of mischief,—and that is the political demagogue, who thrives best in a republic. By his faculty of ready speech, by his vivid presentation of affairs, and by his adroit method of presenting half truths for whole truths, he is able to deceive the people, corrupt public opinion, and distort legislation,—merely to attain his personal ends. The only cure for his hurtful activity is the alert intelligence of all citizens and their combined determination to rule, not at the polls alone, but for three hundred and sixty-five days in the year.

Self-government means something more than the registration at the polls of a vote concerning a measure or an officer; it means eternal vigilance; it means a daily watchfulness of measures and men. We have been promised that the people will take an interest in their own Government if it be placed in their own hands; but we are astonished more and more at the apathy and indifference of thousands of voters of this land who fail to exercise the privilege of self-government which is given them. People may well ask if this is a Government of all the people, a virtual democracy, or whether all the people are represented in the management of our affairs. It seems that many people have thought that self-government, like a perpetual-motion machine, will run itself, that it is necessary only to start it once a year at the polls and that then it will run on without any attention in the meantime; but in all the great cities and in some of the States men and women are beginning to realize that there must be a combined and constant activity of our best citizens if they are to make self-government possible and social life tolerable.

One hundred years ago no one could have imagined the present rapid growth of cities and the important questions of municipal government that now engage public attention. The rapid concentration of population has brought new evils to test our theory and practice of government. Nor can all these evils be laid to the door of foreign immigration, for many of the worst despoilers of our American life—we must admit it to our shame—are of American parentage. But while the sudden growth of urban population and the multitudes of new civic questions thereby forced upon the people tended to divorce the government from the governed, the modern reforms and radical changes in American city administration will eventually bring back the people into vital touch with their own affairs, with the management of the corporation of which they form a part. While our chief



dangers are in city government, they will be soonest remedied, because the people can here more readily than elsewhere be made to see their own interests. And while the form and scope of city government, and the character of its administration are of great importance, the question of the civic activity and responsibility of the people and of their vital touch with all municipal affairs is one of far greater and wider significance. The government of the city is the private business of every citizen; he ought to attend to his business faithfully and energetically.

There is another thing that the founders of the Republic apparently did not fully perceive, and that is, the insatiable thirst for office that has sprung up in recent years. I doubt if any one a century ago, in recounting the dangers that might befall the course of popular government, could have looked forward to a time when, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, the Republic would be infested by a band of greedy office-holders settling down upon the land 'like the locusts of Egypt, to devour the products of the toil of others in the name of service to the state. "To consume," and not to create, is their motto. There seems to have been an ancient ideal, that in a government of the people a man should be drawn reluctantly from his private business to serve his term in the management of public affairs as a solemn duty, thankful indeed when the term of office was ended, and returning, like Washington, with joy from public to private life. But, shades of the immortal Washington! we now behold a hundred hungry applicants for every office, pushing, crowding, fighting for their turn at the public crib, and when their term of office expires by law, having neither the courtesy nor the good-will to the public to retire until forcibly ejected. This is democracy gone mad! And yet the good people who have the power to stop this permit it to continue.

One of the evil results of this condition of affairs is over-legislation and over-government. In a single commonwealth we have developed law and government machinery sufficient to run an empire. We have boards and commissions without number, all of which must be filled by some one, and each of which there are thousands ready to fill. While it is easy to prove that a niggardly government, always meagre in its expenditures, is not the best government, it is true that the government of one of our western States could be better managed with half its present machinery and half its present number of officers. If boards of inspection continue to be created in the future as in the past, we shall soon be heading our legislative bills with "An



act to create a board to supervise a board to oversee another board in order that all the promises of the election campaign shall be fulfilled." A heading of this kind would show the spirit of many legislative acts of recent years.

It has been assumed also that the tyranny of the Old World which we fought to overthrow would not rise again on American soil. And while we have disposed of the tyranny of kings and emperors, we have allowed to grow up in our midst as great tyrants as they, in the form of monopolies; and we have allowed ourselves to bow servilely before these later tyrants without restricting their power or limiting their encroachments upon our rights. If we wish to find a germane example of this, we have only to study the Southern Pacific Railroad of California to learn how one great corporation may dominate political and private interests in a great State. But the people are being aroused by a determined effort, not to destroy the corporations or injure their rightful interests, but to keep them within the legitimate bounds of well-regulated government. The general outcry against corporations is useless and senseless when the people continually vote away their own rights and privileges. The services of corporations in developing the wealth of the country have been great, yet—while we acknowledge the right of large returns to capital, risk, and managing ability—it must be insisted upon that the usual methods of many corporations are corrupt and oppressive, and that the people themselves have been largely responsible for the results, on account of the reckless manner in which they have squandered their rights and privileges through franchises and the entailment of burdens upon future generations.

We have been assured that there would be no tyrants in America, but we turn and bow servilely to the political boss, allow him to take political affairs in his own hands, and to rule while we serve. He begins with the primaries and ends with the State legislature or with Congress. We call him "tyrant" and "boss," tell him he is corrupt, that we will not endure his domineering longer,—then fall in line at the next election and vote the ticket straight for him or some other boss, and forge the chains of tyranny closer. Sometimes, indeed, we revolt and form a new party, and say we will break down this domineering spirit; then we vote for those we suppose to be the heroes of our reform measures; but, alas! we find that the chameleon has only changed his color, and we have a new boss in place of the old.

We have been promised, too, that we shall have legislation for the permanent benefit of the people, that we shall not have to rest upon



temporary expedients, and that the people, having their voice in affairs, will see, not only their immediate, but also their ultimate needs, and will legislate accordingly; and some of our forefathers and some modern legislators have been praised for their foresight in the founding and building up of a Republic which will endure through all time. But read over the records of the laws of the various States, of any State, indeed, in the Union, and many of those passed in our National legislative halls, and see what a mass of temporizing there is,—laws that stood for a day, laws that were made and never heard of, laws that were made to serve immediate and private ends, laws which work to the detriment of the people and retard the up-building of the Republic. This careless and temporary legislation has cost the nation millions of money on account of the endless litigation that it has brought about. It has a tendency to wreck private interests and to lessen respect and reverence for law. Legislation, to be just, should consider, if not all the people, a large majority of them, and in that case the majority should include future generations. They who have the foresight to discern the probable trend of human society should build wisely the laws of a republic and do nothing that will cramp or stultify the life of future generations. Just legislation cannot be based upon the probabilities of a prospective campaign. The shaping of our legislation for the control of the majority at the elections is a vicious practice too much observed in our National and State legislation. At least such questions as relate to taxation, finance, and the circulation of money, having such vital importance to the people, should be considered without fear or care of the coming election. They should be settled on purely scientific principles and removed from partisan politics. We have reason to demand this from our ideals of a government of the people, and on the basis of pure common sense as well.

Again, we have been promised that there shall be no class distinctions in a democracy. We have paraded the idea of the universal brotherhood of man; of the equality of individuals; and yet, in spite of ourselves, there is one rapidly-growing class of people called laborers, and another, called capitalists,—and the gulf between them grows wider each year. There has appeared among us an aristocracy of wealth and a proletariat of poverty. England was a government of classes, France was a government of classes, Rome, even in the palmyest days of the republic, was governed by classes, Athens likewise was a government of classes; but in the United States we have thought that the class system was broken down. On account of the difference



of conditions here we shall probably never have the class rule that dominated the older nations of the world, and yet its faint appearance on the horizon gives us cause, not necessarily for anxiety or alarm, but certainly for vigilance,—for vigilance in wise legislation and for zeal for measures adapted to protect the people.

But in spite of delusions ; in spite of dreams never to be realized ; in the face of the large number of legitimate promises only partly fulfilled,—in the face of all this, we must see that our national life has yielded much of rational good to the people. In spite of the fact that our ideals have been crushed and broken, that our aspirations have not been realized, we must still admit that, in comparison with other nations, we have in many respects the best Government on the face of the earth. We have here a freedom of individual life in the pursuit of any industry which we may choose, not approximated to in any other nation. Each enters life here untrammelled and free to follow the pursuit of his choice. With a comparatively inexpensive Government, we have a personal protection of people not found elsewhere. We have peaceful elections where the voice of the majority may be heard if it chooses to speak. The people may make all the laws necessary for their protection and welfare.

We have a magnificent system of public schools which begins with the kindergarten and ends with the university, in which all are free to prepare themselves for citizenship and for the art of right living, if they are but willing to pay the cost in energy and zeal. If these schools are carefully guarded, they will furnish sufficient intelligence for self-government. The standard of living of the common laborer is higher on an average in the United States than in any country of the Old World. His privileges of education, of social life, are greater. There are greater opportunities for men to rise from a lower to a higher position than in any other land. It is frequently said that the poor man of to-day is the millionaire of to-morrow. While the opportunities for rapid changes from poverty to wealth are growing less, there is still abundant opportunity for noble achievement in the accumulation of wealth, the attainment of social distinction, and the acquirement of political power. While men and women may not have equal chances in this struggle, there is at least a chance for all, and there never were greater opportunities in any other nation or in any other time.

To those who feel that the Government has been alienated from the people and has gone into the hands of demagogues and office-seekers, it may be said that there is a way to bring it again into vital touch



with the people, and that way begins with increased popular interest in the caucus, the primary, the election, and the service throughout their term of the officers chosen. In no other way can the voice of the people be heard in good government. The safety of all government, the reform of all government, rests in the power of local units. The work must be done on the margin of governmental influences, and must be perpetually done to secure the rights and to exercise the will of the people.

There is an opportunity in the United States for a citizen to walk upright in the pride and dignity of his own manhood, sovereign and free. If he has failed to utilize this opportunity, it is time he set about it. If the carelessness of the sovereign voter and the irresponsible selfishness of the office-holders have lessened our appreciation of free government, it is, indeed, time to begin an earnest reform. We are apt to consider lightly what has been easily obtained. But in these days of peace and prosperity, we must not forget what it cost our fathers to lay the foundation of this Government, nor what it is costing us to rear the superstructure. Liberty is always expensive, and if we are not willing to pay the price, we cannot have it. We should devote ourselves to a serious consideration of the principles of popular government, and to the possibility of perpetual growth on the one hand and perpetual reform on the other. But we must not expect too much from this or from any other government. For if individual culture represents the flower of civilization, individual character represents the corner-stone of a republic. There should be especial effort made to cultivate substantial, independent, individual character in the home, in the school, and in social life.

There has been a slight tendency of late years to develop a spirit of pauperism in our nation. There has been a cause for this, and in part it comes from mistaken notions arising from the liberality and munificence of the Government toward all people. For instance, the immense and liberal gift of the Government of the millions of acres of fertile soil has led people to look to it for similar gifts. While this method of distributing free lands with a lavish hand proved a great nation-builder, such munificence cannot be repeated by the nation in this or other ways. The public-school system is a necessity to a free government, but it is not in its primal nature a charitable organization and should not give free text-books to its pupils, for if it does, the next step will be, free clothes for all students, and finally free lunch with these. It is easy to develop a spirit of pauperism through misunder-



standing and misusing a great enterprise. It sometimes happens that the best institutions in a free government open the doorway to the worst evils. It requires wisdom, eternal vigilance, and ceaseless activity to ward off social dangers. Whatever is done should be so accomplished as neither to detract from individual responsibility, nor to develop the spirit of helplessness and expectancy.

It is easy to estimate the benefits of a free press. Indeed, a free press is indispensable to modern life as well as to a free government. One is astonished to read of the slow development of the freedom of the press so carefully curbed by the jealous monarchs of the Old World, and is gratified to observe how, with a single stroke, this nation cast off that bondage and declared for free speech and a free press. We rejoice in the masterly service of the press; but the evils which, notwithstanding its service, crop out in the exercise of this inestimable privilege, are seldom recounted. While they are not a cause for alarm, they should receive the attention of every educator and every true and patriotic citizen. It could not be foreseen that a time would come when a partisan press would seek to mislead the people. It could not be foreseen that a time would come when whole columns of "fake" news would be published; that whole columns of sensational "stuff" would be printed and read. It could not be foreseen that the family paper would contain a little of everything, like the refuse-box in a type-room. It could not be realized that a time would come when this man would be written "up" and this one "down" for personal gain. One did not realize that measures would be advocated on a purely "commercial" basis. That such things take place is shocking to our ideals of democracy. It could not be foreseen that it would be a common question as to the truthfulness of the statements made in a paper, "Who owns the paper?" "What money is behind it that makes it advocate this plan?" These questions are too common nowadays for a healthy tone of the press; but in this distrust of the press is the cure for the evil. People are losing their reverence for print. A printed lie has no more effect now than an oral one. People say every day, "I saw in the paper so and so, I do not know whether it is true or not." The campaign paper has less and less influence in elections. This has been fully demonstrated of late. The time will come when the people will demand newspapers of a higher order and obtain them. It is unfortunate that circumstances force people to lose their faith in the power of the newspaper to adhere to the truth. But speak to the editors of newspapers of the character described and they will tell you



that they work on the law of supply and demand, that they publish what the people demand. This is a partial, and to that extent a painful, truth. Yet, if the press is to maintain its dignity as an educator of the people, it must lead and not follow. It must fearlessly express the truth, not pander to the almighty dollar nor to blind partisanship. Last summer I said to the editor of a great cosmopolitan newspaper, "Why do the newspapers print so many columns of sensational stuff in a questionable manner?" "Simply" said he, "to meet the demands of the tougher element of the community which reads nothing else. This kind of news is read by all classes that have much to do with the police; by 'sports,' inhabitants of the slums and of the 'tenderloin district.'" Would a minister preach, or a teacher teach, to please the baser elements of the community? Then why should a newspaper?

While the practice of a government of the people fails to agree with the theory, yet in the main the democracy of the United States, in the form of a representative Republic, is not a failure. But it must be conceded that the dangers are ever before us, though the remedies for evil are always at hand. Look at what the nation has passed through,—a nation that came very nearly not being formed at all. Behold its early trials and its later triumphs. Broken asunder, wounded with almost mortal wounds, it soon heals and is sound and whole again. Take note of the civilizing process applied to the millions that have come to us from Europe almost entirely untutored in democracy. See with what skill and courage the nation has avoided the political and military entanglements of the Old World. Burdened as we have been at times with our own domestic troubles, we yet have found them fewer and of less import than those of European nations. They have all been met with a firmness and a wisdom which have ensured peace, safety, and prosperity. Truly, the nation has passed through much, but it is able to endure more. Its construction is elastic, its powers are great, its life is enduring, its resources are boundless. If the wide extension of liberty has brought with it peculiar evils, it has in its nature latent power to cure them. The current of popular government is no intermittent stream; it runs, deep and strong, bearing humanity upon its bosom. It enlists the sympathies and arouses the patriotism of the people.

Suppose sudden danger should arise; there slumbers in our national life a patriotism which will defend and preserve our institutions intact. There is need of the practice of that patriotism in times of peace, in the perpetual defense of the rights of the people, at the



ballot-box and throughout all forms of local and national government. There is need to-day of "eternal vigilance" to insure the highest results of our republican Government. Not less democracy, but more,—if it be the right kind,—is our need. We may truly say with Lowell: "Our healing is not in the storm or in the whirlwind, it is not in monarchies or aristocracies, but will be revealed by the still small voice that speaks to the conscience and the heart, prompting us to a wider and a wiser humanity."

FRANK W. BLACKMAR.



## EDUCATION OF WOMEN IN TURKEY.

THERE are few countries in the world where the problems to be solved in promoting and establishing educational institutions are so serious as in Turkey. These problems arise primarily in consequence of the mixed character of the inhabitants and the peculiar relation of the races to each other.

The latest estimate of the population of the immediate possessions of Turkey is 21,830,000, of whom considerably more than half are Mohammedans. The remainder are Christians, with the exception of about 275,000 Israelites. Both Mohammedans and Christians, however, include widely differing races. The most important Mohammedan races of Turkey are the Turks, or Osmanlis, the Arabs, Kurds, and Albanians. The Christian races include Armenians, Greeks, Bulgarians, and Maronites. The languages of Turkey are Arabic, Turkish, Kurdish, Albanian, Armenian, Greek, Bulgarian, and Syriac. The Israelites distributed through the empire speak Spanish, German, Russian, or Italian.

All schools are required to be enrolled in the department of public instruction, and to submit to a certain amount of supervision. The only schools which receive financial support, and are accordingly regulated in all the details of their organization by the government, are those established for the Mohammedans. It is only within the last half of the present century that it has become customary for the women of Turkey to learn how to read, although there have always been exceptions even in the darkest ages.

The art of letters was not entirely neglected by Mussulman women during the past centuries of Turkish history, as we know from the writings of some of the more celebrated among them. Of these I will mention the poetesses Zehneb and Mihri, who lived in the fifteenth century A.D., during the reign of Mohammed II, and Fitvet and Leyla, who flourished in the early part of the present century, during the reign of Mahmoud II. In the earlier days of greater freedom among Mohammedan women, there were also women preachers who were accustomed to address congregations of women in the mosques.



Formerly there must also have been women in the palace who knew how to write and read and keep accounts, for the laws of palace government do not change, but go back to ancient times, and one of these is the custom of appointing a woman as chief treasurer of the women in the palace; and when there is no Validé Sultana (mother of the Sultan) living, this official is the first or chief woman. As in the time of Sultan Aziz, for instance, there were seven hundred women in the palace, the chief treasurer would require no small amount of mental training to carry on the financial affairs. She has also under her control a regular bureau of trained scribes, who are all women.

Even to read and write the Turkish language requires considerable mental training. Although it is a leading member of the Turanian family, it has borrowed so largely from the Arabic and Persian that a knowledge of both those languages is necessary to a student of Turkish, and the alphabet used is also a drawback, as it is the Arabic-Persian, the difficulty of which is well-known. It would seem, accordingly, that the Osmanlis labor under an immense disadvantage in the matter of education from the beginning, and that their children and those of the Christian nationalities do not start equal; for it has certainly been the case, in the past, that six or seven years were required for an Osmanli to learn to read, while an Armenian or Greek child could learn in three or four years. The Osmanlis themselves deny that this is at present true, for newer methods of teaching have been introduced, which, it is claimed, enable a child to learn to read Turkish in two or three years. However that may be, it is said that Midhat Pasha once suggested to the Sultan that the children of the resident Christian nationalities should be forbidden to learn to read, as it was unjust to give them such an advantage over the ruling nation of the land.

The origin of Turkish public schools may be traced to the old custom of having a training-class connected with the mosques, to prepare readers for the religious services. These classes gradually developed into community schools for both boys and girls, which the girls were allowed to attend till they were ten or eleven years old, thus learning to read and sometimes to write.

During the reign of Abd-ul-Medjid, from 1839 to 1861, the Validé Sultana was very much interested in education, and introduced more effective methods of teaching into the public schools, instead of the chanting in concert of the Koran, which had previously constituted all the teaching. There were then no schools for girls alone, but this Validé Sultana gathered the slave girls of the palace together and pro-



vided teachers for them ; and this may be said to have been the origin of schools for girls in Turkey.

The first public school for Mohammedan girls was established about forty years ago, in Boyadjikeuy, a village on the Bosphorus. Schools for Mussulman girls are now of three grades,—high, secondary, and primary schools. The programmes of the secondary and primary schools are published together as one programme occupying six years—presumably three years belonging to each grade. The subjects taught are reading and writing, the grammar of the Persian and Arabic languages, needlework, the elements of arithmetic and geography, and the principles of the Mohammedan religion. According to the report of the department of public instruction for 1895 there are 1,419 Moslem primary schools for girls in the empire, containing 171,526 pupils, and more than 130,000 girls enrolled in mixed primary schools.

There are thirty-nine secondary schools, of which nine are in Constantinople, and they contain more than 3,000 pupils. The first one was opened in Stamboul in 1872, under Sultan Aziz. Two schools of fine arts are included, which were opened by Subbi Pasha, a former minister of finance. These two schools were established by special irade of Sultan Aziz, thus making them quite distinct in their organization, and they remained under the control of the minister of finance till Hakki Pasha, newly created to that office in 1887, objected to the mixture of administration, whereupon the direction of the schools was undertaken by the department of public instruction. These schools offer a six years' course of study, although the girls give a large proportion of their time to needlework, fashioning the most exquisite embroideries on delicate shades of silk and satin. A foreign lady presides over each of these schools, but the teaching is in the hands of Osmanli instructors, mostly women. The head teacher of the boarding department is a black woman, Hafiz Hanum, who was graduated from the Turkish normal school in Stamboul. The girls range from the ages of twelve to sixteen, and number 316 in both schools.

I recently enjoyed the privilege of visiting the boarding department and listening to the classes taught by Hafiz Hanum, who is a most enthusiastic teacher. On entering the school, we were ushered into a large hall carpeted with straw matting, containing a number of cases with glass doors, intended presumably for libraries and apparatus to be provided in the future. The girls were quietly seated around the room on the floor, entirely unoccupied, as the teaching is oral and



few books are used. We requested the pleasure of listening to some of the class exercises, mentioning arithmetic first. We noticed with amusement the expression of dismay on the faces of the girls at the thought of an examination in mathematics. According to the customs of Oriental etiquette the class and the blackboard were brought to us, and the board was placed in the position where we could best see it. The class called was the highest in the school, and one of the girls was told to divide a number containing four places by one containing two places. After accomplishing this with difficulty, she was given three numbers to add, of three places each. This ended the examination in arithmetic, and we were then asked if we wished to see some Turkish writing, upon which a girl wrote neatly and quickly, in the beautiful Arabic characters, some polite and complimentary expressions of welcome to us. We then asked to hear a class in geography, and this suggestion was received with as much pleasure as the request for mathematics had caused depression. Two bright-looking girls of about fifteen were called up, and they gave a careful analysis of the map of Europe in a manner that was creditable to them. This was followed by a class in history, the recitation consisting of the dates of the reigns and the recounting of the deeds of the sultans of Turkey. The exercises closed with prayers recited in concert. Prayers are conducted five times a day in all Turkish schools.

There is only one high school for Mussulman girls in Turkey. It is a normal school, is called the "Dar-ul-Moualimat" or "Home of the Lady Teachers," and is in Akserai in Stamboul. It was opened in 1870 under Sultan Aziz, and now contains 270 pupils. The nominal aim of the school is to provide trained teachers for the interior of Turkey, and at the same time to furnish poor women with a career by which they can maintain themselves. Accordingly, only the girls from the poorer classes of society attend the school. The director is a white-haired venerable effendi, and under him a Mussulman woman—Refika Hanum—acts as directrix. Fifteen teachers of both sexes are employed in the school. The programme of study presents a course of three years, and includes Persian and Arabic, Turkish literature, pedagogics, elementary science and mathematics, needlework and the piano, and eight courses in morals and religion. Elementary classes are also provided for children of all ages. No foreign language is taught in the normal school. A European visitor is impressed with the air of excessive calmness that pervades all the classes. One sees instantly that the venerable director of the Dar-ul-Moualimat does



not approve of the rush and hurry that characterize the spirit of modern progress, and does not promote any methods that might tend to undue cerebral excitement on the part of the young women studying there.

Turkish girls of the better class in the cities, after they are too old to attend the primary schools, are largely educated at home by governesses, many of whom come from England and France, but, unfortunately, do not usually represent the highest culture of those nations, so that real love of study is not as a rule developed under their influence. Turkish women have a great aptitude for foreign languages, and those we meet on the steamers of the Bosphorus often speak French, and it is not unusual for them to speak German and English also. It is a well-known fact that many Turkish women are engaged in trade, some even carrying on an extensive business involving frequent journeys to Egypt and other places, which presupposes the ability to read and write, as well as some knowledge of arithmetic. Moreover, conversation with the Mussulman women in the capital reveals some progress at the present time in independence of thought, and, while social conditions have unavoidably arrested the development of Turkish women as a class, forces are slowly but surely working among them that will result in their final emancipation.

For the Mohammedans in Albania, no girls' schools have yet been provided in which the teaching is in the vernacular. About half of the Albanian nation are Mohammedans, and their language is the only surviving member of one of the families of the Aryan group; but it cannot yet be said to have any literature, and the people are called "bookless Albanians" by the Osmanlis. There are in Albania, however, both primary and secondary schools for girls in which the Turkish language is used as the medium of instruction, and which are presumably attended by Turkish residents in Albania.

The Kurds form another important race of Mohammedans in Turkey, and speak an entirely distinct language allied to the Persian. Their number is variously reported by different authorities as 1,000,000 and upward. Kurdish women are wild and illiterate, and there are no girls' schools among them. Mohammedans using the Arabic language are found in Syria, in the south-eastern part of Turkey, and in the Arabian provinces of Hejaz and Yemen. In Syria and in those parts of Turkey where the Arabic language is the vernacular, it is also the language of the schools established by the government. In Hejaz and Yemen education is deficient, and there are no girls' schools. Among



the Druses in Syria, it is said that all the women are taught to read and write.

Before the recent massacres, the Armenians in Turkey numbered 2,000,000 and upward. The language is an independent member of the Aryan group, and has been a written language since the fifth century, one hundred years after the nation adopted Christianity. The earliest schools were connected with the churches, and provided the preparation for the reading and chanting in the religious services. From these were gradually evolved schools for children of both sexes. The first Armenian school for girls was opened in 1850, in Constantinople, and there are now 211 Armenian enrolled schools for girls, which are supported by the different Armenian communities and contain more than 17,000 pupils, besides a large number in mixed schools. The programmes of the Armenian schools vary, and largely follow the French system. In the highest grade a good knowledge of ancient and modern Armenian is gained, French is taught, and sometimes English and German. Elementary sciences, general history, Bible history, needlework, drawing, and music are also taught. There are in Turkey, under direct Armenian control, six special and high schools for girls. All the community schools are free, and are supported by the churches or by voluntary contributions. The efforts of this nation to provide educational opportunities for their youth during the past years of heavy taxation and discouragement are most praiseworthy, and educational progress among them has been rapid. One of the most interesting of those efforts is a normal school in Stamboul, which is altogether the result of private effort, and was founded in 1868 by a society of enterprising Armenian women, called the "Society for Promoting Education." Orphan girls are educated in this school free of charge, and are sent to all parts of the country as teachers. The course of study is good, and thorough work is done in elementary science, history, mathematics, and French. Twenty-six young women have been sent from this school to different parts of Turkey, and on an average have each taught four years. The work of this society is at present entirely stopped by the lamentable condition of affairs in the country, and even for several years past the government has not allowed the formation of any new Armenian schools. One Armenian woman—Dr. Mariam Hagopian, from the Trebizond region—has taken the degree of Ph.D. from a European university, and another—Dr. Margarit Melik Beglarian—completed her course in medicine last year in the university of Zürich. The Armenians as a nation are fond of study, and educa-



tional progress is sure to be rapid among them so soon as freedom of action is allowed by the government.

Education among the Greeks in Turkey dates principally from the renaissance of letters in Greece after the Greek revolution. As among the Armenians, it is the result of voluntary effort, and is not state-aided. The Greeks in Turkey have, however, the inspiration of the present educational progress of their mother country. They are very generous in supporting their schools, as their patriotism turns in that direction. All Greek education is under the care of the Greek Church, and the Greek schools in Turkey rank first among non-foreign schools in the educational opportunities offered. Their most noticeable deficiency is in mathematics, and the greatest attainments of the pupils are in the Greek language. I visited a primary school in a small village near the site of ancient Cyzicus in Asia Minor, where the young children of both sexes were carefully taught the ancient Greek grammar and stood up together to read extracts from the old Greek comedies, which they seemed to enjoy and appreciate. The progress of Greek children in their language is remarkable, and little *Aspasia* and *Iphigenias* spell out the stories of their ancient namesakes with great delight. About 40,000 pupils are enrolled in the Greek schools in the Turkish Empire. The number of high schools for girls is large, prominent among which is the *Zappeion* in Pera (a suburb of Constantinople), founded by *Kurios Zappa*, a Greek resident of Roumania, and occupying a fine large building erected under his supervision. The course of study occupies eight years, and the pupils number about 400. Five years of the course are preparatory, and three belong to the gymnasium. There are, besides, two years given to the study of pedagogics, as a graduate course, by those who wish to teach. This course of study includes a complete programme in Greek—Homer, Plato, and the dramatists. The religious teaching includes the doctrines of the Orthodox Greek Church, and exegesis of the New Testament. There are no elective courses offered, but all the sciences are included in the general course, and the teaching in science is necessarily superficial, as the school contains no laboratory. The only foreign language taught is French. The *Zappeion*, although not the oldest of the institutions for the higher education of Greek girls in Turkey, furnishes the model for the others, of which I will mention the *Pallas*, also in Pera, the *Johakeimion* in Phanar, the central community school and the *Homerion* in Smyrna, and the leading secondary school in Salonica, some of the teachers of which were trained in Berlin,



The education of girls in Bulgaria is not treated of in this paper, as Bulgaria is now practically free from Turkey. Among Bulgarian residents of the Turkish Empire proper, there are about 200 schools for girls, containing nearly 4,000 pupils. There are seven high schools for Bulgarian residents in Macedonia, containing about 400 students in all. The most advanced of these high schools is in Salonica, in which the course of study occupies six years. It is a very interesting fact that in many towns in Macedonia, where there are no high schools for girls, the girls are admitted to the boys' gymnasia, and in some instances, among a large number of male students only one or two girls are enrolled.

Besides the Christian nationalities referred to, the population of Syria includes 250,000 Maronites, and 15,000 Jacobites, whose liturgical language is Syriac. The number of schools for girls among these people is small compared with those of the other Christian nations of Turkey. Education among Jews, except as inspired by foreign effort, has made little progress in Turkey. The vernacular of Jewish schools is always some one of the European languages, although Hebrew is always taught. Much foreign educational work is done in Turkey, and the number of societies represented, especially in Syria, is large. The Roman Catholics have in many respects done good work, in what relates to schools and the diffusion of literature. They have thirty-eight enrolled schools for girls in the various cities of the empire. The French language is well taught in them, and the elements of a general education are given.

The Woman's Board of the United States has established throughout Asia Minor an extensive system of schools which has done much to popularize education for girls. The first of these was founded in Constantinople, in 1840, and at present there are sixteen high schools under American supervision in different parts of Asia Minor. The teachers in many of them are from various women's colleges in the United States, the course of study is comprehensive, and the methods of teaching are modern. Consequently their influence is strong and widely felt. None of them is a free school, but a limited number of scholarships is provided in all for those who wish to educate themselves as teachers.

The only cosmopolitan school among them is the American College for Girls in Constantinople, although there are others in which three or four nationalities are represented. This college opened as a high school in 1871, became in 1890 a chartered institution established by



the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, and is making steady progress toward the standard of higher education demanded by women's colleges in America. It offers three courses of study—classical, literary, and scientific,—and contains a musical department under the direction of Dr. Paul Lange, of Berlin. The students come from the far east in Turkey, from Russia, Greece, Bulgaria, Roumania, and Syria, and comprise from eight to twelve nationalities, in which the cosmopolitan inhabitants of Constantinople itself are well represented. The language of this college is English, although French, German, and several languages of the country are taught, besides Greek and Latin. The *alumnæ* of this institution number one hundred and three, of eight different nationalities, including one Mohammedan girl, a daughter of a colonel in the Turkish army, and one Albanian, who returned to her country to establish there the first girls' school for Albanians, taught in their vernacular.

Mussulman girls would be glad to attend this college, as well as other American schools in Turkey, but are not at present allowed by the government to do so, although in Christian schools distant from Constantinople there are some Moslem students.

It will be seen from these statements that public instruction is more widely diffused through the Turkish Empire than is commonly supposed, and one may safely prophesy that, should political conditions be favorable, educational progress will be rapid among the women of Turkey in the near future.

MARY MILLS PATRICK.



## ARMENIA'S IMPENDING DOOM: OUR DUTY.

As an Armenian, I have no sympathy with the sweeping denunciation of the Turks, much less with the unqualified encomium of the Christians of the Orient. Nothing is gained by giving to the facts a partisan twist, by depicting the Mohammedan as an incorrigible devil and the Armenian as an incomparable angel. Though my own immediate relations have suffered unspeakable horrors during the recent outbreaks, still no one could be more reluctant than myself to credit the charges of astounding inhumanity, nay, of bestiality, brought against the Kurds, the Turks, and the Circassians. I have not only hailed with enthusiasm the reports of fraternal devotion and hospitality, of compassion and chivalry, shown by individual Turks to their Armenian neighbors, but I believe in them implicitly. In the cities of Trebizond, Cæsarea, Gemereg, Egin, Sivas, and Aintab, not a few Moslems risked their own lives by offering an asylum to the Christians. The example of these noble Turks not only helps us to be moderate in our judgment of the Ottomans, but in a time of moral skepticism it also helps to confirm our wavering faith in human nature. Men everywhere are better than their creeds, and, in its essentials, human nature is something like the divine.

The Armenian is so well-armed in his cause that there is no reason why he should resort to a wholesale defamation of the Mohammedan in order to engage the sympathy of Christian nations. Moreover, these exaggerated attacks upon the Turk are bound to produce, sooner or later, a reaction in his favor. The truth about the Turks and the Armenians is so easily within the reach of every candid investigator that there is no excuse for confusing the issues. Both have their full share of the virtues and vices of Oriental races.

In forming an estimate of the Armenian character, we must not lose sight of the fact that the Turks are the masters and the Armenians the slaves. Notwithstanding this vital difference the Armenians are, to say the least, intellectually and morally the peers of the Turks, and if they cannot compare favorably with the free peoples of Europe and America, it is due to five centuries of uninterrupted oppression



and persecution to which they have been subjected. Under these circumstances, it would be unreasonable to expect of the Armenians all the virtues of Englishmen and Americans. By that stupendous obstinacy with which the Armenians, in spite of unparalleled hardships and misery, have refused to forsake the country they call their fatherland,—a country which, from time out of mind, has been the tramping-ground and the battle-field of the devastating armies of Nebuchadnezzar and Alexander, of Genghis Khan and Timour, of Shah Abbas and the Arabs, of the Seljuks and the Ottomans; and by that equally marvellous tenacity with which, since the close of the third century of the Christian era, they have, as a nation, clung to the faith preached to them by Gregory, surnamed “The Illuminator”—the faith in which their King Tiridates was baptized twenty-seven years before the Emperor Constantine had issued the famous Edict of Toleration, and which they have so successfully defended against the fire-worshippers of Persia, the caliphs of Arabia, and the Tartar conquerors,—by all these things they have won for themselves a place in history which cannot be taken away from them. It is to be deplored that Europe and America know so little of what it has cost the Armenians to remain Armenians and Christians in a land where Islam is without a rival and where every inducement has been offered and every severity practised to make apostates of them. But I do not despair of the civilized nations of the world, for when they study the history of this martyr-nation,—to-day the only representative of civilization and Christianity in Turkey,—and of the Vartanians, Levonians, and their noble brethren who died to stem the torrent of Persian and Ottoman fanaticism; and when they realize the ineffable sacrifices which the Armenians to-day are making to protect their homes and honor, they will not hesitate to do a little for the people who have done so much for humanity.

On May 29, 1453, Mohammed “The Conqueror” ascended the wonderful throne of the Bosphorus. From that day to this the crescent has mocked sun and breeze from the minarets of St. Sophia. During the five centuries following the capture of Constantinople by the Turks, there has taken place a wonderful intellectual and spiritual awakening, as well as an unparalleled industrial progress in Europe and in America. The Renaissance in Italy, the Reformation in Germany, the Revolution in France, and the Emancipation Proclamation of Abraham Lincoln, bear dates subsequent to the fall of the Eastern Empire. But these centuries of activity and movement for the Occidental nations have been centuries of deterioration for the Mohammedan Orient. Once



the empire of the Sultan had an extent of more than 100,000 square leagues in Asia, Africa, and Europe, a magnificent territory with the finest harbors, richest islands and mines, and with a soil the most fertile in all the world. But this vast area has been gradually reduced, until to-day Sultan Abdul-Hamid II. has lost his hold on Europe and is proving himself unworthy of ruling his remaining possessions in Africa and Asia. That splendid empire which the Turks inherited five hundred years ago has been reduced to a state of intellectual and industrial pauperism. The traveler in Turkey is everywhere reminded, by innumerable ruins, of those nobler and sturdier races that once called the country their own, and made it the cradle of culture and religion. The Sultan and his sluggish Turks tread on a ground under which sleep the Greek and Roman sires of modern civilization. With the exception of a few mausoleums and mosques, the Ottoman Turks have not built a single town or city, or created a single industry or institution, or in any way improved the condition of the peoples they have conquered and converted. The Ottoman Government, since Solyman "The Magnificent," has been in a comatose state.

Nor is it because the Turks are Mohammedans that vandalism has been their profession, or that government "*à la Turc*" has been synonymous with organized brigandage: the Saracens were Mohammedans, too, but they produced scholars, and were for four hundred years the intellectual teachers of Europe; the Seljukian sultans have left monuments to their love of art and science; the Persians have given to the world Hafiz and Sadi; but the Ottoman Turks have not produced a writer or a statesman whose name will live. The saying that "wherever the Sultan's horse hoofs tread, there the grass never grows again," has been fully corroborated by the recent reports of pillage, rapine, and murder which have reached the ears of the whole world. When the Czar, Nicholas I., called the Turk "the sick man of Europe," he not only made a correct diagnosis, but he also led the civilized world to anticipate with pleasure the speedy demise of "the sick man." And though this event has been delayed, there is every indication that the time is ripe for a European coalition, a concert of civilized nations, to drive the Turks, bag and baggage, beyond the desert and steppes of that darkest Asia which was their original home.

To those who still hesitate to credit the accumulating charges against the Ottoman rule, I suggest the present deplorable condition of Armenia. Though one of the fairest lands under the sun, and inhabited by a hardy, industrious, faithful, and frugal people, Armenia



is to-day what California was under Mexican rule—the home of banditti and cut-throats. From the southern shores of the Euxine to the ancient Ararat, and from the snow-capped mountains which feed the Euphrates and the Tigris and the Aras, to that undulating sweep toward Western Asia which the Armenian calls his native land, the besom of fanaticism has swept within the past few years more than 50,000 men, women, and children to the most agonizing death; crowded the mountain fastnesses and caves with fugitives, and left in the villages and cities only fragments of what was once a proud and independent nation. What the Turks are doing to-day to the Armenians, they did to the Greeks in 1821, when more than 40,000 were put to the sword in the island of Chios; to the Nestorians in 1843, when the rocks and plains were covered with “the scattered bones, bleached skulls, long locks of hair, plucked from the women’s heads, and torn portions of the garments they had worn”;<sup>1</sup> to the Syrians, when the streets of Deir-el-Kamar and Zableh “ran with human gore in which men waded ankle deep”;<sup>2</sup> to the Bulgarians, when in 1876, according to the American consul-general, Eugene Schuyler, and the English Blue Book, more than 16,000 were butchered in the first two or three days under the very eyes of Europe. Happy Bulgaria! She did not shed her blood in vain. But what was Bulgaria’s salvation proved to be Armenia’s danger. The Mohammedans, driven from Sofia, Varna, and Rustchuk on the Danube, crossed the Bosphorus and settled in Armenia, their swords still reeking with blood. Nor were they slow in avenging their humiliation. Just a year after the Bulgarian atrocities came the report of the total extermination by the Mohammedans of the Armenians in Bayazid. The Moslem refugees from Europe, with the memory of their defeat burning in their veins, converted Armenia into an amphitheatre of plunder and murder. “These Armenians,” said the government officials to the Mohammedans, “are trying to expel you from Asia, just as the Bulgarians expelled you from Europe.” It is not at all strange that the fanaticism of the Turk and Kurd, once aroused by such a fear, has become uncontrollable.

If I were to enumerate the causes which are responsible for the anti-Christian feeling in Turkey, I would not hesitate to say that the religious animosities between Moslems and Christians are most to be blamed. The Oriental Christian, I am sorry to say, is as intolerant of Mohammedanism as the Moslem is of Christianity. But the Moslem is in

<sup>1</sup> See Layard’s “Nineveh.”

<sup>2</sup> See Van Lennep’s “Bible Lands: their Modern Customs and Manners.”



power and can give expression to his hate, while the Christian is weak and cannot strike back. It is true, however, that Christianity as a religion is more susceptible to the "Zeit-Geist" than Mohammedanism, and this fact must influence, as it certainly has done, all the nations that have professed it. Mohammed gave to his followers a sword, Christ gave to his disciples a cross. Christianity, too, has been guilty of persecution in the past, but the progress of the ages has elevated, broadened, and sweetened it, while Mohammedanism continues in spirit and in doctrine just what it was almost fourteen hundred years ago. From the mosques in Cairo and Constantinople, the faithful pray to Allah to "destroy the infidels . . . . make their children orphans. . . . defile their abodes . . . . and give them and their families and their households and their women . . . . and their possessions . . . . as booty to the Moslems." Several passages in the Koran directly instigate the Mohammedans to exterminate the unbelievers:

"Verily the worst cattle in the sight of Allah are those who are obstinate infidels."

"When ye encounter the unbelievers, strike off their heads until ye have made a great slaughter among them."

"Oh, prophet, wage war against the unbelievers and be severe unto them, for their dwelling shall be hell."

"Oh, true believers, wage war against such infidels as are near you; and let them find severity in you."

I gladly admit that there are passages of ravishing beauty in the Moslem scriptures, but those which I have quoted exert a greater hold upon the ignorant and fanatical rabble.

Some color is given to the statement that a "dijihad" (a religious war) has been proclaimed against the Christians by the fact that during the progress of the recent wave of hate and lust which, starting in Constantinople, reached as far as Diarbekir on the Tigris, wherever an Armenian appeared at his windows with a green or white turban on his head and announced his conversion to Islam, his life, his wife, and his goods were not only spared by the mob, but protected by the troops. It is the same old cry that is raised in Armenia to-day, "the sword or the Koran." I am assured in private letters that a multitude of Christians have been converted to Islam under compulsion. Men young and old have been prostrated on the streets and subjected to the Moslem rite, and no mercy was shown to those who offered the faintest resistance. The Sultan may not have directly ordered the massacres, although Lord Salisbury in his last speech admitted that



"among those who say it are men who have the opportunity of judging," but there is very little doubt that, as the spiritual head of the Mohammedan world, he expressed the wish to see the unbelievers converted to the true faith. Such a wish would increase his popularity with the softas, who would not hesitate to resort to any measures to realize the pious hopes of their Caliph. Moreover, to the Sultan the Islamization of the Armenians is the only practical solution of the Armenian question. If the Armenians, by remaining obdurate, are killed, their women violated, and their homes and villages looted, it is their own fault, when by embracing Islam they can not only save themselves and their homes, but they can also command the full protection of the government. What more could a gracious sovereign do for his subjects? This is, without doubt, the reasoning which makes the Sultan proof against all the scruples of conscience. Thus the Armenians are killed, not because the Sultan wants them killed, but because they refuse to be converted. In a large sense, therefore, the bloodshed in the East is in the name of religion. The age of the crusaders is over, but the age of the "crescentaders" is here with all its ancient vigor and rigor.

Of course the attempt on the part of the Armenians to improve their political condition has intensified the religious hate of the Moslems. There has always been a religious element in the political, and a political element in the religious, wars of the Moslems; and it is when these two blend in equal proportions, as in the present instance, that the fury and the thirst for blood develop to an appalling degree. It must be admitted that there is a revolutionary party among the Armenians, to which belong some of the young "hot heads" who have unquestionably resorted to desperate measures, verging upon those of rank nihilism, with the hope of forcing the Great Powers to come to their rescue. These Armenians find encouragement in the example of the Greeks and the Bulgarians who, assisted by Europe, succeeded in shaking off the Turkish yoke. Besides, the traditional interest of Russia in the welfare of the Christians in the Ottoman Empire,—as shown by the treaty of San Stefano, and the treaties of Paris and Berlin in which the six Powers of Europe united to extract from the Turk a promise to protect his Christian subjects against the predatory tribes,—led the Armenians to count upon the intervention of Europe in the case of an uprising. While I am not of the number of those who cherish the chimerical hope that Armenia—which is at present no more than a "geographical expression"—can speedily become an in-



dependent kingdom, I cannot find it in me to be severe upon those who, goaded to exasperation by the scorpion scourge of the tyrant whose lust the Armenian is compelled to satisfy by giving his goods and his daughters, have begun to imitate their oppressors in their acts of plunder and murder. There is a limit, even to prudence, as well as to endurance. Revolution is the shadow that accompanies despotism. It is foolish to hold the shadow responsible or to attempt to strike at it. It is only when despotism is overthrown that its shadow will disappear. Without wishing to justify the questionable acts of a few of the revolutionists, I profoundly sympathize with the heroic struggle of the educated Armenians for the past thirty-five years to ameliorate the condition of their people. The liberty-loving nations of the world should be the last to blame the Armenians for their political aspirations. Those wretched and persecuted people in their distant mountain homes have caught a strain of freedom's pæan, and are making a brave effort to snap their chains and to rise to the rank of the world's free nations.

Aside from the above causes, which are of a religious and political nature, there is still another. The Turks are jealous of the Christians because of the comparative prosperity of the latter in all the principal cities of the empire. In times of peace and security the Greeks and the Armenians, who are by race and religion more European than Asiatic, easily outrun the slow-going Turk and drive him out of the markets of commerce and finance. The superior and more advanced education which the Christians receive in their schools qualifies them for important diplomatic posts from which the Turks themselves, by reason of their unfitness, are excluded. For many centuries the Greeks and the Armenians have filled high political offices in Turkey, Persia, and Egypt. It is unreasonable to blame the Oriental Christians for their mental and moral superiority to the Turks. Merit will win, even in Turkey, and it is merit—not cunning and craft, as has been insinuated by some Turkophile newspaper correspondents—which has helped the Christians the world over to become the leaders and masters. Turkey lost Europe because it found itself unable to cope with the Christians, and for the same reason it has lost the commerce of Asia. The frequently repeated charge that the Christians of the Orient are usurers who have shorn the innocent Turk of all his possessions, is a pure invention. In the interior of Asia, the people who toil and think are the Christians; the people who walk the streets, their hands folded on their back, and who crowd the cafés to smoke their



long pipes the livelong day, are the Turks. In spite of the unfavorable conditions, the Armenians and the Greeks are to-day the civilizers of the Orient—the manufacturers, the inventors, the builders, the doctors, the lawyers, and the teachers. They are the first to adopt European manners, to build their houses after western models, to introduce English and French text-books into their schools, to translate the foreign authors, and to study the intellectual and industrial movements in Europe and in America. It is not derogatory to the Christians that the Turks cannot keep up with them.

This is but a cursory review of the principal causes which culminated a short time ago in the frightful massacres, the reports of which have startled the civilized world. The sudden outpouring of a volcano with its heated streams of lava could not have produced a greater destruction than this violent eruption of Turkish and Kurdish fanaticism and lust. Children and women, as well as men, have been disgraced and tortured to death. To this very day the officials lay the blame entirely upon the Christians. But, with the exception of a limited number, no one either in Europe or in America places any confidence in the official despatches of the government.

But why does Europe hesitate to stop the bloodshed, to terminate the blight of Turkish misrule in Asia? There is no doubt that the hereditary fear of Russian aggression is still the bugbear of Europe. It was the opinion of Napoleon that without a Turkish government in Constantinople, Russia would overrun Europe and Asia, and the Cossacks, by unseating the Saxons and the Celts in Europe, would become the masters of the world. The following conversation is reported to have taken place between Sultan Mahmoud, the grandfather of Abdul-Hamid, and a European ambassador:

“I am left alone to defend Europe against Russia, and Europe aids the Russians. But, after me, Europe will fall a victim to these Russians,” said the Sultan.

“You are right,” answered the European, “but do not despair of Europe. It will some day recognize the importance of Turkey as a bulwark against the Russians.”

“God is good,” replied Mahmoud, “let His will be done.”

Turkey, therefore, has been regarded as the “advance guard” of the liberty and civilization of Europe, the only country that can hold Russia at bay. With the Czar at Constantinople, it is feared the Black Sea would be converted into a Russian dock whence his ironclads would proceed to possess the earth. But the world has been changed



since the days of Napoleon, and it is impossible to-day for any one power to overrun the whole earth. No one was better fitted to become a modern Cæsar than Napoleon, and no country was more popular than France at the beginning of this century. Notwithstanding, Napoleon was crushed at Waterloo, and France has become a republic.

I fear that the true secret of European sympathy for Turkey is a commercial one. England and Germany manufacture the articles which are sold in the bazaars of Constantinople. The army of the Sultan is clothed, shod, and capped by Europe. Turkey manufactures nothing, builds nothing, digs nothing out of the soil; it must import everything. It is to the interest of commercial Germany and England that there should be a Turkey where they can sell their "shoddy." With the Greeks or the Armenians in power in Constantinople, there would immediately spring up native manufactories, the mines would be in operation, railroads would be built, and the people, able to supply their own needs, would stop importing to the same extent from Europe. Turkey, therefore, is a tolerated government, owing its existence not only to the political jealousies of the Powers, but also to the commercialism of Europe.

But is the civilized world under no obligations to the Armenians? In my humble opinion, it is the duty of America and Europe to intervene for good. The doctrine of non-interference is dangerous and unworthy of our religion and civilization. The Turks do not hesitate to kill in order to propagate their faith and to maintain the rule of their prophet. It is the duty of Europe, by interfering, to check their power for further evil. But Europe hesitates; and, while it is trying to make up its mind, reports of fresh outbreaks come from every direction. In this policy of stolid indifference and hesitation, Russia appears to me to be the greatest sinner. It is impossible for the Russians to forget that England, during the war of the Crimea, entered into an alliance with two despots, Napoleon III and the King of Sardinia, to save a third despot, the Sultan of Turkey. And now Russia is showing the same consideration for the tyrant of the Bosphorus. Moreover, the interests of Russia require that there be no independent or autonomous Armenia, for that would disturb her own Armenian subjects, and further, it has been the unerring policy of Russia to obstruct all reform measures in Turkey, lest "the sick man of Europe" should recover his health and prolong his days.

Germany and France take their cue from Russia. We have not heard of a single protest from official Germany against the Turkish



atrocities. From a moral point of view, the conduct of Germany in this respect has been a great disappointment. Germany, considering her power and intellectual greatness, has done less for the cause of the oppressed and the down-trodden than any other nation in the world. Few peoples are more devoid of chivalry than the modern Germans. When have they made the cause of the persecuted their own? When have they hastened to the rescue of the weak and the oppressed? When have they made a sacrifice worthy of their heart and brain in the interests of justice and humanity? And France! The home of the Revolution, the most chivalrous nation of Europe, the land of Rousseau and the Girondists—she is dumb with the fear of Russia. Russia has hypnotized France, and her ministers are to-day receiving decorations from the Sultan.

After all, England is par excellence the moral nation of the world. Behind her driving commercialism is the English conscience. Above and beyond diplomatic England are the English people, as above its fog and mist are the everlasting skies. The first appeal of the oppressed of the world has always been addressed to the conscience of the English-speaking world—a conscience the most sensitive and the most uncompromising. With all her faults, England is still the apostle of civilization. Her Government's double-dealing with the Christians of the Orient deserves all the upbraiding it has received from the pen of William Watson, who has won the poet laureateship of humanity:

“ Never, O craven England, never more  
 Prate thou of generous effort, righteous aim !  
 Betrayer of a People, know thy shame !  
 . . . What stays the thunder in your hand ?  
 A fear for England ? Can her pillared fame  
 Only on faith forsworn securely stand,  
 On faith forsworn that murders babes and men ?  
 Are such the terms of glory's tenure ? Then  
 Fall her accursèd greatness, in God's name ! ”

These are scathing words, but in what other country has there been raised a voice so pure and sonorous, so mighty and moral? The Armenians are hopelessly doomed unless the English-speaking people hasten to their assistance.

A word to those Americans who are lending the influence of their voice and pen to the support of the Turkish Government. While I could myself repeat a thousand favorable things of the Turkish people,



I find it impossible to say one good thing of the Turkish Government. Do the friends of the Turk know that Turkey to-day is one of the slave markets of the world? Do they know that in Turkey, where the scurvy, leprous dogs of the street are religiously cared for, women are debauched in the harems? Is it not in Turkey that Circassian, Georgian, and Armenian girls in their teens are sent as presents to the pashas and the Sultan? Has not the Turkish Government made puppets of women and tyrants of men? Do our prominent society women, bankers, and diplomats wish to be known as the friends of such an institution? Can they respect themselves when they try to discredit the accumulating charges against so villainous a government? To labor in America for the emancipation of woman, but to see no wrong in the systematic rapine of Christian women in Turkey; to defend the reform of abuses here, but to stay away from all meetings which demand justice to the sufferers in Turkey, are flagrant contradictions—something to be really afraid of. When I think how some of our best men and women maintain a studied silence and turn a deaf ear to the cry of agony from the cities and villages of Mt. Ararat, a terrible sadness comes over me. My hand shakes so that I cannot write; the tears fall hot upon the page before me; I feel a stifling sensation in my breast, something like a lump rises to my throat, I shudder and gasp for breath!

If we fail to save the starving Armenians, they will perish. But that is not such a dreadful thing after all. Something worse than that will happen *to us*; we will die a moral death. If Armenia's wrongs cannot provoke the righteous indignation of the civilized world, then nothing can. To turn our back upon this nation struggling for the simplest rights, namely, security to life, property, and honor, is to forfeit our claim to civilization. If we can wink at the Turkish atrocities, then alas for us! for no crack of the lash upon our moral epidermis will ever sting us into action; but, withdrawing from the great arena where truth and falsehood, liberty and oppression, clash and clang with "blows of death," we shall live on like a herd of swine, bent upon growing fat, and deaf to the bugle-call of humanity.

M. M. MANGASARIAN.



## THE DEMOCRATIZATION OF ENGLAND.

PROGRESS in social life is proportioned to the number of persons whose claim to be considered ends in themselves, and to share in all the fruits of civilization, is acknowledged and furthered by each member of society; progress in political life to the number whose claim is supported by the state, and the former progress is the condition of the latter. It follows that Democracy, in which the claims of all to the dignity and inheritance of humanity are sustained, is the perfect form of political life,—the ideal after which it must continually strive. It is, accordingly, an encouraging thing to observe that all the civilized nations are, to-day, each in its own way, more or less consciously struggling toward this ideal.

In no country is this struggle—which, for the most part, takes the form of an endeavor to elevate and enfranchise the great “toiling masses”—more obvious, more conscious, or more interesting than in England, so recently the stronghold of aristocratic exclusiveness. To persons who remember what England was thirty, or even twenty, years ago, her present attitude seems to imply a sudden and complete transformation. And transformation there has, indeed, been; but it has by no means been so sudden as it looks on the surface. It is the result of forces that have been silently working for a long time, and which are now rapidly combining toward a pretty definite result—forces ethical, economical, religious, and even philosophical, all of them finding their expression in literature.

The England of thirty years ago was still, both in thought and in practice, deeply sunk in feudalism and mediævalism, relieved only by a rather brutal economic and theoretic individualism, which deprived both of nearly all that was good in them. The political and social order, with its distinction of classes into privileged, non-privileged, and oppressed, was, in the main, feudal; while the church, which taught the lower classes to reverence the upper, their “betters,” as a condition of admission through grace to equality with them in a *post-mortem* world beyond the clouds, was distinctly mediæval. At the same time, there remained little or nothing of the old duties attached



to privilege under feudalism, and still less of the old "charity" enjoined by mediæval religion. Hence the oppressed classes were thrown helpless upon the world, to struggle for existence as best they might, and this was thought to be in accordance with the recently discovered law of the survival of the fittest.

At the present day there is a great and certainly irresistible movement to change all this. In the minds of the best men and women in England, of those who are setting the pulse-beat of its life, feudalism, mediævalism, and individualism are equally condemned, and a new order of social relations is emerging and demanding realization. To enumerate all the causes that have contributed to bring about this change would be impossible; but a few may be touched upon.

First and most obvious is the economic cause,—the condition of things brought about by the introduction of machinery into industry. This has had three important results: (a) It has diminished the prestige of the privileged class, by raising a considerable portion of the non-privileged to a level with it in wealth and culture, and to more than a level in enterprise, so that the notion of a special privileged class has come to seem an absurdity and worse, all the more that America has shown with what beneficial results an aristocracy can be dispensed with. (b) It has widened the social gulf, and put an end to all but economic relations between the "middle-class" employers of labor and their "lower-class" employees, who have thus sunk down into the dependent, initiative-destroying condition of wage-earners, or, as their least wise friends call them, "wage-slaves," leading a precarious existence at the mercy of the caprices of business, which is another name for our present temporary ignorance of the laws governing the new world-industry. (c) As a consequence of this, it has compelled the members of the laboring class, in order not to be completely in the hands of their employers, to coöperate for mutual protection and resistance; and this co-operation has not only proved a valuable school of institutional ethics, but has made both themselves and the general public acquainted with their condition and their aspirations, which may be said to sum themselves up in a desire for a fair share in the material and spiritual results of civilization. And this brings us naturally to what may be called,

Second, the literary cause. That much of the force of the present movement is due to the journalist, the novelist, and the poet, there can be no doubt. In the facts brought to light through trades-unions, strikes, boycotts, and the like, all these have found congenial material. The newspaper has given publicity to appalling facts and conditions;



the novel and the poem have thrown these into forms wherein they appeal to all that is most pathetic and humane in the human heart. And this has made room for the action of,

Third, the ethical cause, which, to a large extent, may also be called the Christian cause. That altruism is as fundamentally a human attribute as egoism, is beyond question; nevertheless, the latter developed earlier than the former, which did not attain conscious expression until the rise of Christianity. Early in its career, this religion proclaimed all men to be equal in the sight of God,—that is, in their essential nature,—and called upon each to love his neighbor as himself. And, in spite of the fact that, under the influence of Greek philosophy and Roman imperialism, these fundamental ethical postulates were buried beneath a mass of dogmas and laws which turned Christianity into a system of pagan worldliness, such as we find it to be in the Middle Ages, they never altogether perished, but lay ready to spring into life so soon as the superincumbent mass should be removed. And during the last thirty years this has been in process of removal, thanks to the combined efforts of physical science, history, and literary criticism. The famous “Essays and Reviews,” Lyell’s “Antiquity of Man,” Darwin’s “Origin of Species,” and Colenso’s “Pentateuch,” which all appeared about the same time, were but the first of a long and still continued series of works, which, if they have deprived Christianity of all that was miraculous, supernatural, and exceptional about it, have brought out into ever clearer light its marvellous depths of ethical insight and motive. Thus it has come to pass that the large humanity, which is of the very essence of Christianity, has been allowed full play at a time when the disinherited masses of England are making a strong effort to come to their own. And, after all, it is this humanity that forms the chief constructive element in the new movement, and the best guarantee of its ultimate success.

Fourth, the philosophic cause. Thirty years ago, English individualism found its theoretical expression in the philosophy of Herbert Spencer, and its economic expression in the doctrine of *laissez faire*. Since then a great change has come over English thought. *Laissez faire*, having proved itself impossible in practice, has discredited the whole individualistic doctrine upon which it rested, and which was supposed to be the legitimate conclusion from the evolution theory. A more careful consideration of facts shows that individual “struggle for existence,” however much it may be a fact in the sub-human world, has but a limited action in the human world; that the human



being advances far more by combining with his fellows and making their interests his than by trying to supplant and exterminate them. In a word, human evolution has been shown to be conditioned by social unity and solidarity, and not by opposition and division. When a philosophy was sought corresponding to this view (Spencerianism being unavailable), the only one that seemed to offer itself was Hegelianism. This system, accordingly, which is entirely dead in the land of its birth, has become the leading philosophy in England, drawing to it nearly all the rising thinkers and exercising a profound influence. Its fundamental thought being that the universe, including man, is but the unfolding of a single idea in which no part has any independent existence, each being conditioned by every other and by the whole, it is distinctly anti-individualistic and socialistic, so much so that the leading apostles of socialism, Lassalle, Marx, etc., derived their inspiration from it. Its effect upon English thinkers has been to make them emphasize institutions, especially the state, and to regard the individual as merely a member of it. Though Hegel himself found a place for the church, pending the advent of philosophy to take its place, his English followers, feeling perhaps that philosophy's day has come, are mostly inclined to make the state, which they consider the social embodiment of reason, all in all, and to look to it for initiative and guidance in social advancement. Thus the extreme philosophic individualism of thirty years ago is giving place to a philosophic socialism, and the old cry of *laissez faire* to a demand for state-regulation, or even state-management, of industry.

If, now, we summarize these causes and their effects, we shall not only obtain a pretty clear notion of the forces which in England are undermining social feudalism and ecclesiastical mediævalism, in order to make way for Democracy, but we shall also understand why the democratic movement exhibits two very marked characteristics,—a tendency toward socialism in politics and an indifference toward the more internal and spiritual aspects of religion—characteristics which, while they may add to its strength in the present, can hardly fail to jeopardize its results in the future.

The new world-industry, while destroying the prestige of the aristocracy, has drawn the members of the working class together, raised them to self-consciousness, and inspired them with a determination to escape from degradation and misery into culture and well-being; and this self-consciousness and this determination have found soul-stirring expression in journalism and literature. At the same time, historical



investigation and the "higher criticism" have delivered the spirit of Christianity from the dogmas, formalisms, superstitions, and inhumanities, in which it has been imprisoned for centuries, and left it free to go abroad and manifest itself in loving-kindness for all that bears the name of man. Along with these tendencies in society and church has gone a remarkable change in philosophic thought, which, instead of championing individualism, as in the palmy days of Spencerianism, now seeks to find metaphysical justification for the rising spirit in a monistic conception of the universe, which naturally leads to socialism, and the merging of the individual in the whole. The total outcome is a philanthropy which seeks, through institutions, and chiefly through the state, to make possible human well-being within the limits, and under the conditions, of this life, without greatly troubling itself about what may come after.

But the new spirit, although pursuing one general direction which may be thus defined, assumes different forms, some of which embody themselves in societies with more or less definite principles and programmes. Among the societies are prominent the Social Democratic Federation, the Fabian Society, the Ethical Societies, and the Society of the Christian Socialists.

The first of these, till within a few years the chief socialistic body in England, is, both in origin and spirit, almost entirely exotic. It originated with a small knot of men of very various characters and accomplishments, who, having read the works of the Hebrew socialists of Germany, Lassalle, Marx, etc., had been carried away by their specious economic theories. It may be said to stand for state-socialism in its most pronounced form, its ideal being an economic commonwealth, not differing essentially from the chess-board Utopia, with its gospel of the electric button, described in Mr. Bellamy's entertaining romance. Like the German socialistic societies, of which it is an offshoot, it expresses its love for the disinherited classes in the form of hatred for those whom it conceives to be their oppressors. It deals largely in invective, and seeks, by stirring up class-hatred, to precipitate a revolution, by which it hopes to overthrow the aristocracy, humble the *bourgeoisie* (its special horror), and, having confiscated the property of both, to establish an industrial republic, to be ruled with military discipline. Though its members do not form a happy family, and are far from being all of one mind, its general tendency is materialistic and anti-religious, with strong leanings to the picturesque and æsthetic in life, and to darkness and vacancy in death.



It would be very unfair to say that this Society has not done good work, in stirring up the laboring classes to a sense of their misery and holding up before them the possibility of betterment. It might even be successfully argued, that the very hostile spirit and exaggerated form in which it has presented its gospel, has made it effective among a class whose world is not very different from that implied in the "Arabian Nights," a class at once ignorant of economic laws and animated by no very friendly spirit toward their "betters." This class is always ready to believe that "the state" (a very vague and mysterious term!) could, if it chose, make them all rich and give them plenty of time to play. At the same time, since this gospel is in the main destructive, its ideal fantastic, hostile to liberty, and un-English, and the way by which it purposes to reach this ideal one of violence and social dissolution, it has small chance of permanent success among a people whose common-sense is sure to get the upper hand, as soon as it finds time to reflect. Whatever future may await Germano-Judaic socialism in the land of its birth, where Jewish thought and Jewish ideals of life are daily gaining in power, we may safely prophesy that it can never be more than a passing whim in England, and must disappear, as soon as the true form of English democracy has become manifest.

Widely different from the Social Democratic Federation is the Fabian Society, which derives its name from the Roman general who "*cunctando restituit rem*," and which is purely an English product. It made a great mistake in saying, early in its career, that it was "composed of socialists," and this many of its members now feel, all the more that the term "socialist" tends more and more to be confined to the adherents of the Germano-Judaic school of economists. In this sense the Fabians are hardly socialists at all, and are daily becoming less and less so. There is, of course, considerable difference of opinion among them in regard to details; but their general position is easy enough to state. They have said to themselves: The principle of individualism and universal free competition, which was once believed to offer a solution of all economic and many social difficulties, has, on trial, been found wanting, requiring to be limited in a thousand ways by the application of another principle, which, acknowledging the solidarity of man with man, and recognizing that the interest of each is inseparable from the interest of all, is socialistic or collectivist in its nature. Hitherto this principle has been applied sporadically, and without any true comprehension of its implications and limits, the result being a hand-to-mouth and chaotic condition of things. Let us



now adopt this principle and apply it systematically, assuming provisionally that it will solve all our difficulties, by landing us in a collectivist republic. In this way, it will be forced to show at once its implications and its limits, just as the other principle has done, and thus we shall be far on our way to discovering the true spheres and relations of the two principles by which all human society is conditioned. It follows from this that, when the Fabians call themselves socialists and hold up before the eyes of the working classes the picture of a "collectivist state" in which every man and woman shall have a place secure against want and material anxiety, they are not to be taken too seriously. They are merely making an assumption, and trying to discover by actual experiment what it will lead to, so that they may be guided by the result to the achievement of what is possible. They are in no sense Utopian or *doctrinaire*, but English and practical. They are willing to make temporary compromises, and believe it right so to do. The opening words of a pamphlet recently published by them are:—

"The passion for compromise is a feature of the English character which annoys many people of strong opinions. Yet it has some advantages. It enables the English people to surmount some difficulties which other nations can only overcome by means of revolutions."

These words express the attitude of the Fabian Society, which, accordingly, is frequently charged with opportunism and time-serving by people of "strong opinions." But there is in reality no ground for such charges. It may, indeed, be true that, having no finished picture of the condition of things it is striving to bring about, it allows itself to be guided, in some degree, by circumstances; but a more honest, earnest, and self-sacrificing body of men it would not be easy to find in any country, or in any cause. Of the namable forces that are guiding the course of English democracy, it is at once the most powerful and the best. Its activity assumes various forms. It gives numerous lectures in all parts of the country; it publishes "essays," tracts, pamphlets, and flying sheets; it champions liberal movements; and it takes a very active part in elections. It is doing much to shape public opinion and to encourage the belief that the social transformation which England is now undergoing may be accomplished by a slow, peaceful process, instead of by violent revolution.

The Ethical Societies, though not professedly socialistic in aim, are working in the direction of socialism, partly because this is the form which the humanitarian, democratic movement assumes in Eng-



land, and partly because many of their leading members have a strong leaning to the Hegelian bureaucratic institutionalism, of which socialism is but the extreme form. Though their range of activity has, thus far, not been very extensive, they are doing excellent work by emphasizing the element of individual morality in social life, and thus paving the way for the advent of true democracy. It is to be regretted that their views of morality do not rest upon any clear conception of the nature of the moral subject, but either hang, unsupported, in the air, or are sustained by the gossamer of Hegelian dialectic.

None of the societies thus far mentioned is based upon a religious creed, or takes any sympathetic interest in Christianity as such. The case is altogether different with the Christian Socialists, a very loosely organized body, who believe that socialism is the true institutional expression of Christianity, and the form in which it will ultimately triumph. Though their aims are necessarily somewhat dreamy and romantic (in their organ, the "Church Reformer," they advocate the "restoration of the church, the land, and the schools to the people"), they stand for a very essential element in all social change, namely, the religious. They recognize that it is only as an eternal being that man can *rationaly* choose a moral life, that is, a life in which the well-being of all men is essentially included. It is a pity that they recognize this only under a form in which it no longer meets the intellectual needs, or commands the moral sympathies of earnest men. Hence it is that the Christian Socialists do not supply, in available shape, the religious element which the democratic movement so much needs.<sup>1</sup>

Although the above are the chief organized bodies working toward Democracy in England, they are far from including all the forces tending in the same direction. Indeed, it is hardly too much to say that English thought is at present completely leavened with Democracy, in socialistic form, and Mr. Spencer may well be excused for the alarm which he shows in his "Man vs. the State." A very large part of recent English legislation, including that relating to public schools, is

<sup>1</sup> In his recent very able book, "Social Evolution," Mr. Kidd has forcibly pointed out the fact that the social conscience is essentially religious in its nature, and that our present humanitarianism is largely Christian in its origin. But, being still entangled in the meshes of a monistic evolutionism, he fails to draw any valuable conclusion from his own premises. To tell men that they must be religious, without telling them why, is to give them a stone for bread. The entire social force of Christianity rests, and always has rested, upon a belief in the eternity of the individual soul. Take this away, and Christianity becomes meaningless, and, therefore, powerless.



socialistic in character, and there is likely to be much more of the same sort. And so strong is the humanitarian feeling even among the classes that are unfavorably affected by this legislation that they offer but a feeble and half-hearted resistance to it. Even the recent attempt of the national church to "capture" the London school-board, and to force mediæval dogma and Anglican orthodoxy upon the schools, was due to a few hot-headed enthusiasts, and did not carry with it the sympathy of the more enlightened clergy even. The liberals may well wish it success; for the better it prospers at present, the more certainly will it fail in the future. Mediævalism and feudalism must share the same fate.

Just what institutions will remain in the new order of things, and what form it will assume, it is somewhat premature to prophesy, on account of the English fondness for compromise and half-measures. Still a few points are clear enough. Though the correlated privileged class and privileged church, and, with these, the House of Lords, are certainly doomed, the English sense of humor will probably prevent any legislation forbidding the wearing of hereditary titles and similar childish gewgaws. Whether the fiction of monarchy will be permitted to continue will probably depend upon the personal conduct of the next monarch. That education, in all its grades, will be placed within reach of all, is already a foregone conclusion. But certain other things are less clear. That some steps will be taken toward the nationalization of the land, and toward the state-control, if not the state-management, of industry, with a view to preventing the amassing of wealth and consequent power in the hands of a few persons, and to providing opportunities of work for all classes, is extremely probable; but how far this will go is very uncertain. If the Germano-Judaic socialistic notions now prevailing among certain portions of the working classes in large cities should carry legislation too far in this direction; if the state should be induced to attack the institution of private property, to fetter individual initiative or effort, or to assume a paternal attitude to any class of the people, by relieving it of the responsibility of planning and struggling for its own existence and well-being,—then the very conditions of that personal liberty upon which the strength of England depends, would be removed. There is a great pitfall here, and it will require all the common-sense for which England is distinguished to avoid falling into it. And this brings me to that aspect of the democratic movement which may well cause apprehension.

The movement being, as we have seen, largely Christian in its



origin, owes its strength to the Christian view of the value of the individual life—a view determined by a belief in individual immortality. Our tenderness for the weak and socially useless, in so far as it is not feeble sentimentality, is due to a conviction, more or less clearly formulated, that they are citizens of a kingdom which doth not yet appear. Remove this conviction, and we necessarily fall back either into the position of pagan antiquity, and of certain recent English writers, who recommend the painless murder of the useless members of society, or else into the position of those sentimental Utopians who dangle before the eyes of toiling humanity a picture of a state from which all struggle, all need for the strong exercise of the moral will, has disappeared, and life is a perpetual holiday. That the men who are guiding the English democratic movement in the direction of socialism are, to a large extent, in the latter position, and that they find a very extensive following, is only too clear. If they do not reject the Christian belief in individual immortality, they at least ignore it, and look for the sum of human well-being in the enjoyment of the good things of this life, and in relief from anxiety and struggle, both of which socialism seems to promise. Not regarding personality as eternal, and capable of everlasting progress, they are not greatly concerned about developing its highest powers through struggle and self-sacrifice and conquest, but are content to secure such peace, cleanliness, comfort, and amusement as the present world offers to the ephemeral individual. If this view should be clearly formulated and become general, the Social Democratic Federation would have a good chance to guide the fortunes of England. And I see no certain way to prevent such a catastrophe but by restoring and strengthening the belief in the infinite and eternal value of the individual spirit. That this belief is still widely held in its Christian form, and with its Christian implications, is the main reason why Social Democracy makes such slow progress; but that it will long hold its ground in this form against the attacks of the “higher criticism” of scientific evolutionism, and of Hegelian mono-idealism is very unlikely. Hence, what England needs to-day, to prevent her from falling into a sentimental, unheroic, selfish socialism, in which the individual would be lost in the mass, is, above all, a firm, impregnable conviction of the worth, independence, and eternity of the individual soul, with such a view of man's destiny as shall make the things of this material world assume their true position, certainly important enough, as mere means to the ends of an immortal personality.



In a word, England needs a religion in which her best and leading men can with all their hearts believe. And since such a religion is demanded by the simplest good sense, we may trust that it will in due time appear—a religion free from the fancies of rabbinical Judaism, the dogmas of Greek philosophy, and the fetters of Roman imperialism.

THOMAS DAVIDSON.



## EGO, ET REX MEUS: A STUDY OF ROYALTY.

How are we to believe that royalty and loyalty first became allied in the human breast? The first forms of royalty were of course caused by the dominance of some man stronger than his fellows, or more favored by circumstance, who put into practical form the injunction to let him take who has the power and let him keep who can. This form, the primitive and only natural form, is visible still in the native kingdoms of Africa, and Polynesia, and others which are termed uncivilized states. Royalty originally grew out of the instinctive tendency of the strong to tyrannize over the instinctive submission and subserviency of the weak. But royalty as existent in civilized and modern nations has nothing in common with this. It cannot be said that either the strongest or the fittest reign; and if the real grounds on which royalty is sustained are sincerely sought for they will be found to exist in the fear of change rather than in any other higher or finer feelings.

The royalty of the barbaric races is logical; the royalty, with its accompaniment, loyalty, of the Middle Ages is beautiful if not logical; the royalty of modern times is neither, and it is an anachronism, with no true affinity to the social atmosphere in which it is placed. A despotic monarchy is monstrous; a constitutional monarchy is effete; an hereditary monarchy is unjust; an elective monarchy is perilous. But from all these different forms the emanation of influence on those dominated by it is bad: in modern times unequivocally bad, for the sentiments which it arouses are injurious to morality and self-respect. In the days of St. Louis, and even so near to us as the days of the unhappy Fils de St. Louis, there existed a loyalty which had a purifying and elevating effect upon the character of those who were termed subjects. It was the finest of heroic devotions, and if it were grounded upon a fiction it was in itself a very noble fact. A superstitious, and, from an intellectual point of judgment, an absurd veneration was attached to the person of the king. He was held to be God's Anointed; he was believed to possess saintly and supernatural powers; devotion to him was one with religion; and such self-abnegation as Prince Charlie, and all the Stuarts before him,



inspired in millions of men was of the highest possible kind of chivalrous and generous and unselfish love. Those who felt it were the better for feeling it, even though it stretched their bodies on the field of death, or set their heads above the gates of Temple Bar. The love inspired by the Bourbons and by the Valois was of the same quality. Their own moral characteristics had little to do with it; it was a blind, honest, headlong, enthusiastic adoration which made multitudes of men and women eager to die for them with rapture and pride. In a still more intense degree the great Napoleon inspired this passion or devotion. When, after the escape from Elba, he advanced alone and faced the ranks of the regiment which had been ordered to fire on him, the soldiers threw down their muskets, wept like children, and running forward to that solitary figure kissed his feet. There can be no question but that this impersonal and unselfish devotion is an ennobling feeling; it is always admirable even where its object is unworthy. But it is not possible for royalty to inspire this in modern times. What it does inspire is a greedy, mean, and fulsome insincerity based on the intensity of desire to advance by royal favor.

The chief interest, however, in the study of royalty does not so much lie in its political influences, good or bad, as in its social influences, and these seem never to be considered by those who write upon it. The political influence of all European monarchies, except those of Russia and Germany, is nil; the social influence of them all is immense. Is it beneficial? I think I am justified in saying that it is not. The sovereigns and their scions may be all that is good, well-meaning, painstaking, amiable, or what you will in their own characters; but the snobbism which is engendered by them and which is inseparable from their proximity is most injurious to human nature. The fiction which sets them apart as something superior, intangible, exalted, is a degrading and a foolish one for their peoples. The language and the attitude of men and women toward royalty is entirely wanting in self-respect. It may certainly be said that no one who respected himself, or herself, would prostrate himself with the sycophancy which is to be observed in all those who receive, or are received by, any royal persons. I know an accomplished, serious, very intellectual, and very agreeable, woman who, in a throne-room or anywhere else when she is in the presence of her queen, becomes a wholly changed being,—her face beams with an imbecile radiance, her smile is nervous, her eyes are excited, her whole person is convulsed with an ecstasy of desire to be especially singled out and conversed with by her sovereign: is it



wholesome, is it even tolerable, that one human being should be thus affected by the presence of another? Other acquaintances of mine are in perpetual apparent worship of another sovereign. Where she goes, they go. If she makes a little trip outside her kingdom they trip too. They are always within her call and just outside her gates. Of course their fidelity, which is to them a very costly one, gets rewarded by invitations to dinner and luncheon, to weddings and baptisms, and an occasional sipping of tea by royal lips in gracious visits to their own drawing-rooms. But this devotion does not prevent them from making great fun of the august person behind her back. Perhaps she equally makes fun of them, and of their eternal pursuit of her, behind theirs. Anyhow the comedy is unworthy and the prostration insincere. Going on as it does, season after season, year after year, it must produce a baneful effect upon both the idolaters and the idol. If it were sincere its effect would be impoverishing and belittling. Being insincere its results upon character are, of necessity, execrable.

It will be objected that toadyism, flunkeyism, snobbism, are indigenous to human nature and would always be found in some degree somewhere, and this is no doubt true. But weeds which are recognized as weeds are not so baneful as weeds which are allowed to pass as flowers, and as such are cultivated. It will also be urged that an aristocracy is as harmful as royalty in its creation of these vices of servility and subserviency. But it is not so, because an aristocracy commands no obeisance and does not necessitate any formula. If the greatest seignior in the world enter your house you receive him as you would any other gentleman, and need make no difference for him whatever. To a royal person, custom and etiquette exact a manner of greeting, a manner of speaking, a manner of writing, which are in themselves offensive to the self-respect and good sense of every independent person. You must wait for a royal person to begin the conversation; you must stand until the royal person tells you to sit down; you must say "sir" or "madam" continually, or their equivalents in whatever language you speak; you must receive none of your friends so long as the royal head be beneath your roof, unless he has previously expressed a wish to see them; you must contravene no royal opinion or desire however preposterous; you must let the poor royalty languish in ennui rather than revive it by the galvanic shock of any opposition or innovation. You must also in writing to, or of, them, put capital letters to the personal pronouns used to, or of, them, as people put a capital letter to "Him" when they mean to indicate God.



Injury is done to the public, in a great measure, by the teaching of sham sentiments and fictitious enthusiasms toward royal houses. In 1892 the British public was told that it became it to be plunged into grief at the death of the Duke of Clarence. In the year 1893 it was told that it became it to be convulsed with joy at the marriage of the Duke of York. The British public promptly counterfeited each sentiment in turn. Neither event in actual fact affected it in the least. Why should it? But it counterfeited both, and such counterfeits whether in the press or the multitude are unwholesome. They make hypocrites of a nation and waste the people's best emotions on shams.

The desertion of Gordon was a national shame; the sinking of the flagship off Tripoli was a national sorrow and loss; that the country forgave the abandonment of the one, and hardly attended to the terrible portent of the other, is due to the way in which national sentiment has been played upon, and frittered away, by the calls of the royal house upon it. The Tranby Croft scandal ought to have roused the whole country into just and irresistible indignation and action, but it excited nothing more than a passing amusement and derision. Far worse was known and openly said of this incident in society than the press ever ventured to hint; but the moral sense of the nation was not alarmed, scarcely touched. It discussed what was nothing less than a national disgrace, with cynical apathy, and most ignoble acquiescence and condonation. Is not such a state of the public conscience most discreditable, most bitterly to be lamented?

When at the Cowes yacht-racing of 1892 the German Emperor took advantage of a quibble to wrest the cup from the "Valkyrie," and did so on a plea of incredible meanness and injustice, there was no man in the whole Royal Yacht Squadron who had the courage and the candor to utter a protest. It was said that the motive of such conduct was courtesy: snobbism would be a more deserved and appropriate name.

The innumerable banquets which are offered to the royal persons on every occasion are exact emblems of the many valuable and pleasant days which are, at their instigation and by their command, wasted in senseless formula. Once, when costume was beautiful, pageantry was so also, and ceremonial was so also; but now both are unsightly and grotesque. Two bearded men in helmets, or caps, kiss each other on a railway footboard; old ladies in waterproof cloaks toddle through two lines of policemen; a fat gentleman, in a round hat, with a cigar in his mouth, walks over a piece of red carpet, nodding to a bending human hedge of supple spines; faces beam inanely,



throng outside the station doors cheer they know not why, troops are massed in readiness, for nowhere are these personages safe from attempts upon their lives: the whole thing is unlovely, absurd, anomalous, a caricature of what was once both intelligible and respectable but in which there is no longer either prestige or symbolism. Without dignity in its object loyalty is a mere boneless bundle of worn-out robes, and dignity perishes at the scream of the railway whistle.

Philip le Bel riding under the oaks of Vincennes amongst his knights, Edward I. spurring his charger through the hail of arrows, St. Louis seated on the bed of justice under the forest shade,—these and such as these might have ceremony because they had also beauty, dignity, and tradition; but a modern sovereign protected by police, shadowed by detectives, passed like a parcel from one frontier to another, and distributing hand-shakes in a timid effort to conciliate socialism, is a sight which would be comical beyond measure were it not so sad a satire on human folly. To an unprejudiced thinker it certainly appears that when sovereigns require all the forces of the police to protect them in their waking and sleeping, their up-rising and their down-lying,—the fact in itself is proof enough that their race is run, their utility is at an end. When the Prince of Wales patronizes the woman's dancing in the cage of the flogged and intimidated lions, and the spectacle of the boxing kangaroo, his influence is entirely pernicious; when the German Emperor eulogizes the long-distance rides, and the ideas and experience gained from them, his influence is wholly injurious to humanity. Example allied to precept is here of the most detestable kind, and the evil done by both is incalculable. Men will, in the mass, be always cruel, but cruelty applauded and recommended by persons in high place is of unending extent and injury. All the weight which attaches in society to the actions and opinions of these gentlemen is here thrown into their advocacy of a degrading brutality.

In the like manner their patronage of and participation in other brutalizing pastimes tend to the popularizing of such sports; whether it be the Prince who kills his thousands of tame pheasants in English coverts, or the Princess who takes prizes at dog-shows and goes to race-courses or wears the tufts of aigrets, the Kaiser who tortures elks with explosive bullets in Swedish forests,—the evil done is the same, the example set is the same; the influence of the acts is purely and entirely pernicious. It is absurd and illogical to legislate against cruelty, and condemn cads and costers for stoning cats and beating asses, whilst the "fountain of honor" is filled with the blood and the mud of slaughter.



A legitimate and infinitely useful exercise of royal influence might be found in teaching humanity and tenderness by example, but this is never done by any royal person in any country in Europe. The imperial *névrose* finds delight in watching the agonies of the grand elks rolling and plunging in their torture as the exploded bullets tear their entrails, and the princely *ennuyé* seeks a momentary stimulant to jaded sensations in seeing a ballet-girl sway and wheel and poise herself within touch of the great caged tormented desert-beasts; and year after year, in one country after another, the same sickening tale of slaughter is told, the same pitiable search for diseased sources of excitement is made, by those to whom the nations are bidden to raise their hats in sign of respect and submission. In other matters their influence even when exercised with the best intentions is of pernicious effect; the potentate and the prince are alike the unconscious tools of the empiric; they are persuaded to bless where they should curse; ignorant and anxious to seem unprejudiced they are led by scientific quacks into imposing upon the public medical methods and medicaments of which they have no personal knowledge; they are conducted over laboratories and institutes as blind men are led through a labyrinth and their presence and patronage are used as baits for the credulity of the public; they become responsible for that of which they know nothing, and recite a scientific shibboleth as school children a list of biblical genealogies.

Everywhere we see royalty as inane, as commonplace, as the rest of the world at large. Its entertainments are on the same model as any millionaire's; its dinners are only distinguished by an extreme hushed dulness, funereal and tedious beyond compare; when it amuses itself it takes to the battue, the deer-drive, the race-course, the pigeon-trap, and every form of imbecile and cruel pastime common to its subjects. The office which royalty might have fulfilled with unexampled facilities for influence in it would have been that of *arbiter elegans*; royalty might have made manners, society, conversation, reception, fashion, all feel and follow its example. But it has never had anywhere the wit, the grace, or the originality necessary for the office.

Royal people are much to be pitied. No one ever tells them the truth: they are surrounded by persons who all desire to please, that they may profit by them. It is impossible for them to be certain of the sincerity of any friend. They are never alone, and they can scarcely escape in their sleep from the stare of watching eyes, and the strained ears of eaves-droppers. They probably never in their lives get a genuine answer to any question which they may put. There is



always a young Raleigh to throw a cloak over any gutter; and if they wished to learn the truth incognito like James of Scotland they could not do so, for photography has everywhere preceded them.

The one mission which it might fulfil to the education and refinement of mankind, *i. e.* that of elevating the general tastes and making the horrors of sport unfashionable, it is incapable of doing, because it is in these respects the most prominent of all offenders itself. The gaudiest and most miserable of modern architecture pleases it the most; in art it has the same coarse taste; to society it does nothing except injury; of literature<sup>1</sup> happily it knows nothing so that it can do but little harm to it, except in so far that all literature suffers in a sense from the low tone of its own age. And manners, which should be, and in a measure inevitably are, the outcome of royalty, receive their model at the hands of gentlemen who have no better form of salutation than the ugly and disagreeable shake-hands, who have invented the smoking-concert, and who pass more than half their lives in railway trains, in rushing from one race-course, one barracks, or one wholesale slaughter of animals to another.

It will be alleged that the royal taste is deformed and misled by the public taste, but if royalty be incapable of controlling and elevating public taste it pronounces at once its own effeteness. The government of Russia is the worst in the whole world; it is a brutal absolutism founded on a rotting bog of corruption; the present family of Romanoff is not ancient; its blood is chiefly German; it has neither historical nor national interest or value. Yet we were told, a few months ago, that the hope of this dynasty being continued in the direct line, sent thrills of ecstasy through every Russian breast from the ice of the Baltic to the palms of Crimea. If the Russian *moujik* indeed extracted any satisfaction from that prospect we are only once more reminded of the axiom that every people has the government it deserves. The extinction of the Romanoff line might be considered a cause for rejoicing; that its continuance should have been regarded as such proves that the human race is as yet far behind in intelligence the bison and buffalo who select for their leader the wisest, strongest, best, of all the herd. But it is not from its political, but from its social, side that it is proposed in these pages to treat of royalty. The political aspect has been continually and exhaustively treated of by many philosophic writers, its social influence has been but slightly studied.

<sup>1</sup> The Emperor William's favorite author is Georges Ohnet, and his grand-mama's is William Black!



Yet if the political paralysis which it communicates be fatal to growth in the body politic, the social blight which it spreads is no less curious to watch. The weakness of every modern republic lies in its imitation of royalty; in its dim but servile reproduction of the person of the monarch in the person of the president. In the ideal republic there could not possibly be any president whatever. Inevitably this elected ruler reproduces and imitates the hereditary ruler; and, although in a much diminished degree, is surrounded by his atmosphere of servility, of corruption, of place-seeking, and of time-serving. Or rather, to speak more correctly, the royal atmosphere is the more replete with adulation, the presidential with corruption. The most social features of royalty are imitated by the presidents of republics: the silly ceremonies, the receiving of addresses, the opening of exhibitions, the inane routine, the public speeches, the red carpet, the bowing functionaries, the ugly inauguration shows,—all these the presidents copy from the crowned heads with as great an exactitude as the difference of caste permits. The chief difference indeed between them is that the king or prince is probably a fat person who bows well, and the president is probably a fat (or lean) person who bows ill.

The trivialities of royalty become ludicrous in an age in which these have lost such symbolism as they once possessed. Their nomination of each other to honorary colonelcies in each other's regiments, their wearing of each other's military dress, their dedication of regiments to hereditary foes, their fussing over ribbons and crosses and orders, present a picture of silliness and artificiality for the presence of which in its midst the world is distinctly the more foolish and also the poorer. On the outbreak of war these honorary colonels would endeavor to cut to pieces the foreign regiments they have commanded and the knights would try to fire machine-guns at their foreign suzerains: but this absurdity does not prevent the solemn farce of the nominations and the investments from being gone through, year after year, century after century, in the same pompous, vapid, unmeaning, and imbecile parade. The comedy furnishes the actors in it with fresh uniforms; that is all which can be said for its use. The Emperor William likes to change his uniform half a dozen times a day, and has, it is said, more uniforms than there are days in the year. From this point of view, but from this alone, his continual nominations to the command of foreign regiments can be of use to him; and to the guild of the army-tailors. They show perhaps more philosophy than they are given credit for in supporting it. Human nature must seem to



them a very poor, mean, truckling thing; a creeping thing of pliant spine, oiled tongue, and insatiable appetite for favors. Only an immense vanity like that of William II. of Hohenzollern can make them content with themselves or with their worshippers. The burden of the boredom of the world is infinitely increased by the existence of royalty. It is the patron of ennui. It is in its very essence dull and pompous; it cannot be otherwise without losing caste. The rude practical jokes and rough horse-play in which certain living princes have taken delight are its reaction and revolt against the tedium of their lives. To put a donkey in your friend's bed may not be an intellectual form of wit, but the dreary platitudes of royal existence made the joke welcome to one who is termed "the first gentleman" of his country.

Their existence must indeed be almost intolerable to them. Never to be alone must be almost as great a punishment as always to be alone in a condemned cell. Royalty in its adversity may arouse great qualities in its adherents, but in its prosperity its moral influence is entirely mischievous on all who come under its influence. It generates subserviency, hypocrisy, and egotism; and it suffers itself from the *contrecoup* of these creatures of its loins. And so in a minor degree does every courtier; statesmen, who ought not to be courtiers, become so perforce to the injury of their character. That a Chatham should have to bow in silence before a Guelph is an unjust penalty attached to office. That a Bismarck should have to thank a Hohenzollern for his favors is a degradation to humanity in its highest intellectual form.

Nothing can be in greater contrast than the fulsome and adoring homage used in public speech, and public print, concerning all royalties, and the sarcasm, the censure, the ridicule, with which the intimate witnesses of their existence bedaub their names, in private conversation. Poor idols! so servilely venerated and flattered in public, in private so laughed at, betrayed, caricatured, derided!

Insincerity is a disease which eats through and rots all social life, but it reaches its apogee in courts. It is said that Disraeli on being asked how he had managed so completely to fascinate and subjugate his royal mistress replied to the indiscreet question "*I never contradict*"! It is of course the courtier's most essential obligation. The salt strong sea breezes of contradiction must never blow away the cobwebs from royal brains. As all must lose to them at cards, so all must agree with them in speech. It were difficult to decide to which this is the more injurious, to themselves or to their subjects.

It will be said that the snob will be always a snob, though he never



enter the precincts of a palace, and that the high spirit and self-respect of those who are incapable of snobbism will resist the influence of palaces. But this is not wholly the case. The born snob will no doubt cringe and crawl before some deity or another, but the snob, like the microbe, increases only if the field receiving it be propitious to its growth, whereas in the atmosphere of courts one does see persons, whose birth and character should render them above such self-abasement, become servile and obsequious in their desire to gain or to retain royal favor. Courts are the field in which the bacteria of snobbism are most readily propagated. Fulsome sycophancy is sown by it broadcast like the murrain. In the recent nuptials of the Duke of York a dignitary of the English church was not ashamed to write an ode calling such a marriage "The Fairest Scene in all Creation"! Could sickly silly hyperbole swell itself to more nauseous folly? To make presents on these nuptials dockyard laborers, longshoremen, river boatmen, village peasants, mechanics, miners, parish schoolchildren, cottagers, weavers, carpenters, bricklayers,—the whole, in a word, of the poorest and hardest worked members of the nation,—were bidden, in terms which admitted of no denial, to give up a day's wage or the price of a week's meals to assist in purchasing some necklace, bracelet, or other jewel for a young lady who is to be the future wearer of the crown jewels of Great Britain! And there was not heard one single voice of all those who could speak with authority to protest against this abominable farce, this iniquitous extortion, this robbery of the poorest to enrich those made richest through the nation! Verily the populace is a too meek and long-suffering creature.

What is strangest in all this is that the want of dignity and of decency in these customs seems never to be observed or condemned. Year after year, decade after decade, roll on, and the same barbaric rites, the same mean and unworthy attitudes, continue precisely the same in precisely the same measure. This hanging about of royal idols with cut glass and stones, this pouring out of gifts which are scarcely looked at, never used, this counterfeiting of unreal pleasure, of sham devotion, of interested zeal, and of mock enthusiasm—when will they end? When will they be seen to be as demoralizing as they are grotesque?

The noble and historic castles of Scotland—Linlithgow, Lochleven, Stirling, Dumbarton—are all going to inevitable ruin because neither the state nor the public will find the funds necessary for keeping wind and water out of them. Would not their preservation be a finer and



worthier mark than the accumulation of trinkets and toys for a royal bride who will scarcely glance at them and who barely thanks the donors? It may be natural and fitting that the members of an aristocracy should offer nuptial gifts to the members of a royal house; but there is neither naturalness nor fitness in workmen and domestic servants robbing themselves to do so, or in "eighty actresses" buying a bauble for a future queen: imagine Molière's company purchasing jewels to give to the Dauphine of France! With royal houses lies principally the fault of this insensate fashion. They show that they expect these presents, and tacitly promise, if they are numerous enough, and costly enough, not to enquire too curiously into the sources whence their purchase-money has come. The enormous number of their progeny make them all effectively poor, and they turn into money what is given them as rapidly as they can. When the secret history of every court comes to be published it always is seen what a hotbed of intrigue, meanness, selfishness, jealousy, and base ambitions it was; a mere putrid mass covered over by a mantle of ermine and cloth of gold. Every court in the present days is the same, and will be seen to be the same when its private history shall in its turn be told. The divinity that doth hedge a king has been broken down and torn to pieces like a paper screen. Louis Quatorze on the terraces of Marly was a stately personage, meet emblem of the state; but a prince of our own immediate time in debt to money-lenders, the guest of enriched tradesmen, feverishly flitting from the race-course to the public meeting, from the punting table to the town-hall, from the shawl-dancing to the cathedral service, from the cotillon to the communion-table, has no dignity, no meaning, no symbolism of anything, except of the vapid, foolish, and unwholesome modern life he leads. Louis Quatorze might be no less wanting in reality, perhaps; but he was at least an actor who knew how to look his part, how to suggest that which he represented.

Manner and costume are matters which royal persons might influence worthily and naturally, and both are certainly in sore need of improvement. But they do nothing to influence or to improve either. The portraits of a dozen sovereigns and heirs-apparent, with their respective bicycles, as they appeared when in *villeggiatura* at Bernstorff, were recently published, and these dozen personages were as like a set of city-clerks as one bicycle-tire is like to another. Of costume for festal occasions princes have no conception except such costume as is represented by military or naval uniforms. Their imagination can go no farther than war. But for the military costumes



the procession of the Jubilee would have had no beauty or color whatever.

The mere fact that persons, at court, of rank and breeding are willing to take the salary and the semblance of servants bespeaks at once the extent to which their self-respect is destroyed. I know at this moment a stately, gracious, and beautiful lady, well-born and well-bred, who is travelling with a princess's trousseau in her charge to a royal marriage; she is doing exactly what she would make her own maid do, yet, so warped is her mind by long custom at a court, that she sees no degradation in what she is doing, although in all other atmospheres save that of the court she is a proud and intangible person with whom none would dare take a liberty. There can be nothing but what is deleterious in such a self-abasement.

The approval of monarchs lends a wholly fictitious value, a wholly artificial renown, to that which it selects and eulogizes. Their taste may be execrable, their judgment may be distorted, their area of observation may be, indeed must be, exceedingly limited; but this does not prevent their selection and their eulogy from being of immense weight with a vast majority of the public who have the sheep's instinct of stupidly following the bell-wether's tinkling call. There is no instinct in modern life of any attempt at resistance by royal persons to conventional usage, to foolish formula, to tedious custom and ceremony; indeed their whole existence is bound up in the crystallization of these things. They are the creatures of artificiality. Remove them from their artificial state and they are nothing.

It is not divinity but conventionality that doth hedge a king. Princes are in themselves so entirely conventional, so wholly theatrical, that they cannot stir a step toward freedom without at once destroying their own *raison d'être*. Their interminable exactions are the great time-waster of their world. Measure the hours thrown away in deputations, audiences, receptions at railway stations, platform platitudes, public ceremonials, the laying of stones, the opening of institutions, the hearing of addresses, all the pompous and empty routine prescribed by, and for, them alone, and the immeasurable waste of time, dignity, money, and good sense,—and the injury done by them to society can be approximatively measured. They are the supreme windbag inflaters of the universe. When it is a moot question whether the mattoid should be permitted to reproduce his or her species at all, the number of George III.'s descendants alive at the present moment is calculated to startle the calmest student of history. A little while ago



a young sovereign announced his intended visit to the monks of the Armenian Monastery on the little isle of San Lazzaro on the Lido waters; the quiet sanctuary was awakened to innocent excitement, the intellectual treasures of the library were brought forth, rich hangings and carpets were spread on the bare stones, and the venerable superior gathered with his sons on the edge of the landing steps to await the coming of the great man. They saw his gondola approach from the city over the lagoon, but as it neared the isle they saw it turned and set cityward again as rapidly receding across the silvery surface from their view. Only on the morrow did the offended patriarch learn the reason: his imperial majesty had changed his mind! It is said that the gentle recluses were hard to appease; but they must surely have remembered that the scientific term "mattoid" may sometimes be applied to monarchs as appropriately as to anarchists.

Nay, it perhaps speaks well for their good sense and self-restraint that sovereigns are not more often and more ungovernably mattoid. Given their consanguinity in marriage, their hereditary nervous maladies, their imprisonment in a narrow circle, their illimitable opportunity of self-indulgence, the monotony, the inquisitiveness, the publicity, which lie like curses on their lives, the maddening interference and investigation of their physicians,—we must give them honor that they remain as entirely sane as some of them do and retain tastes as natural and impulses as good as many of them show. They are moreover heavily and cruelly handicapped by the alliances which they are compelled to form, and the hereditary diseases which they are thus forced to receive and transmit. The fatal corporeal and mental injury of royal families due to what the raisers of horses call "breeding in and in" cannot be overrated, and yet seems scarcely to attract any attention from the nations over which they reign. The royal races of Europe are almost one race, and that German. They form one large clan, not by any means mutually attached yet with enough preponderant likeness to constitute a solidarity of family interest as against public liberty. Mental and physical diseases are common to them, and so also are certain attitudes moral and political. They are almost always great feeders, and tenacious of frivolous and arbitrary precedence and distinction. An English prince took aside at a ball an English ambassador known to me, with censure and consternation visible on his countenance. "Your riband should be worn *under*, not *over*, the collar of your coat," he remarked with ominous severity. "His Royal Highness of Tailor's Tape," Carlyle would call him were he



living to hear this story. This same prince one day offered another ambassador of my acquaintance some Southdown mutton and Bass's ale: the offer was of course gratefully accepted, and the mutton and ale came with the prince's compliments,—*and the bill!*

No sovereign would dare to educate his sons otherwise than in the curricula of military science; no sovereign would venture to make his young children other than puppets and figure-heads shaped in the likeness of war. No matter how little their stamina or their appearance suit the rôle every prince must be a Lilliputian soldier, or sailor, and be made dedicate to Bellona. The most cruel and unnatural strain is put upon the undeveloped powers of childhood to harden it into a premature combatant. It is well known that sentry-duty in winter nights caused the death by consumption of the elder brother of the present Czar, and that the health of the late Crown Prince Rudolph of Hapsburg was prematurely injured by the nervous injury he suffered as a child from being repeatedly awakened out of his sleep at night by his military tutors to accustom him to surprise-duty. The youthful Hohenzollerns are now suffering in a similar manner. It is not possible that any serious diminution of the dangers of war, and of the enormous preparations for it, offensive and defensive, can ever take place so long as royal military families exist, for they exist by *war*, they adore it, they devote their peoples to it, and their offspring are reared in the midst of its pomp, its panoply, and its deification.

There are two little boys now conspicuous in Europe, one is eleven and the other eight years of age; one is a crown prince and the other a crowned king; the former is the most dreary and self-conscious little prig that ever was drilled in pipeclay and buckram, and the other is still a high-spirited child, bold, saucy, and lovable; but both the Prussian Kronprinz and the Spanish Rey Niño have already but one thought in their young heads: War. The pompous little German lieutenant only lives for dreams of strategy, manœuvres, *kriegspiel*, the importance of buttons, the dignity of stripes and grades, the superiority of gunpowders and chemicals: and the bright Niño climbs on Marshal Campos's knees and begs to be told how Moors were killed in Morocco, Cubans in Cuba, and how many years he will have still to wait before he too can have the joy of killing them. Divine education of Christian princes! These children are taken, respectively, to the Lutheran service, and to the Catholic mass; and they are alike told that they are the servants of the Son of Peace, and what are they in truth being made both by education and example? They are being



made the scourge of their own generation, and of the generations to come. They are being taught to hope for, and to aspire to direct, the slaughter of their people and of neighboring peoples, to find their toys in military science, their theatre in the battle-field, their ambrosia in blood. The little lads of their own age who run now before their carriages in the dust, shouting their names with joyous outcry, will be for them a score of years hence crippled, maimed, riddled with shot, torn with explosive bullets, drowned by torpedoes, blown up by mines; thousands yet unborn will arise to curse them; mothers will ask their dead sons at their hands, and ask in vain; villages will burn like wisps of straw, and cities crumble like trodden ant-hills, at their word; they are innocent themselves as the atoms of tubing or the tin sardine boxes which hold the detonators and the iron nails of the bomb; but as these are filled with the deadliest fumes and fires of hell, so are these boys from their earliest infancy filled to the throat with the lust, the pride, the appetite of War.

To expect of a prince thus reared to abstain from war, when he reaches supreme power, is to expect a perfect marksman, whom you have supplied with the most exquisitely accurate repeating rifle, to abstain all his life from firing a shot. It is not in human nature to wield an immense power, and do nothing whatever with it. Such power may indeed be held in check by other power of which he is uncertain whether it, or his own, be the stronger: but it is thus, it is by this apprehension, this uneasiness, this impatience, that is created and sustained the terrible and exhausting uncertainty in which Europe has lived ever since the battle of Waterloo.

Certainly royalty is not the only factor of war since we see the republics go to war. But it is one of the greatest, nay, is as the world goes the very greatest, of its factors.

If the opening of this century had seen the United States of Europe in a federation such as would have charmed the dream of Girondists, it is possible that its present close would not see as it does see now the pitiable and alarming spectacle of all the nations of Europe armed to the teeth against each other, mined by anarchy at their social centres, and eaten through and through by taxation, speculation, corruption and abject fear; whilst the stock market falls if only a despot cough, and wealth, the god of the world, shakes on its clay feet if an imperial epileptic frown at his groom of the stole.

QUIDA.



## OUR SUB-ARID BELT.

IN THE FORUM for June 1895 I discussed the present condition and probable future of the great arid region of the United States, which embraces all the western-central portion of the country, and extends from the Cascade Range and the Sierras on the west, eastward to the great plains which lie west of the Mississippi Valley proper. In this article I desire to speak of an extensive belt of prairie, where climate and soil appear inviting to agriculture, but where there is not a sufficient average rainfall for profitable tillage. This region has no natural boundaries. It merges insensibly into the distinctively arid country on the west and into the humid country on the east. It extends from the Saskatchewan Valley on the north to the Gulf of Mexico on the south, and may be said, roughly speaking, to have a breadth of about two hundred miles. It has no topographical distinction from the rest of the great plains, except, perhaps, that it is less level than the country to the east that receives more rainfall, and less broken than the country farther west that receives less rainfall. The soil is a brown loam and would be highly productive if nature would only furnish about a dozen more inches of annual precipitation. The region is traversed by great rivers, fed by melting snows in the distant Rocky Mountains or in the nearer Black Hills ranges; but streams of local origin are few and far apart and are nearly dry in summer. Perhaps the most characteristic of these local streams is the James River, in the two Dakotas, which has a course of more than five hundred miles, draining a larger area than the entire State of Ohio. It has hardly any perceptible current during the months of July, August, and September, and can be forded at almost any point. In the dry season it becomes little more than a series of water-holes. Indeed at one place in South Dakota a farmer sunk a well in the bed of the river last summer to get water for his stock. The James River is said to be the longest unnavigable river on the continent.

Much of the surface drainage of the sub-arid belt goes into ponds, which lose most of their water during the hot months by evaporation. The snowfall is much lighter than in the Mississippi Valley, and the



mean annual precipitation ranges from fifteen to twenty inches, as against from thirty to thirty-six on the Mississippi River. If this amount of precipitation came mainly in the growing season the country would be well adapted for agriculture, but most of it must be credited to spring rains and melting snow. Light showers fall in June, but there are usually six or seven rainless weeks in July and August, and during this period there is always danger from hot winds that blow for two or three days, sucking the moisture out of the growing crops. In spite of the general diffusion of knowledge about climatology, many settlers on the great plains continue to blame the regions south of them as the birthplace of these dreaded winds. Thus the North Dakota people suppose that these winds start in South Dakota; the South Dakota people attribute them to Nebraska; the Nebraska people to Kansas, and the Kansas people to the Indian Territory,—all imagining that the identical volume of hot air which blights their crops has travelled many hundreds of miles. The truth is that the hot winds, while they may prevail over a very large extent of country on the same days, are always of local origin, and are caused by the rarefaction of the air on broad areas of uncultivated and sun-scorched plains. The rising of this heated air causes a partial vacuum, which is filled by the precipitation of currents from the higher regions of the atmospheric envelope of the earth, and these currents descend with such force as to engender heat by compression. Therefore, if all Kansas were a green corn-field, the hot winds would continue to blow in Nebraska so long as a very large part of the area of Nebraska is brown turf during the summer months.

A distinguished climatologist well-acquainted with all parts of the Far West, who was formerly at the head of one of the Government bureaux at Washington, proposed a few years ago that the belt of deficient rainfall, which lies east of the arid region, should be designated as the sub-humid belt. This proposition to avoid the use of the term arid was received with some favor at the time, but the new phrase has not come into popular use in any part of the district in question. I am disposed to think that it is wiser to adhere to the term sub-arid, because it calls attention to a condition which must be overcome if this large and fertile strip of prairie country is ever to be converted into the homes of a prosperous population. The natural conditions must be combated—either by drawing upon the store of subterranean water through artesian wells, or by methods of tillage which will retain the surface moisture in the soil of the growing crops—if the many



millions of rich acres which now lie open and vacant are ever to be made into farms and peopled by a race of intelligent cultivators, like that which already occupies, with contiguous homesteads, the adjacent prairie of the eastern portions of North and South Dakota, Nebraska, and Kansas.

During the flush times of the later 'seventies and the early 'eighties there was a great railway-building movement in the West and population poured out upon the vacant prairie lands, all the way from the Indian Territory up to Manitoba, following the advance of the locomotive. Ignorant of the climatic laws of the plains, farmers and town-builders pushed on into the sub-arid region, seeing nothing in its general appearance to make them think it differed in any important respect from the known agricultural regions a little farther east. If their first year's experience in this untried country raised doubts as to its sufficient humidity, they reassured themselves with the then current delusion that climate changed with settlement and that "rainfall follows the plow," and they cheerfully put in their crops the second and third years in the face of partial failures. It happened, moreover, that the first settlement of a large part of this belt of country was contemporaneous with two or three years of exceptional precipitation, so that the settlers who arrived in those years raised pretty fair crops of wheat and corn. In the dry years that followed they hopefully looked for a change and they assured the people who came in later that the condition of drought was exceptional, whereas the fact was that this condition is the rule of the region and the previous period of good rains was the exception. As time went on a large number of these settlers was compelled to abandon their claims and go elsewhere to make a living. Some drew back eastward into the districts of greater rainfall and others pushed on to the Pacific Coast,—where all sorts of climate can be found, from absolute aridity to a precipitation of sixty or seventy inches per year. Those who remained to keep on raising wheat or corn grew poorer year by year. Some of the more intelligent went into cattle and sheep husbandry and have made a fair success, with their live stock pastured on the wide ranges of vacant grassy land, and with a few small fields of grain and roots, the failure of which entails no very great loss. The towns in the sub-arid belt have shrivelled up steadily and most of them cannot to-day count half the population they had ten or fifteen years ago. Only the distinctively cattle towns, which do not depend at all upon agriculture, are prosperous. Everywhere abandoned farms are seen, with fields grown



up to weeds, on which a heroic attempt was once made to raise profitable crops.

Lest I should be accused of drawing a more gloomy picture of the actual condition of the sub-arid region than the facts warrant, I will furnish a few statistics of population in some of the States through which this belt runs. In 1890 Kansas had 1,427,096 people. In 1895 the State census found only 1,334,668 within her borders. The counties in the eastern part of the State, which enjoy a sufficient rainfall for agriculture, exhibited gains, but in the western-central and western counties there was an absolute loss of about 200,000 people—a greater number than is contained in the entire State of North Dakota. In some localities population has almost entirely disappeared. In sixty-two villages there was a total loss during the past year alone of 15,827 inhabitants. All these 200,000 people were forced to leave the western part of Kansas because they could not make a living. They were not frozen out, but they were dried out by the arid climate. They went to Kansas with high hopes of being able to make permanent and prosperous homes for themselves upon her rich prairie soil and in her mild climate, but they failed to reckon with nature and to take account of the fact that it is impossible to farm safely with only fifteen or twenty inches of annual precipitation.

No State census was taken in Nebraska in 1895. The causes which produced the partial depopulation of the western part of Kansas were equally operative in western Nebraska, and if a census had been taken it would undoubtedly have shown a decline in the total number of inhabitants during the five years in question, in spite of a considerable gain in the eastern counties where the rainfall is fairly adequate for general agriculture. The State census of South Dakota for 1895 showed a total population of 330,975 against 328,808 in 1890, a gain of 2,167, which is far short of the natural rate of increase of a community of that size under the healthful conditions of farm life. The extreme western part of this State embraces the Black Hills mining region, which is prosperous and gaining steadily in population. Between this region and the region of sufficient rainfall in the eastern part of the State lies a belt of semi-aridity, similar in its general conditions to that which extends across Nebraska and Kansas, and in this belt there has been a noticeable decline of population. In North Dakota no census was taken in 1895, but the vote of that year showed some increase over that of 1890, warranting the conclusion that the loss of population in the central and western counties has been more



than counterbalanced by the gain in the Red River Valley, which receives enough rainfall for prosperous agriculture.

There is now no fertile land, in regions of good rainfall, open for free homestead settlement anywhere in the West, except in the forest region of northern Wisconsin and northern Minnesota, and in the densely-timbered country west of the Cascade Mountains, in Oregon and Washington, where it costs about a hundred dollars an acre to clear the trees, stumps, and brush from the ground. The population of the United States is increasing at the rate of almost a million a year. The beginnings of a new western migratory movement are already discernible, and foreign immigration, greatly diminished during our recent period of business depression, is commencing to flow again in large volume to our shores. It is a notable fact that while Kansas lost nearly 100,000 people between the Federal census of 1890 and the State census of 1895, Minnesota gained 237,000 in the same period. The explanation is that Minnesota has no semi-arid lands. All of Minnesota lies within the humid region, while the western half of Kansas lies in the sub-arid region. The western half of Nebraska also belongs to this belt of insufficient moisture, and so do the western portions of South Dakota, North Dakota, and Manitoba, and all of the big Canadian Province of Assiniboia.

It already begins to be evident that this vast belt of fertile land, as wide as Ohio and in length reaching across the whole United States and a portion of Canada,—a belt already traversed by many railroads and occupied by a thin skirmish line of agricultural settlement,—will not be allowed to relapse into its former condition of a cattle range without another effort to subdue it for the uses of the farmer. In South Dakota a remarkable movement is in progress for irrigation by artesian wells. Nearly the whole of this State and of its northern neighbor is underlain with the water-bearing formation known to geologists as the Dakota sandstones, which forms a vast artesian basin, fed by the rivers that flow over and the rains that fall upon its western rim in the foothills of the Rocky Mountains, the Big Horn Mountains, and the Black Hills. This formation has been fairly accurately traced already by government explorations and by the sinking of artesian wells here and there to afford a water-supply for towns, and the recent borings for irrigation wells confirm the earlier theories of the geologists. The water-bearing stratum is found at Yankton, in the extreme southern part of South Dakota, at a depth of six hundred feet. It is about a thousand feet below the surface in the central region of the State, and



at Jamestown in North Dakota the well that furnishes fire-protection and local water-supply is down about fifteen hundred feet. The irrigation movement is at present confined to the lower James River Valley and the counties lying along the eastern side of the Missouri River, in South Dakota. A single statement will show how important this movement has become. There are now more than eleven hundred wells completed or in process of boring. In many cases townships have bonded themselves to carry on this work; in others, farmers have combined to buy machinery and sink wells for themselves. Financial projects are now being formulated by which wells will be sunk by stock companies and sold to farmers on annual payments, with security in the form of mortgages on the land to be watered. The subsoil in this artesian basin holds water so well that experience has shown that it is not necessary to irrigate a field every year. Once thoroughly soaked the land will produce good crops for two and perhaps three years without further irrigation. This is a very great advantage, for it doubles and trebles the irrigating value of a given amount of water. Of course the natural rainfall helps out the crops and lessens the duty of the irrigation system. Thus good crops can be raised in this region with perhaps one third or even less water than must be applied in more arid regions, such as Colorado, Utah, and Idaho, where little aid can be expected from rains and where the subsoil along the river margins is usually gravelly. The results of irrigation in South Dakota have been very favorable. Irrigated fields produced last year thirty-five bushels of wheat to the acre, while adjoining fields, which depended on rainfall, produced only twelve. It will be seen that with this enormous gain in the yield of crops, a well costing from two to three thousand dollars and watering an entire section of six hundred and forty acres will pay for itself in a single year.

It must not be concluded, however, that all of the sub-arid belt which lies above this water-bearing sandstone is destined to become a country of contiguous irrigated farms. There must be a limit to the number of wells that can be sunk in a single township without diminishing the flow. That limit has not yet been ascertained. The subterranean waters do not constitute a great reservoir. They percolate through the porous sandstone under hydrostatic pressure derived from the elevated position of their places of original absorption. Every well must relieve the pressure on a considerable surrounding area. If it should turn out, however, that there is water enough under ground to regularly irrigate, every other year, eighty acres in each section of six



hundred and forty acres in this entire artesian basin, the region in question will soon become one of the most prosperous in the United States. The remaining land will be utilized for pasture, and the forage-crops and corn produced upon the irrigated fields will enable the farmers to raise fat cattle and hogs to great advantage.

Another interesting movement is in progress that promises great things for agriculture in the regions of scanty rainfall, and that will not be confined in its benefits to the artesian basin. A scientific farmer in South Dakota is zealously advocating a theory of special methods of soil-culture, which is attracting a great deal of interest and is being put to practical tests in various localities. His idea is to make better use of the moisture that falls in showers by storing it, so far as possible, just below the roots of the growing crops and preventing its too rapid evaporation. To this end he has invented a sort of cultivator that packs the ground a few inches below the surface so that a considerable amount of water will be held above the subsoil. Then, acting on the known fact that capillary attraction and consequent evaporation take place much more rapidly when the surface soil is firm and baked by the heat than when it is loose, he stirs up the surface by repeated working with another sort of cultivator. This second process is easy enough with corn- and root-crops but he proposes to employ it with wheat, sowing the grain in rows and tilling the fields by a machine specially designed for this purpose. He illustrates his theory of capillary attraction and evaporation in dense surface soil by showing how much more rapidly a fine-grained sponge will suck up water than will a coarse-grained one, and how much more rapidly it will give out water when the two sponges are saturated and placed on a board in the sun to dry. It would be premature to make any predictions as to the ultimate outcome of this theory of a special method of tillage adapted to regions of inadequate precipitation for successful farming by the old methods, but I refer to it here to show that American enterprise and ingenuity are at work on the problem of the general utilization for agriculture of the great sub-arid belt.

For the encouragement of artesian irrigation some facts might well be ascertained at Government expense. The Senators and members of Congress from the States through which the sub-arid belt extends should join in efforts to obtain an adequate appropriation for determining, first, whether there is an artesian flow under the western portions of Nebraska and Kansas; second, whether the known artesian basin of South Dakota extends northward through the entire breadth



of North Dakota, as is probable from the success of a well recently put down in Manitoba; and third, the number of wells that can be sunk on a given area of territory without resulting in a serious diminution of the flow. The Government owns most of the land in the regions in question and might with entire propriety undertake a reasonable expenditure to demonstrate its agricultural value. The experimental wells sunk to test the amount and pressure of the subterranean flow should be put down in two or three different localities in the present known artesian basin. For a sufficient solution of the question it is probable that a dozen or twenty wells will be required in each locality where the experiments are conducted. This work should be under the direction of the Department of Agriculture. If it should turn out that a well can profitably be sunk on every alternate section of land, or on every third or fourth section, this will be a great gain in the way of practical information. Another valuable line of governmental work would be to test, at the various experimental stations in the States interested, the special methods of soil-culture advocated as a remedy for deficient rainfall. These stations are supported by appropriations made by Congress and could carry on such tests with very little, if any, addition to their ordinary expenses. If—by the aid of artesian wells and storage reservoirs, and by new and scientific methods of tillage whereby a larger part of the water that falls from the clouds can be utilized than is now possible under the old methods of agriculture—it should be demonstrated that a belt of prairie country having more than twice the area of Iowa can be changed from its present half-desolate condition into a flourishing farming region, the result will be of tremendous importance in its bearing upon the future development of the United States.

E. V. SMALLEY.



## THE TRUE AIM OF CHARITY ORGANIZATION SOCIETIES.

A CHARITY Organization Society means a society for *organizing* charity; it means the attempt to put intelligence and order in the place of ignorance and chaos. The first society of the kind was established in London in 1869 by men and women who had spent their whole lives in working for the poor in London, and who, having given time and thought and life to the work, had become convinced that they were not doing any good, but on the contrary were doing harm. They found that they were working at cross-purposes; that those in one part of London were ignorant of what was being done in the other parts; and they came to the conclusion that what was needed was more intelligence, not more feeling and heart; that earnest workers who were trying to help those in distress should come together, compare notes, and help each other to accomplish their common purpose.

The example of London was followed by Buffalo in 1877, and later by Philadelphia, Boston, New York, and other cities, and there are now about one hundred and ten societies in the United States that work on this principle of associated charity. The idea has never been that a new society should be formed to do new work, but that the existing societies should unite to do their work better and accomplish their primary object—the helping of people in distress.

The cause of the great difference in the new way of doing the old work in London was that the men and women who established the Charity Organization Society believed that poverty could be cured; they believed, as a result of their lifelong study of it, that poverty was due to certain causes which were removable; and that has always been the fundamental distinction between the “old” and the “new” charity. The old charity accepted the idea that the distress of poverty and pauperism is necessary. The new charity rejects this idea; it says that poverty and distress are due to certain causes which usually have their roots in the character of the people who are in distress, and therefore its great aim is to influence the character of those whom they want to help. And if in England, where the struggle for



existence is so much more severe than it is in the United States, men and women who had given their lives to charitable work were able to agree that the usual cause of poverty is to be found in some deficiency—moral, mental, or physical—in the person who suffers, it certainly can be accepted as still more generally true in this country. And this, which makes the daily work of charity discouraging, is, rightly looked at, an encouragement. If it could be said that there were in the United States numbers of honest, industrious, intelligent, and energetic people who were in a chronic state of distress and suffering, that would be a horrible situation; and yet it would be a situation which would make the helping of them easier and more encouraging than is the helping of the people that now have to be dealt with; for, since their distress is due to inherent faults, either physical, mental, or moral, it becomes very difficult to cure it.

But besides the weaknesses which make difficult the helping of people who want help, there are weaknesses of the would-be helpers which make it far more difficult. The development of character is not easy—it requires a great deal of intelligence, patience, and sympathy; and it requires, moreover, as a foundation, a correct conception not only of the people who need help at the moment, but of the whole population of the world in general. This may seem an extreme statement, but it is true. The theory that there are two classes of people, the rich and the poor, and that the rich support the poor by giving them work and money, is contrary to the truth; and those who hold that view are incapacitated from being of very much use to their fellow men.

The fact is that the population of the world is divided into two classes—two very important classes—but poverty and riches are not the distinction between them. The distinction is one of character and life. The workers and the idlers constitute the two classes into which human beings are divided. The workers are those who usefully serve their fellow men; and they are workers, whatever be their occupation, if this condition of useful service is complied with. They may spend all night mixing bread; they may lie for ten hours every day on their backs in the dark, hundreds of feet under ground, picking out coal; they may set type all night in a newspaper office; they may sew all day, or wait on table, or wash clothes, or cook, or run errands; they may plan railroads; they may superintend factories; they may write poems; they may sing, or act, or preach, or teach,—they are always workers, if what they do is of use to the world. The idlers are the people who live on the workers. They may be rich or they may be



poor; and one peculiarity of the poor idler is, usually, absolute degeneration of character. It is a sad fact that a worker is easily converted into an idler, and it is this fact which makes the attempt to help unfortunate people so difficult a matter. The truth is that, looked at from a temporal and material point of view, the mass of the world's workers have a hard time of it. There is little room for enjoyment, often no room for self culture, for the common worker. He has to forego many of the pleasures, and some of what many people call the necessities, of life; and often the uncommon worker, the captain of industry, or the genius in any department of work, has also "to toil terribly," as Sir Walter Raleigh puts it. To the uncommon worker, the genius whose high intelligence and noble nature enable him to see the real value of things, "to live laborious days" is not a hardship, and he cannot be tempted by the offer of any of the lower pleasures to give up what is in reality the highest function of his nature. But, alas! the common mass of men and women are not made of such stuff. They seem to need the pressure of necessity to force them to exercise their faculties.

And in the different meanings of this word "necessity" to different people is to be found, in a great degree, the cause of the great differences in their condition. I am ignoring, of course, the pressure of the unjust social laws and legislative enactments which produce hardship and cause more people to become idlers than would otherwise be the case. But, while acknowledging this unfortunate effect of unjust conditions, I still believe that one principal cause of the great differences in the material comfort of different classes of persons lies in their "standard of living," or, in other words, in their view of what are the necessities of life. The ex-slave of some of the West India islands,—where there is much common land, where the climate makes clothing unnecessary, and where one bread-tree will furnish sufficient food for a family,—has so far lowered his standard that he desires nothing; and so he plants his bread-tree, makes his hut, and will not work for himself or any one else, having all the necessities of *his* life without working. Nor does the pauper work in those other countries where clothes are required, and food ready to eat does not grow on trees which can be had for the planting, but where food, clothing, and shelter can be got from the public without any unpleasant accompaniments; for, although he wants more than the black man, still he can get all he wants without work. And going higher up the social ladder and coming to the man who wants a good house, good clothes, and good food, but who gets all these from his father, we find that he does not work for exactly



the same reason that keeps the black man and the pauper from working. He gets all he wants without working. Such being the tendency of human beings not to work when they can get what are to them necessities without it, a high standard of living is one of the most important factors in raising the condition of the people. And one of the great dangers to be guarded against in this country is the lowering of the standard of living by the influx of foreigners. This also points to the most important service that can be done for these foreigners,—which is to raise their standard of living until they will not live in filthy tenement houses, or allow their children to go without education for the sake of the pittance they can earn, or work for wages upon which it is impossible to live decently and bring up a family to be healthy, intelligent, and self-respecting members of the community.

Now, by this long and rather roundabout road I have come back to the various things which Charity Organization Societies attempt to do for the people who are unfortunate and who need help. The object is to make them workers and not idlers, and to educate them to a higher standard of living if they happen to have a low one. But, in order to come to any decision as to the kind of help which any person or family will require, it is necessary first to learn to know each of them—to find out whether each individual is a worker or an idler, to know the character, history, and general tendency of each; and this cannot be done except by really sympathetic study. It is impossible, when they are in misfortune, to find out the truth by a few questions. The desire to help them, and to help them in the best way, must be sincere, and they must believe that it is. Then, having learned about them, it is always necessary to remember how easy it is to tempt the average human being to become an idler. In the case of a family where the misfortune is of a temporary nature, where want of work has brought want of bread, it does not do to take the course that seems so easy and natural and so right at first sight. It does not do to send groceries, coal, and clothes, recklessly pouring out before those tempted people what to them represents the results of two or three hard days' work, and giving them perhaps the first lesson in the terrible truth that it is very easy to get a living without work,—and this just when they are suffering from the torturing difficulty of getting work to make a living. Instead of this, it is necessary to try in every way to devise some means by which what is needed may be worked for by some one in the family, by the husband or father, if it is in any way possible. Of course, sometimes there may be absolute destitution, requiring immediate relief,



though this is rare in any community; and even where this is so it is possible, by supplying what is needed for one day, to gain time to think over some plan by which the head of the family can provide, as he ought to, for the next day, the next week, and for all the weeks thereafter.

There are many men and women who are suffering because they are confirmed idlers, and who are idlers partly because they can do no work well enough to secure decent wages for it, and partly because they have no energy and no ambition—that is, they suffer from radical deficiencies, both of character and education, which act and react upon each other, each evil only aggravating the other. Such people as these are the most difficult and disheartening to help, for there seems no foundation to build upon. But, if there are children, it does not do to turn away discouraged; it does not do to take the easy course and supply with gifts of money and necessities all the deficiencies left by their want of character and skill, for this is to educate the children in exactly the same way that the parents have been educated, to rely on other people,—to be, in a word, paupers. Such families as these will furnish hard work for years to any one who is sufficiently courageous and unselfish to undertake their care. Of course, the objective point is the proper education of the children,—to make them feel the responsibilities that their parents never felt; to teach them the skill that their parents never learned; to give them the character their parents never had;—a long, hard task, requiring courage, devotion, and the realizing sense that every little bit of improvement which may be put into the souls of those children is just so much gain to them for eternity.

There are dangers that beset the work of a Charity Organization Society, as there are in all other fields of human effort; and one is the making a fetich of investigation. Investigation of this kind is not a good thing in itself; it is an evil. It is not desirable to try to learn all the facts about other human beings, if they do not want to tell them; the only excuse for investigation is to learn the way to help them. Investigation is and must be one of the corner-stones of all the work of scientific charity, but the tendency to look upon it as a thing to be carried on almost for its own sake should be resisted. It is an invasion of privacy which ought not to be undertaken except with the object of helping people; that is its reason and justification. If a person comes asking help, and continues to ask it after it has been explained that he cannot be helped unless inquiry is made into his antecedents and present condition, he puts himself into the hands of the Society to be investigated, and he must be investigated, because he cannot be helped



without that knowledge. What a person needs cannot be known without finding out what he is ; for how otherwise can one help him, give him what he needs, or keep from him what he ought not to have ? The thing to be constantly kept in mind is, that investigation is not an end in itself nor a good thing in itself, but that it is the means to a good end, which is the helping of persons in distress.

Still another danger is that of taking "short views,"—of thinking only of the people in distress ; it is necessary to think also of the effect of what is done upon other people. Sometimes, helping the individual may be objectionable because it will injure other people. For instance, it is said that one reason of the very low wages of working women in Paris, which makes it impossible for any woman to earn a living there by needlework, is the work that is done in institutions for poor women and sold at low rates—that is, those good people who have charge of institutions for poor women are so possessed with a desire to maintain their institutions and to teach the few women they have in them, that they injure thousands of working women for the sake of the few hundreds they have directly under their eyes ; and this lowering of wages is one of the most disastrous effects of any extended relief system.

Another mistake is made in taking a negative position ; in telling people not to give carelessly and selfishly, instead of telling them that they must give carefully and thoughtfully ; in constantly saying *don't*, instead of *do*. The Societies thereby expose themselves to the charge of telling people that they must not help the poor, when their one object is to help the poor and make other people help them.

The Charity Organization Societies fail also to explain another important matter. It is often difficult to understand how careless giving actually increases physical suffering and distress, and how it may, and often actually does, make people poorer. But it does so by undermining the independence, self-reliance, and energy of persons whose only capital consists in those invaluable qualities. It takes from them their only source of income and support, and does not give them enough to make up for it. If any one were to say, "I will pick out a certain family, and I will give them a hundred dollars a month for the rest of their natural lives"—that would not hurt them any more than a hundred dollars coming from any other source. Such income often prevents people from working for their living ; but it also often leaves them free to do something that is better worth their while. The trouble with indiscriminate and careless giving is that it prevents people from making the exertion necessary for their own support, while



it does not give them enough to live on—only enough to starve on ; and by and by gets tired of giving them even that. If a man makes eight dollars a week, and four are given him and he stops making the eight,—as he is almost sure to do,—he is certainly very much poorer and suffers a great deal more than while he made the eight ; and in the nature of things he is soon left without either.

The aim of a Charity Organization Society should be to get people to do far more in every way for those in distress than they have ever thought of doing. It should teach them that people ought to give more time, thought, and money than they are in the habit of giving. To take only one example, the case of a widow with young children. A working man dies and leaves a little money, and his widow tries to get along with it and succeeds for a little while ; then it is gone, and she and the children are dependent. What is the usual course of things ? People give her a little money here, a little money there, and she spends almost all her time running around for the money until she gets to be a regular beggar, and the children beg and the whole family go to destruction. People have given them money because, as they truly say, it was such a pitiful case. What ought to have been done ? First, all the relations should have been made to give something regularly ; then what the woman could have earned, without neglecting her children, should have been taken into consideration ; and then somebody should have given her enough to make up the rest of her support in a decent way, so that the children would not have been left to starve and freeze or have been forced to beg. But there are very few people who are willing to give one woman ten dollars a month for ten years, diminishing it, of course, as the children grow older, and watching over them all that time. That is the way, however, in which dependent widows and children should be taken care of. It is a question of letting them become beggars, or of watching over them and giving them enough to make sure that the children are brought up properly ; the watching being more important and more difficult than the relief.

Every different case of distress can be dealt with in the same spirit, but it is not necessary to go into details. The principles of the Charity Organization Societies can be summed up in two texts : “ Man shall not live by bread alone,”—which applies to the poor as much as to the rich ; and “ What shall it profit a man, if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul ? ”

JOSEPHINE SHAW LOWELL.



## THE ISOLATION OF MUSIC.

IN looking back over the history of music as a factor in modern culture one cannot avoid noticing at many points its apparent separateness from other factors. Instances can often be found where musicians have deliberately emphasized this isolation, making their art an esoteric mystery, to be fully made known only in the secret circles of the initiated. Wherever any line of human effort is elaborately followed as a technical specialty, as it must be by those who achieve the greatest progress in it, the tendency to an isolating conception of it is inevitable. The extremely rapid development of music in the last two centuries is due to the large amount of this specialistic pursuit of it, and the whole popular notion of music has naturally been much affected by this fact.

In saying this it is not forgotten that music constantly shows an intrinsic readiness to escape from academic and other arbitrary isolations. Its primitive forms seem to be all of a diffuse and popular kind. It is found to have flourished in all periods and countries. It has been warmly loved by millions of men, and has been passionately followed as a profession by thousands, representing the most diverse classes of society. It has now, after some strange vicissitudes, pushed its way into a remarkable prominence in what is called cultivated society. In spite of these facts, however, it has been common for musicians and others either to set music wholly apart from other agencies of culture, or so to minimize its influence that it may be disregarded in any serious and important summary. This disdain of music as a historic fact and a persistent social force is too often merely a part of a sweeping disdain of every artistic factor in culture. The fine arts originate in the play-instinct of man. They are bound to develop somewhat in directions of trivial amusement, of idle luxury, and even of positive folly. They are often most showy where the moral values of life and the higher energies of society are least regarded or most perverted. Consequently it has sometimes been assumed that the most petty aspects of all the arts are the most characteristic, and that their nobler developments are too exceptional to be counted. Art has not seldom been considered only a surface decoration of life, wholly incidental and accidental to its



real substance. Music, of all the fine arts, has perhaps been the most subjected to this sort of depreciation.

One of the most conspicuous exhibitions of this tendency to isolate and thus to lower the value of artistic things is in theories of general education. It is said that the most influential English theory of education until within a few years has been that of John Locke. Now Locke well represents those for whom artistic discipline lies for ever apart from all vital training of man's powers, if not subversive of it. Locke says somewhere that if a boy has "a poetic vein," his parents "should labor to have it stifled and suppressed as much as may be." "I know not what reason," he continues, "a father can wish to have his son a poet, who does not desire to have him bid defiance to all other callings and business." "Poetry and gaming, which usually go together, are alike in this too, that they seldom bring any advantage but to those who have nothing else to live on." The theory of the essential uselessness of art in education here exemplified has been and still is widely diffused in all English thought. The consequence has been that whole systems of popular culture have been organized with fine art of every description absolutely ignored. Generations of educated men have been trained with one side of their natures quite forgotten. What wonder is there that to such men music, with its peculiarities as an art, stands in absolute isolation from other topics of human interest!

Practical musicians of to-day, especially if engaged in educational effort, inevitably feel the force of whatever notions of the isolation of music the theories of the past have engendered. Take the case of a high-minded church musician, for example. Church music has notable differences from concert music. Both are also distinguishable from household music, and from solitary or reflexive music. The initial motive to all music is æsthetic gratification, and in most of its public developments there must remain a large emphasis on the appeal to the senses and to the instinctive tastes, absolutely without conscious moral purpose or any measurable correlation with the profounder aspects of life. In the cultivation of most music, therefore, the apparent values are simply æsthetic. All others are at least so masked that their working may vary much with different percipients. That such music should become highly specialistic and so isolated is not strange. But church music is different from other music in that it is a deliberate application of an artistic means to ends outside itself, and to ends, too, that obviously belong to the highest moral and spiritual category.



Church music aspires to deal, as an interpreter and teacher, with the eternal verities of religion, to offer a language for the utterances of worship, and thus in its own peculiar way to lay a directing and animating hand on the immortal soul. Every earnest church musician must base his work on some such daring conception as this of its aims and potencies.

But every church musician has learned by bitter experience that this kind of conception is not the popular one. For himself, he may claim that a weighty and profound Scriptural passage is made many times more luminous to the spiritual sense by an apt musical setting and rendering, so that a great anthem or a true oratorio should be ranked as a tremendously powerful agency of religious impression and uplift. But how often the merely concertizing theory of music cuts ruthlessly into his hope and dream, so that what he has wrought upon in eager reverence and with a kind of prophetic ecstasy, like that of the mediæval cathedral builders, he sees taken and handled in the same frivolous and wanton spirit that has from time to time defaced and destroyed too many of the precious sanctuaries of Christendom.

For himself, the church musician may claim that there is such a thing as worship in and through music, as vital and as soaring as ever rose to heaven in the flame of sacrifice, the smoke of incense, or the rhapsody of liturgic prayer. He may urge that when prayer takes to itself the pinions of music and becomes praise, the blended unity of words and tones is more complete and true as an expression of the human soul in the presence of God than any material or merely verbal symbol can be. Yet, as he watches those whom he is trying as a leader to lift into the highest levels of worship, how rarely does he feel the popular heart responding in evident sympathy with his heart! He mounts up as on wings of eagles, but too often cleaves the upper air alone.

Or the church musician may content himself with believing that music, like every artistic influence, may at least work as an indefinite emotional quickener, unlocking the gates of the inmost heart, and ministering through the avenue of æsthetic delight and zest to a somewhat intangible growth in the warmth of soul-life, so that other influences may then seize upon the spirit and put it in touch with the divine realities. He may simply seek to make an emotional atmosphere in which religious experience may bud and blossom without really knowing why or how or to what end. And yet here, too, how much of his most loving labor is wasted, misunderstood, misapplied! He has ap-



pealed to the love of beauty that her sisters, the love of truth and the love of righteousness, may spontaneously awake. But he sadly finds that in the popular mind there is either a dull insensibility to beauty or a wide chasm between æsthetic and other mental activities, so that at the best he has ministered merely to a selfish and worldly craving for excitement.

These disappointments, or something like them, are the inevitable lot of most church musicians who labor with a deep philosophic sense of the mission of their art. They befall all other classes of musical workers—all artists, indeed, in every field. Sometimes they so crowd upon the thought as to give rise to the despairing belief that in this practical age, with its feverish material ambitions and its exaggerated estimate of merely scientific attainment, there is no room for art and the empire of feeling to which it belongs. What wonder that the musician, like many another artist, sometimes lapses into the pessimistic notion that he dwells apart, in a different world from the generality of men, isolated and alone!

But, happily, the reaction from these extreme views of art, musical art included, is beginning to become appreciable. The estrangement of music from other topics of popular interest is surely diminishing. Not only is the striking technical progress of music itself during the present century correcting erroneous conceptions and multiplying the number of those who have an independent personal acquaintance with it, but there is also a vigorous general reaction of thought which is steadily benefiting the status of music in common with all its sister arts. We are surely coming out of the utilitarian narrowness of the older time. One who watches the drift of our more serious literature can hardly fail to be impressed with the growing readiness to concede the importance of all the parts of man's complex nature, instead of arbitrarily exalting some into domination over the rest. And, consequently, there is in progress to-day a notable re-discovery of the sensibility as intermediate between the intellect and the will. This is producing a new attention to the fine arts as among the most brilliant fruits of knowledge and the most potent fashioners of conduct and character.

I shall here confine myself to some notes upon the influence of this reaction upon the traditional isolation of music. And for simplicity I shall also limit myself to a single field, one in which the trend of the reaction is most easily observed, and in which it is being most effectively urged onward. I wish simply to point out a few of the ways in



which the isolation of music may be and should be removed through processes of general education.

American musicians have for a long time been struggling for a universal recognition of singing as a necessary topic of regular instruction in the public schools, beginning, of course, in the cities and large towns. The claim is that this is only fair to the subject and to the pupils. The schools have begun to see that popular education means more than languages, mathematics, physical science and history. The moment they admit that literary and æsthetic culture is needed to make full-rounded men and women, and that some acquaintance with the processes and products of the fine arts, literature included, is needed to prepare their pupils to enter understandingly into the life of the world, they must admit music on some sort of parity with other arts. Most of the arguments for modeling, drawing, painting, yes, for essay-writing, might be urged also for singing. The gain in this direction has so far been principally in the lower grades, in the kindergarten, the primary school, and the grammar school. The high schools are less cordial. Some of the colleges as yet show almost an antipathy to music, except as a detached specialty. Several of them, it is true, especially those for women or for both sexes, have flourishing music schools affiliated with them or incorporated in their system, where much high-class technical work is done. But these advantages are chiefly confined to such pupils as have exceptional musical aptitude or, at least, an ambition to plume themselves with some showy, polite accomplishments. The connection of music with the general culture that is aimed at by the prescribed studies of the regular curriculum is avowedly slight. Finally, in institutions of a university grade there are a few instances of elaborate musical courses leading to academic degrees. These courses exert a wholesome influence in that they give a scholarly standing to musical study, and often splendidly equip those who follow them. But the number of students that enter them is relatively small, and naturally includes hardly any but those who intend to make music a profession. The distinction between such university courses and the best of the purely technical or specialistic music schools is slight.

This state of affairs has both a hopeful and a discouraging side. It must be admitted that there has been a great gain in recent years in the amount of our public instruction in music. There has been a steady and manifest improvement in the methods, the scope, and the purpose of such teaching. The *personnel* of the musical profession is



far finer than it was even a generation ago. In consequence, through a variety of channels, of which public music teaching is certainly one of the most important, the significance and dignity of music as an object of effort have been decidedly advanced in popular estimation. Not only is it fashionable to become an instrumental or vocal performer, but the quiet diffusion of musical information through public instruction and through the increasing body of competent amateurs tends constantly to raise the average musical standard of our larger communities. Choral societies are slowly multiplying and plainly advancing in capacity. Concerts and recitals are becoming more frequent and better. Our church music is certainly improving at every point. The lift in the amount of popular enthusiasm about music is, on the whole, encouraging and promising.

But, on the other hand, one may venture to wonder whether this gain is all of the best sort, or, rather, whether it is coming to bear where it is most needed. How much consistent and determined effort is there to articulate musical study with *general* culture? If a boy or girl shows musical talent, the special cultivation of it is encouraged. If a fair number of people in a community can be induced to find enjoyment in such concerts as can be arranged, the taste for such enjoyment is fostered and fed in whatever ways are found to be pecuniarily feasible. But the training which results both of individuals and of the music-loving public tends to be over-special, too detached from other topics of public interest, uncorrelated or isolated. It is apt too often to make mere performers and mere critics of performance. Technique is the one goal of too many students, and brilliance of execution the one demand of too many listeners and patrons. While the stimulus is great for those of decided musical talent, those who show no special aptitude, and those who have no ambition of becoming technical experts, are overlooked and unprovided for. The keenness of audiences for a telling or *bravura* performance increases, but combined with it is too little discrimination as to the essential value of the works chosen for rendering. We get more and better technical musicians of a certain kind, but the average popular acquaintance with the immense literature of music is curiously limited, and the average sensitiveness to the inner meaning of musical works is curiously dull. In a word, something of the isolation of music which in the past came from its cultivation in an over-specialistic way is being perpetuated.

This is not to be taken as implying anything against the strictly



specialistic training of those who are to give their lives to music as a profession. The purely technical opportunities now open to the musical aspirant are surely a source of pride and strength. Without them the art of music would presently begin to stagnate and then to deteriorate. Without them we should have no masters and leaders, no authorities, no freshness of creation, no sustained enthusiasm for the culminating triumphs of musical art. Nothing here is meant to detract from the importance of these vital processes whereby the professional organism of music is nourished and continually rejuvenated.

But how about the unprofessional side of the matter, the musical culture of the huge masses of people who will never be musicians in any technical sense, the creation of a popular sentiment about music that shall securely link it with the abiding interests of intellectual and spiritual life? It seems to me that musicians owe it to their art continually to revert to this question of the popularization of music, not simply because of a philanthropic interest in the musically ignorant and defective, but in justice to their own theory of the universal and glorious quality of music itself. Those who live in a musical atmosphere claim to derive therefrom something that makes them larger, higher, better men and women. They feel that this experience is due, not so much to an abnormal or entirely exceptional capacity in them that is non-existent in men generally, as to the enjoyment of special advantages and the development into full activity of powers that are at least potentially present in all men. In support of their view they often point rather proudly to the cosmopolitan character of modern music, with its growing independence of national and other boundaries, or solace themselves with some golden tribute to music's universal power from the great poets. Yet, if musicians cannot demonstrate in practice that music has a real, tangible value to all cultivated people as an integral part of their culture, and that therefore it should be a constituent of general education from bottom to top, having close inter-relations with other topics of such education, and supported by the same reasonable logic—if they cannot do this, then they are at least pursuing a phantom, if not sailing under false colors. Either music has the capacity and the right to be far more of a wide-working social force, or she is not worthy of the prodigious outlay of wealth and energy that is being lavished upon her.

If there be any cogency in these considerations, they bring us face to face with the necessity of suggesting something to be desired and sought. In yielding to this necessity, I offer a few thoughts along but



one or two lines, though I fully realize that there is much more that may be said and perhaps needs to be said.

First of all let me urge that a larger emphasis should be thrown upon general education as a prerequisite for the popular exercise of musicianship. There are too many cases in which gifted enthusiasts push their way into prominence in the profession with so little breadth of information, so little discipline of all the mental faculties, so slight a sympathetic sense of the myriad interests and forces in our complex modern life, that they are really unable to see the problem here considered, much less to do anything effectively for its solution. Our age is one of specialism, it is true; but it is also an age of the close interaction and precise co-ordination of specialties. To pursue a specialty successfully is highly honorable, provided that the specialist knows where he is in the universe of thought. Greatness may consist largely in being a master in some one field; but greatness in helpless or ignorant isolation is at least half wasted, if not in danger of being half perverted. I cannot believe that in music, any more than in any other vocation, it is safe to expect the best success without genuine and enthusiastic comprehensiveness of contact with the actual life of humanity, such as is possible only for one whose education has been elaborate and well-rounded. This is a necessity for musicianship pure and simple; but it is incontestably a necessity for the delivery of music from its isolation as a popular power. Happily the signs of advance in this regard multiply on every hand.

Second, I would plead for the closer association of musical study with other forms of study. Whether or not it is practicable as yet to make music in its higher grades an actual constituent of the curricula of all schools, colleges, and universities may be doubted. But we may be eager to see every possible musical course put into close relation with other courses in all sorts of educational institutions. Musicians, indeed, may wish that every such introduction of music might be beyond criticism as to technical method. Yet, even where the work done is relatively feeble and fragmentary, the mere recognition of music as a topic of study in fellowship with other topics merits hearty support. Poorness of method may be left to rectify itself. It may be that the traditional methods of musical teachers need the stimulus of comparison with methods in other departments. The main thing is to secure a foothold for musical art in every accessible educational system, from the kindergarten to the university. It would surely be well, also, if our leading music schools were all in close



proximity to institutions of recognized scholastic standing. Proximity provokes comparison, if not affiliation. The spirit of one school reacts helpfully on that of its neighbors. Interchange of students, of instructors, and of books and other apparatus is facilitated. Education in the large sense means learning, dexterity in its use, power in independent mental action, and the development of a healthy personality. In any one institution the balance may be imperfectly struck. The close contact of different institutions tends to correct onesidedness in all. Music schools have sometimes ignored learning, strict scholarship, and real character-building. Other schools have too often ignored all æsthetic subjects, and have underrated the sensitiveness of feeling and the dexterity of action that is indispensable in art. Both classes may be benefited in ways too numerous to specify by being set side by side. In all these regards, too, the signs of advance are encouraging.

Third, I would especially plead for a closer study by musicians and by educators generally of the natural analogies between music and literature as branches of popular culture. I here refer not simply to the affinities that draw poetry and music together, though these finely illustrate my point. But I mean that in solving the problem of fully bringing music into its place in general education, the essential likeness of it to literature should be accepted and adopted as a principle of action. "Literature," as the term must be used by a professional educator, includes not only works but workings, both expressive and impressive. The great function of literature in the world, I assume, is the clear, adequate, and forcible intercommunication of personalities through the medium of language, and its importance as a field of education follows from the fact that no other form of intercommunication is so full, so infinitely varied, and so universally powerful. The point here urged is that, since the analogy between literature and music is far closer and more complete than is usually perceived, the educational treatment of the two should be deliberately similar. Upon this, one of the most pregnant of themes, there is space for but a few rapid and scattered suggestions.

Literature has for its vehicle speech. Music's vehicle is tone. The two combine in song. How close to each other are the processes of speaking and singing is best known to technical students of the two as fine arts. The experience of vocal teachers constantly reinforces the belief that the highest results in both directions depend on the frank recognition of their common ground in the use of the voice as an instrument of personal expression. A sound discipline of the literary sense,



and of the musical sense as well, depends primarily on a thorough vocal training of every student of either. The schools are fairly ready to acknowledge the value of reading aloud as a basis for literary interpretation and for literary composition. Hand in hand with this ought to go a parallel use of singing as a basis for musical interpretation and musical composition. These propositions are not merely theoretical; they have been nobly demonstrated by the most progressive teachers. But the demonstrations have thus far been mostly confined to the lower grades of study. They need to be carried up into the higher grades also. One of the most famous of our teachers of English literature, Prof. Hiram Corson, has recently said that the inward experience of the greatest masterpieces of our literature is absolutely impossible without the constant use by both teacher and pupil of actual vocal interpretation. His view is shared by an increasing number of his fellow-instructors. It may be questioned whether in the musical field we shall make the best progress until singing is restored to its full place as the paramount and normative musical process for every student.

But this is only one side of the subject. In literary study it is clearly seen that breadth and accuracy of culture depend chiefly, not on the mere minute preparation of single extracts for elocutionary delivery, but on the intelligent analysis of and the sympathetic familiarity with large numbers of works by many masters, on many subjects, in many styles, and appealing to many susceptibilities. "Reading," said Lord Bacon, "maketh a full man"—meaning copious private reading for information and scope. Is it not the same with music? Technique—literary or musical—is a means, not an end. It is a necessary servant of culture, but a sorry object of worship. May we not hope that the time will come when all music teachers shall see that the goal of their work is not the preparation of isolated pieces for performance, but the cultivation in every student of the power to know for himself at first hand many works, by all sorts of composers, in every known form, even including hundreds that never are and never can be prepared for perfect performance? And the power to read music readily and copiously should be made to lead to an insatiable desire to go on doing so till something of the whole range of musical literature is gone over. To be a somewhat striking performer may co-exist with an altogether petty and paltry musicianship, just as many an elocutionist and actor is only a literary tyro or poltroon.

The same principle applies to concert-hearing. No one would be called a true lover of literature who merely busied himself with hear-



ing a series of declamations of a few well-known pieces, simply applauding each succeeding conquest of their hackneyed technical difficulties. Yet how many concert-goers pride themselves on a love for music when they are simply seeking the excitement of witnessing successive acrobatic feats with the fingers or the larynx. How many otherwise cultivated people have to be laboriously taught as if they were mere children to hear with reverence all the great musical works of the past, and to welcome with eagerness those of the present. Concert-going always involves the insidious danger that a lower impulse shall be mistaken for a higher, that the mere sensuous craving for a transient gratification shall be confounded with the real thirst for permanent musical culture. Happily, this danger is always being opposed by the better class of performers, to whom interpretation is as sacred and noble an art as composition, and in whose hands the creations of the past are being continually made new.

One more working out of this analogy between literature and music may be suggested. The ablest teachers of literature know that their highest mission is not to teach prose or poetry in and for themselves, as mere objective products, but to show how in these products humanity has expressed itself, how the author's personality is declared, how the author represents a period, a class, or a tendency of human development, and how in the utterance universal thoughts and sentiments are embodied and universal sensibilities touched. It is the proud boast of literature that to study it in any proper way is to study and to know *man* in the fullest sense. I cannot but believe that music and musical education will remain somewhat isolated and fruitless until a precisely analogous ambition becomes thoroughly operative there. Musicians may devote themselves to the mechanism of composition or performance, may range eagerly over the whole field of musical works and styles, may become even learned in formal analysis and technical criticism, and yet these achievements will be but small unless through all this their pupils are steadily gaining in a vital, hearty, spiritual sympathy with composers and performers as representative men, and through them with the essential life of mankind.

These analogies between music and literature might be much extended and profusely illustrated. But this need not be done here. It only remains to say that the responsibility for working out the problems here suggested seems to rest mainly with musicians themselves. The limitations and perversions of their art in popular estimation and handling are familiar to them. So far as these remove it from contact



with human interests and efforts generally, or dissociate it from other artistic and literary fields to which it is strictly analogous, the resulting isolation demands closest study and most determined efforts at reform. While it is true that much is due to music and to musicians from the outside world which has not yet been cordially and universally granted, it is also true that justice from others cannot rightfully be expected so long as those who profess and call themselves musicians are not ready to render it themselves to their own magnificent art. If music deserves to become less isolated than she has been in common thought and especially in education, musicians must be foremost in believing it and in proclaiming and exemplifying their belief. Music will be to the world what musicians make it. It may for a time be something less ; but it never can be more.

The hope of the matter, therefore, lies in the earnest efforts within the profession in various ways so fully and justly to set forth what music really is, and so logically and conscientiously to keep it in its due relations with its sister arts, and especially with literature, that the recognition which the earnest world is ever ready to give to whatever is true may more and more deliver music as an art, musicians as artists, and the glorious literature of tone-poems and tone-dramas which music has been for centuries producing and reproducing, from the sad and false isolation in which they have too often been placed in social life, in education, and in historic and philosophic criticism.

WALDO S. PRATT.



# The Forum

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## JEFFERSON AND HIS PARTY TO-DAY.

It is a valuable and possibly a peculiar feature in American politics that the adherents of the leading older parties love to turn back to the early founders and their work, not only to get inspiration for the future, but to justify the present.

Foreign writers comment upon the feeling—little short of worship—with which we regard the National Constitution, and the early acts and expressions which resulted in the formation of the Union. This is especially true of the Democratic party, both on account of its long history, dating from the beginning of the Federal Government, and because with all the changes and evolutions of time that party has been progressively conservative,—progressive in meeting the issues of the day, conservative in applying to them the principles taught in the past. So Democrats to-day, consulting together for the promotion of their party's interests, and as loyal Americans anxious to keep their party steadfast to their country's welfare, naturally turn their thoughts to Thomas Jefferson, whose memory they honor, and out of whose life and work were largely wrought the independence and stability of our nation and the principles and policies which have made her great and glorious.

His work was fundamental, national, establishing equality, liberty, creating a great Republic, enlarging its territory and making it supreme over a continent and respected everywhere. He founded a great party as the necessary instrument to accomplish large purposes and the permanent power to maintain and enforce undying principles. On the eve of that party's twenty-fifth Presidential campaign it is fitting for us to



consider his teaching, the principles he proclaimed, the conditions out of which they sprang, their application to present issues, and then the secret of his successful and powerful leadership. In the days of war, when the northern soldier going to the front passed the Old South meeting-house in Boston, he reverently raised his cap, for a voice within its homely walls spoke to him and sent him forth a braver, truer man. Democrats, now going forth to battle, may reverently pause at the tomb of Jefferson to catch the inspiration of his voice.

We remember that the party he founded has had an unbroken life of a hundred years; that it has controlled the National Government for more than one half of its duration; that it has victoriously led the people in all our foreign wars; that under its sway our national domain was extended along the Gulf and the Mississippi and clear to the Pacific slope; that it fathered the settlement of the great Northwest and the upbuilding of mighty States; that it established our flag and commerce on the sea; asserted everywhere the rights of American citizenship; and created the foreign policy which from Monroe to Cleveland has been deemed essential to our safety. It has resisted always the control of government by monopoly and organized wealth; it has given power to the people, trusted them, made their welfare its mission and their will law. It has stood for individual freedom, defending the sailor against foreign impressment, the Catholic against the proscription of bigotry, and every citizen against unnecessary burdens, restrictions, or taxation. It has preached and practised economy, exposed and denounced corruption, extravagance, and the abuse of power for selfish or personal ends. It has met, defeated, and outlived all its opponents, and is still in power and in the full strength of vigorous youth. It lives and rules because it has a living gospel, just and enduring principles, and ever work for them to do. We link its present to its past not as a reminiscence, but as an incentive, and turn to Jefferson, not as a blessed memory, but as still our leader. If "new occasions teach new duties," if "time makes ancient good uncouth," it is only to those who would "unlock the future's portal with the past's blood-rusted key," not to those who would solve present problems with principles which have been the strength, the very bulwark, of the liberty and prosperity of a free and happy people. In these days of wild theories, of schemes to misuse the power and functions of government for selfish ends, in the midst of doubt and discord within and without party lines, it surely is well for the people to turn back to the teaching of Jefferson, as the tempest-tossed mariner turns to the sun for the true reckon-



ing which shall set his ship upon her course. To understand this teaching, which founded a great party, established permanent principles, and guided our Republic, let us consider briefly the conditions out of which it was evolved.

The colonial settlements were neither a crusade nor a conquest. Our forefathers—the pioneers who pushed up the James river, and the pilgrims who braved the wintry seas of Massachusetts Bay—had no lust for glory or for gold. Theirs was a better, worthier, mission. They came to work, to plant, to reap, where they might worship God with freedom of conscience, live on equality each with the other, and be subject to laws of their own making and a government of their own choice. They brought with them their traditions, religion, and institutions, but, best of all, an unconquerable Anglo-Saxon self-reliance and independence. In Jamestown and in Plymouth their simple prayer to God was that for them and their children the seed-time might be followed by the harvest. But the seed was liberty, equality, self-government, and the harvest was to be a nation of equal laws, rights, and privileges, where each might fashion his own fortune and all have protection in making the most of themselves. Emigrating at different times and from different places, with variety of creed and life, scattering along the Atlantic seaboard, living under diverse influences, yet they became a homogeneous people, but with a jealous regard for individual freedom and local self-government. Union began in the need of concerted action in commercial relations and a common defence. It strengthened in mutual suffering and sympathy in the struggle between England and France for supremacy over the continent. It was finally welded in the common resistance to the tyranny of the mother country. The pioneers of Virginia and Massachusetts had encountered like perils and had a like experience in their struggles and success. Their sons had fought the same enemy on the plains of Quebec and in the valley of the Ohio. Their leaders had together planned for the protection of their common rights and liberties. Lexington and Bunker Hill marshalled to battle a people already united under great principles and for great purposes, and for whose success they were ready to pledge, each to the other, their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor.

But with this unifying influence there was always present a second great policy, the right of local self-government,—the individuality of the colonies and colonists. Indeed this was an essential condition. No statesman could disregard it; no union was possible without its



recognition. It was early manifest in freedom of worship. The Puritan of New England, the Dutchman of New York, the Quaker of Pennsylvania, the Roman Catholic of Maryland, and the Huguenot of the Carolinas—all lived in peace, which by peril and mutual interests strengthened into a common fellowship, but each asserted an individual right he would never surrender. In any union freedom of worship was the first necessity. It was dependent upon and emphasized the right of local self-government. For safety there was union, for liberty, self-government; it was safety with liberty, union with self-government. So the Declaration of Independence bound the colonies each to the other by most sacred pledge, asserting mutual independence, individual autonomy, and united independence, and declaring "that these united colonies are and of right ought to be free and independent States."

Then followed the weary years of common action in a feeble Congress and of common suffering on the field of battle. Victory and independence found the colonies united, but under an unstable government with disintegrating tendencies. Then, of necessity, was evolved the Constitution "to form a more perfect union," and at the same time "to secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity." The colonial seed had reached republican fruition; the National Government had received its charter; and an enduring Republic, the indestructible union of indestructible States, had been established.

In the formation of the Constitution, and especially in its development under amendment and construction, there were discussion and difference of opinion over fundamental principles and the proper scope and functions of government. This was natural, necessary, and wholesome in a free and intelligent people, and led inevitably to division into parties. The very freedom of thought, speech, and action guaranteed in the early Amendments meant such result. Political opinion was not to be coerced or controlled, nor unanimity over policies or candidates to be expected. Agitation, discussion, not silence and indifference, were the "eternal vigilance" which should preserve liberty. So were evolved political parties with their policies and leaders, their duties and responsibilities. The time was ripe and the leaders were ready. Three stood foremost in public esteem, conspicuous for their services, their influence, and leadership. First came Washington, loved by a whole people whom he had led to victory, established in peace, and then governed with a devoted patriotism and impartiality which knew no party division and could not limit his influence to party lines. With the confidence of all, and just to all, he could preside



over a discordant Cabinet and govern a divided people, but could not be a party leader. That work must fall to his subordinates. So Hamilton and Jefferson became the recognized leaders of distinct schools of political thought and of conflicting policies and parties, which each upheld with signal ability and unquestioned patriotism. To Hamilton, fond of English precedents, reluctant to trust the people, doubtful of their capacity to govern themselves, a strong government seemed a necessity for their welfare and happiness, and for the preservation of liberty and property. He would enlarge by construction the powers of the Constitution, create a centralized, paternal government, make it dominant over a dependent people rather than the subject of their sovereign will. With sincerity and singleness of purpose he sought no doubt the people's interest, but with his light he could find it only through and under a controlling power; and he looked upon them as the subjects rather than the source of government. Jefferson began at the other end. In his mind stood first the rights of the individual, next the power of the people, and then to establish both a government guaranteeing freedom and resting upon consent. The cornerstone of his party was the truths he had asserted as self-evident in the Declaration of Independence, that all men are created equal, endowed with certain inalienable rights, to secure which rights governments are instituted, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. Of necessity government was to be of limited powers and always under the control of the people. It was not to be a tyrant to destroy their rights, nor an almoner to give them livelihood. In administration it was to be "rigorously frugal and simple"; in form, self-government kept near to the power that makes and obeys it. It was to be home rule with jealous regard for the rights of the States and of local government.

With clear vision he saw the future, understood the material out of which our Republic was wrought, and so made its authority spring from the people and its function service in their interest. Rights, not favors; the people, not classes, are the watchwords to define his political belief. His Democracy rests upon an abiding trust in the people, a belief that power can safely be given them, and that the broader the foundation the safer the structure of our government. With him the Democratic party of to-day believes in perfect liberty in thought and action; in the equality of all before the law; in the freedom of the individual from unnecessary restrictions and burdens; that the powers of government are for public purposes, not private ends; that taxation



is a necessary evil, to be lessened by prudence and economy ; that it is to be levied justly, equally, according to men's means, not their necessities, and is not to be used to take from one and give to another, nor to enrich the few at the expense of the many. In his creed there were only common rights, not favored interests ; no privileged class, but only the greatest good of the greatest number. His Democracy stood beside the humblest individual to protect him from oppression, and was the bulwark of the silent people to prevent the power and purpose of government from being warped by the clamorous demands of selfish interests. His party was, and is, and is to be the people's party. In all of this Jefferson created no new theory of government. He merely recognized the conditions under which our country was settled and our Union formed, and under which it must continue. Upon these principles he founded an indestructible party. With variety of expression and application they have been that party's platform through all the changes and emergencies of our Republic. Let me repeat the platform as he declared it in his first inaugural address :—

“ Equal and exact justice to all men, of whatever state or persuasion, religious or political ; peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations—entangling alliances with none ; the support of the State governments in all their rights as the most competent administrations for our domestic concerns and the surest bulwarks against anti-republican tendencies ; the preservation of the General Government in its whole constitutional vigor as the sheet-anchor of our peace at home and safety abroad ; . . . economy in the public expense, that labor may be lightly burdened, the honest payment of our debts and the sacred preservation of the public faith ; encouragement of agriculture, and of commerce as its handmaid ; the diffusion of information and the arraignment of all abuses at the bar of public opinion ; freedom of religion ; freedom of the press ; freedom of person under the protection of the habeas corpus, and trial by juries impartially selected ; —these principles form the bright constellation which has gone before us and guided our steps through an age of revolution and reformation.”

To Jefferson and his party these principles were not idle abstractions and empty platitudes, but were a political policy to be aggressively enforced in the laws of State and nation. The equality and liberty he preached he had infused into the life of his State by various laws which uprooted caste and privilege. His vigorous hand soon abolished entail and primogeniture, that there might be, as he wrote, “ instead of an aristocracy of wealth . . . an aristocracy of virtue and talent, which nature has wisely provided for the direction of the interests of society and scattered with equal hand through all its conditions.” He stopped the importation of slaves into Virginia, recommended



measures for their gradual emancipation, and drafted a plan for the government of the Northwestern Territory with a provision forbidding slavery. "Nothing is more certainly written in the book of fate," he said, "than that these people are to be free." He modified the severity of the criminal law by a just and humane code. He provided for the citizenship of aliens by a system of naturalization which was generally adopted throughout the Union. Believing that "the basis of our government is the opinion of the people," and that "the very first object should be to keep that right," he made education a public duty, and devised an elaborate school system, culminating in the great university he founded. "Freedom of religion" was to him not an idle phrase, but a sacred right to be guaranteed by law. So he overthrew the established church, broke the union of state and church, and abolished what he termed "this spiritual tyranny." "Personal liberty" found in him its ready champion when violated by the Alien and Sedition laws, which he denounced as contrary to the letter and the spirit of the Constitution. He fought the United States Bank and Hamilton's plan of bounties and protection, because he believed they meant control of law by monopoly and wealth and class through corrupt influences for selfish ends—a system which he declared had been contrived "for deluging the States with paper money," withdrawing citizens from useful pursuits "to occupy them and their capital in a species of gambling destructive of morality, and which had introduced its poison into the Government itself." His Democracy taught that control of law should be only by and for the people.

But Jefferson's thought and work were not limited to domestic questions. He lived in times of revolution and war. He had been a powerful factor in achieving the independence of our country and in maintaining it against foreign aggression. He advocated and accomplished a vast extension of her territory, straining his constitutional power as he frankly admitted. He believed in the future and grand destiny of our Republic, and declared "we should have such an empire for Liberty as she has never surveyed since the creation," and that "no Constitution was ever before so well calculated as ours for extensive empire and self-government." He upheld the nation's honor, asserted its rights, and jealously guarded its interests against foreign attack, but declared her policy to be, "peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations, entangling alliances with none." He held the country aloof from foreign complications which did not encroach upon her rights; vigorously protested when they reached this point, but was



desirous ever of peace with honor. In the early years of the conflict between England and France he wrote as Secretary of State: "I wish we may be able to repress the spirit of the people within the limits of a fair neutrality." Later, when England planned to seize Spain's North American possessions, he formulated the principle of the Monroe doctrine in his instructions as President to our minister at her court. He wrote:—

"We wish you, therefore, to intimate to them [the British ministry] that we cannot be indifferent to enterprises of this kind; that we should contemplate a change of neighbors with extreme uneasiness; that a due balance on our borders is not less desirable to us than a balance of power in Europe has always appeared to them."

And later still he said with all sincerity:—

"No two countries upon earth have so many points of common interest and friendship, and their rulers must be great bunglers indeed if, with such dispositions, they break them asunder."

He believed that the honor and safety of our country lay in "fair neutrality," peace and "honest friendship with all nations," but with recognition of her continental interests and readiness to assert her power in their defence. In the young life of a new Republic he established the foreign policy since followed in her full maturity and invincible strength, and which finds its latest expression in the vigorous action of a Democratic Administration. His pen might have written, as no doubt his teaching suggested, the declaration:—

"... that while it is a grievous thing to contemplate the two great English-speaking peoples of the world as being otherwise than friendly competitors in the onward march of civilization, and strenuous and worthy rivals in all the arts of peace, there is no calamity which a great nation can invite which equals that which follows a supine submission to wrong and injustice, and the consequent loss of national self-respect and honor, beneath which are shielded and defended a people's safety and greatness."

He would rejoice with us that out of friction and discord, with self-respect and honor, is coming the closer union of the Anglo-Saxon race on the firm basis of peace and arbitration. He would counsel us to a "vigorous prosecution of the pursuits of peace," and not to follow the bloody footsteps of other nations into the field of conquest and annexation, of strife and war.

I have spoken of Jefferson as if he were with us. May the Democrats feel his presence and hear his voice. Let them summon him to their council board to teach, unite, and lead them as they go forth to



battle. What would they say to him of the present, its parties, its issues, and the questions before the people? Speaking broadly, they could truthfully say that present issues involve the old contest over the proper power and functions of government, the old issue between the use of that power for public purposes and its use for class, or sectional, or private interests, and that the great party he founded has need to assert the principles he proclaimed.

It finds as its opponent a party which was born of a great agitation for a worthy mission now long accomplished; that since, that party has been drifting with no fixed principles or purpose, but the prey of selfish interests which demand in return for their support legislation for their benefit; that firmly established in power it yielded to corruption which in successive revolts drove from it its old leaders and much of its conscience vote; that for nearly a generation it has sought success through stirring up sectional prejudice and hatred among a people reunited in love and loyalty; that it fosters now within its ranks a faction that would divide us on race and religious lines and substitute for freedom of conscience proscriptive bigotry; that it has used the nation's power to invade the rights of the States and its appropriations to supplant their duties; that repudiating its early professions, it has maintained and increased a war taxation of the people, and not for revenue, but for special, selfish interests; that it has won elections through their support and then paid for them with bounties and protective taxes out of the people's pockets; that now within its ranks it is discussing the question whether such bargain is corrupt in determining its candidate, and yet honorable in aiding his election; that it is now considering the union of two special interests—silver and protection—which if successful means impairment of the nation's credit and a greater burden on her people; that its recent policy in power, since twice repudiated by an indignant and injured people, has squandered a great surplus, instituted an era of wild extravagance, and set a precedent for national profligacy; that throughout its career it has made spoils of the public service, using both the people's offices and their laws to further partisan success rather than for public purposes. And now that party on the most important question of the day finds its leaders halting, silent, drifting, not guiding, waiting for the chance breeze to move them onward, and not ready to take the helm and set their party ship upon a course.

Who doubts where Jefferson would stand in a contest with such a party over present issues?

He would find that the Democratic party, true to his teaching, was



still the broad, national, people's party. That it knew no South or North or East or West, but only the whole nation, whose States it has protected in their rights, and whose people it has bound together in "a more perfect union"; that it has upheld freedom of conscience and personal liberty, and has fought every proscriptive movement of class, of race, or of religion; that through a long agitation and a struggle within its ranks, it has asserted that taxation is to be only for revenue and public purposes. To this end, upon the emphatic demand of the country, it has reversed her war tariff policy. This it has done conservatively, and on the broad lines of first cheapening the necessities of life and freeing the raw materials of industries. It has not sought to reach the goal by one effort, but step by step, with all the aid experience can give. It now demands a fair test of its law. It vigorously opposes any reaction or return to a tariff policy defeated and discarded, and recognizes the right of business interests to a period of rest. It firmly believes in the separation of government and taxation from the control of private interests and selfish influences, and confidently expects that the history of 1846 and 1857 will be repeated, and, through discussion and education, we shall, with the hearty approval of the country, return to the sound principles and tariff policy of the days before the war. Yes, and to the principle declared by Jefferson in his first message—"agriculture, manufactures, commerce, and navigation, the four pillars of our prosperity, are the most thriving when left most free to individual enterprise."

Jefferson if with us would find also to his satisfaction that his party, through the work of a courageous and patriotic Administration, had lifted the civil service above partisanship, had made its officers servants of the people, not political combatants, and by a practical and wholesome reform had placed it upon a broad and just basis. What is more democratic than to break down the barrier which excludes from public service half the people because of honest political convictions, and to open that service to any one who can meet the tests he prescribed: "Is he honest? Is he capable? Is he faithful to the Constitution?"

One further question remains, for whose solution Democrats turn to Jefferson for help and guidance. We are in the midst of an earnest agitation over our monetary standard. The agitation crosses party lines and tends to geographical division. It involves the welfare of our country and demands explicit and courageous treatment. To Jefferson it could never be an issue between Colorado and Wall Street, or between a debtor and a creditor class. His broad Democracy abhorred



geographical and class division. With true patriotism he would ask, Where lie the honor and credit of our common country? Where rest the interests of our whole people? For one I believe that our country's honor demands scrupulous fidelity to her plighted word, honest payment of her obligations, and that the people's interest is best served by strictly upholding here the gold standard of the civilized world. Free coinage of silver, or its compulsory purchase, or any compromise legislation by us in that direction, in my judgment, is distinctly class legislation, which would unsettle business, impair credit, reduce all savings and the value of all wages, and whose injurious results no man can measure. I have misunderstood the teaching of Jefferson and the traditions and principles of his party if they do not support this view and sustain a Democratic Administration in its resolute enforcement of it. With Jefferson truth never lay in compromise of principle, nor success in evasion of responsibility. Nor will they with us. Let Democrats leave compromise and expediency to the Republican party, which is ever ready to trim and evade, to harmonize its warring factions. Let us, if need be, through discussion and agitation, find the truth, bravely assert it, and trust our cause to the conscience and patriotism of the people.

The secret of Jefferson's power and leadership was his steadfastness to principle. With firm belief in popular government, he trusted the intelligence of the people to correct passing errors and to establish safe and sound policies. Well has it been said of him that "he never in any stress deserted or even temporarily disavowed his principles. He never lost faith or courage. He did not trim his sails to every flaw on the political ocean, but waited through the longest unpromising days, with a noble patience, the powerful and steady gale which he was convinced would in time carry the nation upon her true course." His courage, his faith, his resolute leadership, have guided the latest, as they did the first of the Democratic Administrations, which with vigor and patriotism have made dominant the wishes, the rights, and the welfare of the whole people. Whatever the storm, whatever the gusts of passion or of prejudice, however threatening the clouds of panic and disaster which have hung over all nations, our President has kept the rudder true. To no political flaw has he trimmed sail, in no stress has he lost courage or abandoned principle. There is inspiration in the leadership of Jefferson and Cleveland. It nerves us to stand fast to principle, to put aside expediency and compromise, and with courage and fidelity to meet all pending issues. So shall Democracy merit and



win success, and hold the confidence of the country as it has in the past. It need not fear defeat. It met it in '88 and then went forth united and strengthened to triumphant victory. It should fear the discredit of sacrificing principle to expediency, or of turning aside from the safe course which Jefferson established. Let our good Democratic ship avoid the passing flaws which would drift her hither and thither, content to wait "the powerful and steady gale which will carry the nation upon her true course."

WILLIAM E. RUSSELL.



## THE PRESIDENTIAL OUTLOOK.

### I.

IN Europe, those who are interested in international questions, and particularly in American affairs and their possible influence, follow the preparations for the Presidential election in the United States with some anxiety. They do not pretend to form an opinion as to the situation of the respective political parties, or as to their strength; nor do these things concern them. But they cannot be blind to great international economic problems or to the manner in which these may be affected by the triumph of one or another candidate.

Until within a score of years, the relations of the continent of Europe with the United States were almost solely commercial; the question of the customs tariff was the only one that had a direct interest for continental Europe in its relations with North America. For nearly a quarter of a century now, the French, Belgians, Dutch, and the Germans, following the English, have come to regard the United States as a broad field for the use of their abounding capital. Open the chief economic or financial journals of France, Belgium, Holland, and Germany and you find reported and discussed the prices of the securities of your principal railways, of your various important cities, and even, at times, not only the securities but the shares of a number of your industrial corporations.

It may be said that the capital of the continent of Europe, added to English capital, in indirectly establishing a goodly number of North American enterprises, has contributed not a little to the reduction of the interest rate and to the expansion of affairs generally in the great Republic. Its influx may take on far vaster proportions in the future. If certain simple measures were adopted to put the securities of the more solid American enterprises within the reach not only of the great capitalists of Europe, but of those also of small or moderate means, the flow of European capital toward the United States might be expected to become intense as well as regular. In western Europe, in fact, the compact legion of money-savers are on the watch for all sure investments yielding  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent to 4 per cent. France, alone, within the



last ten years, has loaned to the Russian Government and invested in various Russian enterprises, some five or six milliards of francs or more than \$1,000,000,000; and to-day it may be said that the extensive empire of Russia in Asia as well as in Europe is being developed and cultivated by French and Belgian capital.

If special political sympathies and a community of international interest have turned toward Russia a large part of the small or moderate savings of France, it is none the less a fact that the more important capitalists, the educated and instructed class of the same country, have made considerable investments in American securities and are quite inclined to extend them. Little by little their example might affect the deeper strata of the population. This would be a distinct advantage both for Europe and for America. The small savings of the Old World would get from these investments a return that, even if it were not more than  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent or  $3\frac{3}{4}$  per cent, would be remunerative. On their part, the United States, with so much undeveloped territory and resources of every sort, would find their progressive march quickened by this afflux of capital. The brilliant destiny of a people at once so energetic and inventive, and with such wide room for expansion, is plain to all; but the development of this destiny may be rapid or slow, and may suffer periods, shorter or longer, of check or of shock.

If the policy of the United States as to great economic questions is clearly conformed to the rules of experience and the ideas of enlightened and disinterested men, if it inspires confidence at home and abroad, the end of the nineteenth century will worthily crown a period of progress previously unheard of. In the contrary event it is to be feared that the closing years of the nineteenth century will be marked by a crisis more acute than all that we have witnessed since 1870.

This is the point of view of a European observer who, without the slightest interest in local conflicts or personal rivalries, seeks only those political conditions that will promote the welfare and progress of the United States in particular and of civilized humanity in general.

Among the aspirants for the Presidency there is one whose success would cause keen anxiety,—Major McKinley. For a number of years his name represented in Europe the most exaggerated form of protectionism, and more recently it is equally linked with bimetallism. Now excessive protectionism and the notion of giving to silver the same monetary power as to gold are, in the domain of economics, the two perils that threaten contemporary civilization.



## II.

As to the first point, I shall be brief. If, under the lead of Mr. McKinley, the United States increase decidedly the import duties on European merchandise, it will unquestionably give a strong stimulus to European protectionism. In almost all the countries of Europe, the protectionist party is still very strong. High as the actual duties are they do not satisfy its appetite. In France it is agitating for a duty on wheat of ten francs (nearly \$2) per metric quintal instead of seven francs or \$1.40, and for like advances on other products. In Germany the "agrarians" are still ardently opposing the recent treaties of commerce. In Belgium, the Catholic party, now in power, has greater need of the rural vote than has the Liberal party, whose chances for any near return to office are feeble. Even in England there is being built up a protectionist party, though it conceals its game; just now its mask is the project for a customs union for the British Empire, involving favors for English products in the colonies and for colonial products in England.

The only restraint on the tendency of the protectionist party in Europe to new excesses is the opposition of manufacturers for export. The fear of seeing foreign markets closed against them binds these in a common effort to bridle the energies of the land-owners and land-cultivators. But if the United States led the way in the marked increase of duties, the European manufacturers would lose their chief argument in opposition to the extreme protectionists. The example of the United States would be invoked with certainty and success for an increase in the protective tariffs of Europe, particularly on agricultural products; the present rates of taxation would be augmented by 30 per cent or 40 per cent. No one can deny that this would check the progress of the United States. Immigration and railroad traffic have an intimate connection with agriculture and agricultural exports. Even manufactures cannot extend rapidly except as population increases, and such increase is incompatible with a decided falling off in the trade of Europe and America.

From the first point of view,—the revival of the protectionist régime throughout the world,—the election of Mr. McKinley must be considered as certain to cause a recoil in the development of the civilized world.

## III.

The peril is no less—it is, indeed, more definite, perhaps, and more immediate—from the monetary point of view.



One of the causes impeding the flow of capital from Europe to America is the uncertainty as to the future of the American monetary system. Enlightened Europeans do not believe that the United States will commit the folly of what is called "rehabilitating silver," that is, giving it legally a monetary value double its commercial value. For some time, however, their confidence has been a little shaken. As for the capitalists of small or moderate means, all this noise about the silver question in the United States frightens them; they no longer dare to place their savings in that country.

Every one in Europe is sure that England will never abandon the pound sterling: whatever may be the coquettings of Mr. Balfour with the bimetallists, it is known that they will end in nothing positive. For this reason the pound sterling the world over is the money *par excellence*. All borrowers make their contracts in pounds sterling—Egypt, Turkey, Russia, South America. The capitalists of Europe make no investments in securities not thus formulated. The stipulation to pay in pounds sterling, or at least in gold, has become an indispensable clause in all international engagements.

Mr. McKinley passes for a partisan of silver. His election would appear as a triumph of bimetallism. Now it must plainly be said that bimetallism is in growing disfavor among clear-seeing and reflecting people. The reëstablishment of bimetallism, if it could be brought about, would plunge all civilized nations into one of those profound monetary crises that throw exchange and production into confusion for a long series of years. Even without effective result, governmental efforts, either isolated or international, to reëstablish bimetallism, to "rehabilitate silver," would interfere with all operations and disturb all legitimate interests.

Good money, solid money, with a value equal to the commercial value of the metal it is made of,—that is the first need of a civilized community, particularly of a progressive and inventive community where division of labor is advanced and where contracts for a long term of years are numerous. A patriarchal or primitive society, with stationary production, limited exchanges, and a low development of enterprise, suffers less from monetary instability; but the complex organism of a modern society, if it does not succumb to such an evil, is profoundly shaken by it.

Here is a folly very hard to understand: That in the year 1896, twenty years after the chief civilized nations have adopted—either by law, as Germany, or in practice, as France and Belgium,—the single



gold standard to govern their exchanges ; when nations that are pursuing the reform of their finances—Austria, for instance, and Russia—are employing their resources to create once more a metallic currency on a gold basis ;—that it should be proposed to despise all the facts of the last quarter of a century's experience, and give to silver, a metal depreciated by increased production, a legal-tender quality equal to that of gold.

In the present state of things, after the experience gained, bimetallism would be nothing but falsification of money. There are several ways of doing that. The old way, now out of fashion, was that of the kings of the Middle Ages, notably of Philippe le Bel. It consisted in reducing the weight and keeping the nominal value of the coin—a coarse attempt at the daily cheating of the people, who soon saw the fraud and revolted with curses against the kings. It was not without justice that Dante made a place for these in his *Inferno*.

The world of to-day witnesses other ways, more refined, more subtle in appearance, but not less shameless and pernicious. The most widely adopted, as in most of the South American countries and in a number of those of southern Europe, consists in replacing metallic money by notes which the state issues, or causes to be issued, in arbitrary amounts. That is falsifying money—there is only a difference of method between it and that of the Middle Ages. The credit of states adopting it is injured, their public funds are depreciated. No one has any confidence in the engagements they make ; no long contracts can be made with their people ; or, at best, minute and often useless precautions must be taken which render operations very risky.

Bimetallism, in the present state of things, would be another way of falsifying money, and would have the same sort of consequences. It is proved that silver has lost about 45 per cent of its former value. Silver has been quoted in London for the past three years at from 30 pence to 33 pence instead of 60.8 pence, which represents the ratio of  $15\frac{1}{2}$  to 1 formerly adopted in Europe by the Latin Union. A mass of silver bullion, equivalent to 500 or 600 millions of francs (\$100,000,000 to \$120,000,000) market value, has poured out every year since 1893 at this price of 30 pence to 33 pence, and the production of silver does not lessen,—proof sufficient that this is its real value. And now—when it is shown, in the most irresistible fashion, that silver is not worth more than half what it was worth a quarter of a century ago,—its value as money is to be doubled by law ! That would be—it cannot be too often repeated—falsifying money in the broadest sense of the word.



If Mr. McKinley favors this policy, that is enough to make men of foresight dread his success as a public calamity.

It must be recognized, moreover, that the present moment is more ill-chosen than ever before for seeking the reëstablishment of bimetallism. In the earlier days of silver depreciation there might be some doubts as to its cause. At least those who were imperfectly acquainted with the facts might attribute it to demonetization by Germany and to the sale of the German thalers. Even from 1880 to 1887 or 1888, there was room for fear that the production of gold might continue limited, and that, in the long run, from this cause there might be currency contraction. To-day no such pretexts avail to justify the arbitrary advance of the value of silver or an effort to restore to it the monetary part it has lost definitively among all civilized nations. It is known now that the chief cause of the fall in silver is the colossal increase in its production and the marked reduction in the cost of producing it. On the other hand any country with sound finances, and well managed, need not fear any lack of gold; since the annual output is now and will continue to be more than a milliard of francs (\$200,000,000). The only nations exposed to any scarcity of gold are either those whose finances are detestable, like most of the South American countries and some of those of southern Europe, or those who, with all the germs of prosperity, like the United States, commit the blunder of not adopting an enlightened and stable financial policy and of disturbing the world by continually coquetting with bimetallism.

If the United States distinctly and definitively adopted the single gold standard, one great cause of uneasiness and disquietude would vanish, and exchanges between all the nations of the world, a secure basis being thus obtained, would take an enormous extension. The United States, at present the most active and ingenious of civilized nations, would gain most by this consolidation of universal currency,—the advantage of universal confidence.

The value of ~~silver~~, moreover, it must be noted, has become most stable since governments—that of the United States particularly—have ceased to meddle with it. It is now three years since the “Sherman act” was repealed. At no time has the value of silver varied less than in these three years. While formerly it often oscillated from 15 per cent to 20 per cent it remains to-day generally near 32 pence. In consequence, the relations between the gold-standard countries and the silver-standard countries have never had a steadier basis than since 1893,—that is to say, since the repeal of the “Sherman act,” and the



cessation of governmental meddling in the hope of influencing the price of silver.

This fact is of the highest importance. Since arbitrary governmental action has ceased, since silver purchases are stopped, since no one any longer, in fact, believes in bimetallism, the value of silver has found a level, if not absolutely constant, at least very slightly variable. That proves the entire falsity of the bimetalist proposition. Now that it is reduced to its commercial value, silver fluctuates less than when governments were striving to sustain its price artificially.

#### IV.

If Mr. McKinley attains the Presidency of the United States he may be able to disturb his country, to break up the steady current of its business, to bring on a credit crisis; but it must not be thought that he would have the slightest chance of securing an international agreement for the restoration of bimetallism.

The obstacles to such an agreement are much more numerous and more insurmountable than they were five years or ten years ago. To begin with, the mere lapse of time since silver lost its monetary equality with gold renders its "rehabilitation" more difficult. It is harder to restore a régime overthrown twenty years ago, than one that fell five or six years ago. Now, it is more than twenty years since silver lost its monetary rôle in Europe. The progressive fall of silver is a second source of difficulty. When it had lost but 10 per cent or 15 per cent of its former value, it was conceivable that the effort needed to raise it from that fall might not be insurmountable. Is that conceivable when it has lost 45 per cent? When the suspension of silver coinage by the Latin Union dated back only a few years, it seemed quite easy to reopen the mints. To-day that would require something like a revolution.

Moreover, a few years since, Germany was the only country that had officially adopted the single gold standard; now Austria-Hungary is in the same case. During the last half dozen years it has considerably advanced a carefully conceived and well managed plan to put its currency on a gold basis. Is it credible that the fruits of all these efforts and sacrifices will be surrendered?

The immense empire of Russia is doing the same work. Every one knows that the chief aim of its policy since the restoration of its finances has been the resumption of specie payments on a gold basis. Russia is vigilantly collecting all the gold accessible, and it is known that



the greater part of this metal that has left the United States during the past two years has found refuge in the vaults of the Imperial Bank or in those of the Russian Treasury. At this moment the Imperial Bank of Russia has the largest gold reserve in the whole world. At the end of the first quarter of 1896, the gold reserve of this bank amounted to two milliards one hundred and thirty millions of francs (about \$420,000,000), exceeding by one hundred and eighty millions the gold stock of the Bank of France, which amounted to one thousand nine hundred and fifty one millions of francs (approximately \$384,000,000). All European financiers know that the Russian Government is effecting the change to the single gold standard. It has already taken a number of preparatory steps—for instance, a recent ukase legalized agreements between private citizens or corporations to pay in gold. The Scandinavian countries, small in population but admirably managed, long since adopted the single gold standard.

Can we believe that Russia, with a government of rare persistence and tenacity, after having gathered such resources and taken such legal steps for the resumption of specie payments on a gold basis, will throw up its plans and adopt bimetallism? That belief would show but little comprehension of this silent government, unfalteringly faithful to schemes once formed.

Another equally insurmountable obstacle to the attainment of international bimetallism is the existence of a mass of new state debts payable in gold. All the Russian loans issued in France—and there are at least a half dozen milliards of francs of them (about \$1,200,000,000)—are expressly payable in gold. The Austro-Hungarian loans are the same; so are the loans of various less important nations. These are engagements, precise, recent, numerous, that in effect absolutely exclude bimetallism.

The attitude of the different European countries is absolutely discouraging for the partisans of bimetallism. In England the leaders of the Conservative party, except Mr. Balfour, join the leaders of the Liberal party in declaring that her actual monetary system is one of the national forces of Great Britain. As for Mr. Balfour, he is known as a virtuoso attached but lightly to his ideas. It is his fashion to flatter certain doctrines when he is in opposition and when in power to say that it does not lie with him to carry them out.

In France an analogous spectacle is offered. Our premier—M. Méline—is the leader of the protectionists and bimetallists of France. The other day he attended, with the minister of commerce, a banquet



given by the Bimetallic League. In response to a toast, he declared that all his sympathies were with the principle of the League, but that its success depended on the conversion of England to this principle. The ministers in France have very little power, being but ephemeral personages. Moreover the situation of parties and the play of the governmental mechanism render it very difficult in France, and almost impossible to obtain a vote for an important measure which would work a great change. Apart from these facts, it is plain from M. Méline's own declaration that it would be sheer folly to expect anything but empty words from the French ministry in this matter.

Bimetallism in Europe, then, is absolutely a lost cause. Mr. McKinley, if he were elected President, could not give back life to a doctrine abandoned of men, and which is buried under a quarter of a century of the gold régime. But Mr. McKinley, notwithstanding, could produce much agitation and trouble. He could abolish confidence in American investments and disturb all business with America. Would it not be an amazing affliction to see the nineteenth century close with this contrast: the great Republic of the United States making the blunder of chaining itself to the silver standard while not only all Europe but the immense empire of Russia, one half Asiatic, is on the eve of adopting the single gold standard?

PAUL LEROY-BEAULIEU.



## REASONS FOR AN IMMEDIATE ARBITRATION TREATY WITH ENGLAND.<sup>1</sup>

I COULD not bring to the recent Arbitration Conference at Washington, like several of the earlier speakers, a learned essay on international law; but was obliged to speak without adequate preparation, as a plain American citizen who thinks about public problems, who has read some history of his own and other countries, and who loves his country.

Ex-Senator Edmunds, in introducing me to the audience at the last session of the Conference, reminded me that I could not help speaking in some sense for an ancient institution of our land—Harvard University. I was, therefore, led to say, in the first place, that Harvard University has as little reason as any institution in our country to feel an irrational or exaggerated dread of war. It has survived many wars—Indian, French, and English. Ever since the early days when the Puritan meeting-houses had to be fortified, and all males over sixteen were required to carry their guns and ammunition to meeting, the graduates of Harvard University have been taking part in war after war, till we come down to the twelve hundred graduates and students who entered the army and navy of the United States in the civil war. The chief building of the University commemorates one hundred and fifty Harvard men who laid down their lives for the country in that war alone. When Lord Percy marched to reinforce Major Pitcairn, retreating from Lexington, his column passed by the college gate. When the little band of raw militia, who were to throw up intrenchments on Bunker Hill, were paraded on the green north of the College building, on the evening before the battle, the President of Harvard College offered prayer before them, as for men going into deadly peril in a righteous cause. The British army was within three miles. The leading patriots of that day, in Boston and Cambridge, took in their hands “their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor.” All the buildings of Harvard College were occupied for months by the patriot

<sup>1</sup> The substance of this paper was contained in a speech by President Eliot at the Arbitration Conference held at Washington in April last.



army besieging Boston. The Corporation of the College, which is working to-day under the charter given in 1650, has been through crisis after crisis,—industrial, financial, and agricultural,—always trying to preserve the precious funds given for the promotion of learning. Panics, crises, or periods of financial and industrial disturbance supervene invariably upon war. Many and many a one has the College passed through.

In two hundred and sixty years we have had full experience of war, and its consequences to the institutions of education and religion; and yet Harvard University knows full well by its own observation and experience, that heroic virtue may be plucked by noble souls from out the desolation, carnage, and agony of war. We know, too, that even from unjust war, like that with Mexico, a nation may win advantages real and permanent, though undeserved. Therefore, when we plead for arbitration, we do not necessarily deny that war has a greatness of its own, and that out of it may sometimes come permanent gain for the moral forces of human society; but we do maintain that the deliberate bringing about of war through a belligerent public policy can only be compared to the deliberate and intentional introduction of a pestilence into a crowded city, in order, forsooth, that thousands of victims may have opportunity to suffer and die with patience, and that some noble souls—nurses, doctors, and mothers—may have opportunity to develop and display heroic qualities. The one operation would be just as reasonable as the other. Never ought we to hear it maintained in our country that war should be deliberately provoked and brought about, in order that the nation may develop in a few souls the noble qualities which give victory over loss, pain, and death.

And what shall we say about careless inattention to those insidious or hidden sources of national exasperation which, in their development, may produce war? I believe that it was a just apprehension about such carelessness, such inattention to the tendencies of a public policy that may lead to war, which brought the Arbitration Conference together. It was lately asserted in a public print, presumably by its editor, a Harvard graduate,—for every possible opinion is developed among the graduates of that populous institution,—that the Conference was to be held at an inopportune moment. It seems to me, on the contrary, that the moment for the meeting of the Conference was well chosen.

Why was it summoned to meet three months ago? It was, I believe, because its members, like other thoughtful American citizens,



had been surprised and shocked at the risk of war which the country had lately incurred. Only six months ago, a message of the President of the United States seemed to thousands of sober-minded men in this and other countries to contain a grave threat of war, in case a boundary question between two other nations should fail of settlement by arbitration and our own uninvited decision of it should be rejected. Shortly after, we learned with astonishment that, months before, the Secretary of State had issued papers of a tenor which, in a contest between two individuals, would fairly have been called exasperating. All men know that the peaceful settlement of a controversy between two self-confident and strong men is not promoted, if one says to the other—"My fiat shall be law between us."

Such views, conveyed in public documents, took thousands of thoughtful Americans by surprise. The surprise, and the shock to public opinion, were, I dare say, unforeseen and unintended; but they were inevitable from the tone of the papers.

Then we had another surprise. We have thought that the separation of the executive and legislative functions in our Republic had one great advantage, on which we might rely,—namely, that when executive propositions of a serious nature were laid before the legislative branches those branches might be depended upon to take time for consideration, and so to procure delay. We have been painfully surprised to learn by the actual event that such reliance is not well founded.

Moreover, we have had brought forcibly to our notice a phenomenon new in our country, and perhaps in the world,—namely, the formidable inflammability of our multitudinous population, in consequence of the recent development of telegraph, telephone, and bi-daily press. I think those words fairly describe the phenomenon of six months ago—our population is more inflammable than it used to be, because of the increased use in comparatively recent years of these great inventions.

Still another disquieting fact has been forced on our attention. Quite within recent years, it has become the practice to employ as Cabinet officers men who have not had legislative experience, or experience in any branch of the Government, before assuming these important functions. One reason for this new practice is, that senatorships are much more attractive than Cabinet offices. But, be the reason what it may, this recent practice has introduced into our governmental system a new and serious danger,—the danger of inexperience in high



places, the danger of bringing into great public functions men suddenly taken from business, or from the controversial profession of the law.

Besides these revelations of the last six months, there is another inducement for thoughtful Americans to interest themselves in all the means of interposing obstacles to sudden movements toward war. We have heard during the last eight or ten years from both political parties, and perhaps as much from the one as from the other, the advocacy of a policy entirely new among us, absolutely repugnant to all American diplomatic doctrines, and imported straight from the aristocratic and military nations of Europe. I refer, of course, to this recent doctrine called "jingoism"—a detestable word for a detestable thing. I should be at a loss to state which party in this country has been most guilty of this monstrous teaching; and if inquired of by some reader with a good memory, I should be obliged in honesty to confess that among the worst offenders in this respect are to be found several eminent graduates of Harvard University. What can be clearer than that this doctrine is an offensive foreign importation, against which, unfortunately, our protective legislation has proved an inadequate defence? The very term is of English origin, and is taken not from the best side of English politics, but from the worst,—from the politics of Palmerston and Disraeli, and not of Bright, Gladstone, Hartington, and Balfour. It is the most abject copy conceivable of a pernicious foreign idea; and yet some of our public men endeavor to pass it off among our people as American patriotism. A more complete delusion, a falser representation, cannot be imagined. The whole history of the American people runs directly counter to this European notion. Our nation has always advocated the rights of neutrals, arbitration, and the peaceful settlement of international disputes. It has contributed more than any other nation to the development of successful methods of arbitration. It has contributed more than any other nation to the promotion of peace and the avoidance of great armaments. There has never been a wiser or more beneficent agreement between two powerful neighbors than the simple convention, made between the United States and Canada nearly eighty years ago, to the effect that nothing but a small marine police force should be kept on the great lakes. What other powerful nation has dispensed with a standing army? What other nation with an immense seaboard has maintained but an insignificant fleet? It has been our glory to be safe, though without fortresses, fleets, or armies.

Can anything be more offensive to the sober-minded, self-respecting, laborious classes of American society, than this doctrine of jingoism,



this chip-on-the-shoulder attitude, this language of the ruffian and the bully? This is just what jingoism means in its native soil, where it is coupled with a brutal and insolent militarism, natural enough to countries where the government has been despotic or aristocratic and the military class has been enormous, but absolutely foreign to American society.

The teaching of this doctrine by our press and some of our public men is one of the reasons why the Arbitration Conference came together. Its members want to teach just the opposite doctrine. They want to set forth in the daily and periodical press, and by publications of their own, what the true American doctrine on international relations really is. They want to have the children of this country, the young men who are rising up into places of authority and influence, taught what the true American doctrine of peace has been, and what the true reliance of a great, strong, free nation should be—not the force of arms, but the force of righteousness. The moment is opportune for the inculcation of these doctrines. We have escaped a serious danger, but thoughtful men should say: “We will now make such preparation as will give us a new security for peace,—namely, the preconcerted, prearranged security of a treaty of arbitration.” This it is which the Conference came together to support, maintain, and inculcate as the duty and the privilege of the American people.

I can hardly conceive that any person who has read the history of our country should arrive at any other conclusion with regard to its natural mission; and yet, in this very Arbitration Conference, one gentleman arose to say that we had a mission to carry our political ideas over the world, to spread the knowledge of our free institutions and our methods of self-government among the peoples of the earth; and that, like England, we should execute this mission by ships and guns, and, like her, should fortify our seaboard to resist aggression. A propaganda of armed force was recommended to carry over the world the public principles of liberty for which our nation stands.

I, too, believe that this nation has a mission in the world, a noble mission; but not one to be executed in that fashion. It is not by force of arms that we may best commend to the peoples of the earth the blessings of liberty and self-government; but rather by taking millions from various peoples into our own land, and here giving them experience of the advantages of freedom. Have we not done that? Eighteen million strong they have come across the seas since 1846. All of us have come within three hundred years; and this great nation has



grown up on this continental territory, believing in and practising the principles of self-government, freedom, and peace. There is only one other means by which we should teach these principles to men. It is by example,—by giving a persuasive example of happiness and prosperity, arrived at through living in freedom and at peace. Never should we advocate the extension of our institutions by force of arms, either on sea or on land. Never should we attempt to force another nation to adopt arbitration or any other method of peace.

I believe that in all our public schools and all our colleges the principles I have just stated should be taught as the true American doctrine on this subject. One speaker at the Conference mentioned a special subject in which he thought instruction should be given throughout our land. He said: "We have been taught in our schools about the battles of the nation. We have not been taught about the arbitrations of our nation." Let us teach the children what is the rational, sober-minded, righteous mode of settling international difficulties. Let us teach them that war often fails to settle disputes, while arbitration always leads to definitive settlement. Let us teach them that what is reasonable and righteous between man and man is also reasonable and righteous between nation and nation.

CHARLES W. ELIOT.



## MR. CLEVELAND'S SECOND ADMINISTRATION.

MR. CLEVELAND was chosen to the Presidency for the second time on the issue which he had given to the country four years previous. Defeated in 1888, though with a plurality of the popular vote in his favor, in 1892, in response to an overwhelming popular demand, in the teeth of the bitter opposition of the whole delegation from his own State, he was nominated for the third time, and elected by an extraordinary majority in the Electoral College, and nearly 400,000 plurality of the popular vote. He gave to Democracy, on the issue which he had set before the country in the crisp and ringing phrases of his tariff message in December, 1887, the most decisive victory it ever won, and carried with him a substantial party majority in both Senate and House. To-day, on the eve of another national election as his second term draws to a close, his party is no longer in control of the Senate; the great Democratic majority has been replaced by a still greater Republican majority in the House; yet the President is still the first man in the estimation of his party, while he commands the respect and admiration of the country at large.

A review of some of the most important events of his Administration, necessarily incomplete and brief as the limits of such an article require, may throw light on this curious situation.

### I.

At the end of the last Republican Administration the Treasury was in distress. The gold reserve had fallen to the danger point; extravagant appropriations by the Republican Congress of an unprecedented amount had eaten up the \$100,000,000 surplus of the preceding Democratic Administration; the available cash balance had dropped from \$163,000,000 to \$11,000,000, and the head of the Treasury Department had to declare that an issue of bonds, under the Act of 1875, was necessary in order to buy more gold, though both he and the Republican President shirked that responsibility and left it for the incoming President to shoulder, while they watched the outflow of



Treasury gold from day to day, hoping only to tide matters over until March 4.

An analysis of Mr. Foster's final report in February, 1893, suggests either fatuous ignorance or culpable bad faith. "I have great satisfaction in being able to say that the general conditions affecting the commercial and industrial interests of the United States are in the highest degree favorable," were his words at the very moment when his own figures showed that his claim of an apparent surplus of only \$2,000,000 was offset by contracts to the amount of \$6,000,000 called for by Congressional appropriations, and revealed a net loss of revenue, compared with 1891, of more than \$42,000,000 in customs duties alone under the McKinley Act then in operation. The situation was critical. The new Administration was face to face with the question which, as Mr. Lecky in his recent book<sup>1</sup> says, is the most serious one for a commercial people to determine,—whether or not we should have any standard of value at all. Without recognizing the danger, or even admitting the fact, we had been drifting away from the gold standard toward a silver basis.

Mr. Cleveland did not yield to the pressing demands for an immediate extra session of Congress.<sup>2</sup> He quietly gave the country time to comprehend the situation, recognize the specific evil, and so gave public opinion a chance to crystallize in support of his effort for remedial legislation. Time did its beneficent work. Even the New York "Tribune," which at first was doubtful "whether the naked repeal of the Sherman Act would be for the best interests of the country," had come to see, by June, 1893, that "the repeal of the Act with which Senator Sherman's name is unfortunately associated is imperatively demanded." Gov. McKinley, with no padlock upon his lips at the time, found it easy to decry the Democratic President. The suggestion of a remedy, or even the disclosure of his own views upon the subject, he carefully avoided with characteristic evasion.

<sup>1</sup> "Democracy and Liberty." By W. E. H. Lecky. 2 vols. N. Y.: Longmans, Green & Co.

<sup>2</sup> The action he meant to take was well understood. Before the Convention of 1892, when he was sounded by the silver Democrats who offered to support him if he would simply refrain from any expression of opinion on the subject, he assured Mr. Schurz, in an interview to which I am allowed by the latter to refer, that "he would declare himself on the money question, whatever political consequences it might have as to his own future." This was followed soon after by the famous letter giving his views, which so many people at the time declared would cost him the nomination.



His brave words were these, "*If it is true, as the Administration boldly proclaims, that our financial distress is occasioned by the Silver Purchase Law . . . then why does not the Administration convene Congress and repeal that law?*" As to his own opinions he maintained a Stoic's silence. A few weeks later when a Democratic President and a Democratic Congress had acted upon his suggestion, he denounced them both for having "struck down the Sherman Law and given silver the severest blow it ever had."

In his first Report, July 1, 1893, Secretary Carlisle attempted no juggling with figures like his Republican predecessor. He made no secret of the situation, and emphasized by his clear statement of facts the sound and honorable lessons of economy which the President had preached in his inaugural address. The number of business failures for the first half year was without precedent. Equally unprecedented was the large proportion of assets to liabilities, which, as the "Nation" pointed out, showed that there was no general undue inflation of values but an accidental stringency caused by the money troubles. Senator Sherman, "whose name was unfortunately linked to the Act," stepped forward as a champion of its repeal, so soon as he saw the turn of the tide, and announced that the only reason for its original passage was the necessity of heading off by it a free-coinage bill. Meanwhile the silver Senators, emboldened by admissions of this sort, were full of fight and threatened "to tie up the Senate until the terms of some of its members expire," in order to get "free coinage or something akin to it." The debates in the Senate showed plainly enough that the silverites had been encouraged to assure their constituents that the attitude of the Republican party meant free coinage, just as they are to-day encouraged to construe, in accordance with their views and wishes, the ambiguous language of McKinley and the Ohio platforms of the last two years. It was quite clear that in 1888, as in 1896, they counted upon, and had been encouraged to count upon, the Republican candidate—no matter how the platform might be worded—not to veto a free-coinage act, should they succeed in forcing one through Congress. It was these disclosures, which the heat of discussion revealed, that gave point and meaning to Senator Sherman's admission that the party leaders "had no right to throw the responsibility of vetoing such a bill upon President Harrison" in 1890.

On June 30, Mr. Cleveland issued his call for an extra session and when Congress convened on August 7, he sent in his Message setting forth the plain facts and their logical deduction—the repeal of the



obnoxious law. Having pointed out to Senators and members of the House their duty, he quietly withdrew to Gray Gables and left them to do their work. The Repeal Bill passed the House promptly, but in the Senate it hung fire. Bland of Missouri met the Administration's challenge in the House by the offer of a substitute repealing the Silver Purchase clause and providing for free coinage out and out. Five amendments, all providing for free coinage and differing only as to the ratio, and a sixth, calling for a return to the conditions of the Bland Act of 1878, and the coinage of standard silver dollars "to wipe out the crime of 1873," were successively voted down, though on the last only a minority of his party sustained the President, and on Wilson's call for the previous question the bill was finally carried, 239 to 109.

On August 29, Senator Voorhees reported the measure from the Finance Committee with the famous amendment, tacked on to hold the waverers and conciliate such of the silver men as were willing, seeing that immediate free coinage was an impossibility, to accept a declaration of policy in line with their views, and which they could carry back to their constituents as a pledge for future enforcement. That amendment declared the policy of the United States to be the continued use of both gold and silver as standard money, and the coinage of both "into money of equal, intrinsic value, such equality to be secured through international agreement, or by such safeguards of legislation as will ensure the maintenance of the parity in value of the coins of the two metals, and the paying power of every dollar at all times"; and pledged the efforts of the Government "to the establishment of such a safe system of bimetallism as will maintain, at all times, the equal power of every dollar coined or issued by the United States in the markets in the payment of debts."

Over this compromise arose the great struggle. There was no way to cut off debate, for the Vice-President, when urged to do so, would not agree to refuse recognition to any Senator who might attempt to hold the floor in argument against the proposed change. The friends of repeal were discouraged. A compromise bill, making further concessions to the silver men, was prepared and a rumor set in circulation that it had the approval of Secretary Carlisle, and that enough Democratic Senators had been pledged to carry it through. But the President stood firm, and the Administration forces would not yield another inch beyond the Voorhees amendment.

Meanwhile, "out of doors," as the English politicians say, things had been moving apace. The currency famine of the summer of 1893



brought into sharp relief the evils of the situation, and the stern logic of events began to tell. The firm attitude of the President had its effect on the waverers and the faint-hearted. People sickened of the dilatory tactics of the opposition and the weight of popular opinion upheld the Administration. On October 30, the Repeal Bill with the Voorhees amendment passed the Senate; on November 1, it was adopted by the House and immediately received the President's signature. It was as far in the direction of legislative relief for the financial situation as the Administration could persuade the Fifty-Third Congress to go. It would pass no measure for retiring the greenbacks, reforming the currency, or providing for an issue of bonds to replenish the gold reserve. Yet this one thing gave immense and speedy relief. It did not cure incurable evils nor carry with it all the beneficent results which were hopefully predicted. It did not justify, for instance, the rosy forecast of the "Nation" that "the relief to business interests would be so great that after six months there would be no silver party in the United States." But so soon as it became certain that the Government was to keep faith, continue to pay all its obligations in gold, and so maintain the gold standard, business began to pick up, credits were again extended, and by the middle of the following winter all the trade journals had begun to assume a more confident tone.

The issue of bonds to replenish the gold reserve, to which this Administration has four times been driven, had been accepted as a necessity and agreed to by the last Republican, as well as the present Democratic, Secretary of the Treasury. It was opposed by the silverites who denounced the sound-money policy and the sound-money men on both sides. Wolcott of Colorado called attention to—

"the fact which has generally been understood through both Houses of Congress that both political parties, as represented by the present Secretary of the Treasury [Foster] and the Secretary of the Treasury to be [Carlisle], have coincided in the desire for the passage of the amendment which was to permit the Secretary of the Treasury to add to the public debt of the United States and to sell more bonds . . . the only effect of which was to make a gold scare in New York and depress the market for bonds and for securities."

The issues of \$50,000,000 each in January and November, 1894, afforded only temporary relief, and the President in his Annual Message of that year renewed the attempt to secure the aid of Congress in his efforts to maintain the Government's credit. Again he strove to impress upon legislators the gravity of the situation, in the continued absence of statutory authority for cancelling, upon their payment in



gold, the obligations for whose redemption the gold reserve was held, and the continued existence of positive statutory orders for their immediate reissue, so soon as turned in. This, said he, in a figure which happily described the anomalous and ridiculous situation which still obtains, is but "an endless chain in operation constantly depleting the Treasury's gold and never near a final rest." He reminded Congress that the Government's pledge to maintain the parity between gold and silver required us, in order to keep national faith, to maintain the usual gold reserve, and warned them, if they did not see fit to provide for cancelling the greenbacks, that, so long as "the endless chain" remained unbroken, he would see to it that the country kept its word unbroken, and, failing their aid, he could again have recourse to his statutory authority, and purchase gold with bonds. "The real trouble which confronts us," said he when he renewed the attack in February, 1895, "is a lack of confidence, wide-spread and constantly increasing, in the continuing ability or disposition of the Government to pay its obligations in gold." The two issues of bonds already made had realized more than \$58,000,000 in gold apiece. Since the second issue more than \$69,000,000 had been withdrawn without cancelling a dollar of the obligations. The Republican pretence that an increase of revenue would cure existing evils of itself he easily disposed of by showing that we had a Treasury surplus of more than \$63,000,000, but not in gold, and that the \$500,000,000 of outstanding obligations, all calling for gold, could not be redeemed but had to be reissued, under the law, as soon as they reached the Treasury mill. Again he recommended an issue of bonds, bearing on their face the Government's pledge to continue its unbroken policy, *i. e.*, pay in gold. On the day the message was read Mr. Springer introduced a bill to carry out these recommendations. It was subsequently defeated by 135 to 162. The Republican vote was more than two to one against the bill; the Democrats were almost evenly divided, 89 supporting the Administration, and 93 opposing.

Two days later (February 17) Mr. Cleveland notified Congress of a third proposed sale of 4 per cent bonds to the amount of \$62,400,000. The alternative contract with the Belmont-Morgan syndicate which he submitted was a shrewd object-lesson, bringing into clear relief the glaring absurdity of the situation. Mr. Horace White, in his recent admirable work, pithily describes the transaction and shows how the refusal of Congress to follow Mr. Cleveland's recommendation and change the ambiguous word "coin" to the word "gold," by which the



unvarying practice of a succession of Treasurers has always construed it, cost the Government more than \$16,000,000 in interest, the contract providing that the syndicate should accept 3 per cent interest instead of  $3\frac{3}{4}$  per cent, if Congress would make the bonds specifically payable in gold—in other words would only promise to keep on doing what it had always done.<sup>1</sup> But Congress refused to let the Government get the benefit of its credit, and by its refusal emphasized a doubt which has grown stronger every day since.

Of course after the danger had been met the Republican leaders carped at the way in which it had been averted. Senator Sherman, unmindful of his own operations as a Treasury official in the past and of his own recent recommendations, querulously criticized the President for taking the helm in his own hands and declared that the negotiation of loans was the exclusive function of the Secretary and should have been managed by him alone. Instead of honestly congratulating the Administration for demonstrating that the nation meant to keep its word, which gave the bonds their value so that their price rose in the hands of their holders, he snarled at the contract as “faulty and improvident,” simply because the syndicate made money, as though that fact were not of itself highly creditable to the Administration. He seemed to forget the days when his own funding operations were denounced because of his course toward “favored” banks. An able and conscientious official himself when in office, he did not have the magnanimity in opposition to praise what he would probably have had the wisdom and courage, under similar circumstances, to do himself. Senator Lodge joined for the moment the chorus of silverites and populists and denounced the transaction as “the blackest public contract ever made by the Government of the United States.” Having ascertained that it was a dangerous experiment to wait for aid from Congress, the next time the Treasury was in need of gold Mr. Cleveland acted promptly, and the bold and successful popular loan this year of \$100,000,000 was negotiated without difficulty. When the bids were opened *bona fide* subscriptions for above five times the amount called for were in hand. It was plain that the people themselves were ready to back up the President in his determination to sustain the nation's credit.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. White calls this transaction “a financial achievement without a parallel in our history and equalled only by the quelling of the Baring panic in 1890 by the London syndicate, with the Bank of England at its head.”—“Money and Banking,” p. 211.



## II.

In his first Annual Message the President called upon the Democratic majority in Senate and House to redeem the pledges which the party had given to the people in the victorious campaign of the preceding year. Conforming with his recommendations the Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, Mr. Wilson, brought in his bill on December 19, 1893. It followed the Democratic principle of free raw materials, providing for free coal, wool, raw sugar, lumber, and iron; reduced the duties on many other articles, and made some additions to the internal-revenue taxes, so as to ensure a sufficiency of revenue pending the adjustment of business to new conditions. On January 24, against the President's judgment and advice, the Income Tax measure was introduced and subsequently incorporated with the Wilson Bill. On February 1 the bill with this clause passed the House and on March 20 was reported by Senator Voorhees from the Finance Committee with no less than 624 amendments, providing, for the most part, for additions to the schedules, and restoring sugar, coal, and iron from the free to the taxable list. The bill, with all the amendments proposed by the Committee, passed the Senate and on July 3 was reported to the House, with the declaration by Mr. Wilson, that "of all the chief free materials provided in the House bill only wool and lumber came back to us undisturbed by the Senate bill." The discussions of the Conference Committees showed that the chief points of difference related to sugar, iron ore and coal, silver-lead ores, the iron and steel schedules, especially pig-iron, steel rails, cutlery and structural iron. The widest divergence was on the sugar schedules.<sup>1</sup>

As the two Committees went into conference the President addressed an open letter to Mr. Wilson, urging him to insist upon the fulfilment of pledges the abandonment of which, he declared, "meant party perfidy and party dishonor." Once more he appealed to the Democratic majority to be faithful to their party policy, warning them "that no tariff measure can accord with Democratic principles or bear a genuine Democratic badge, that does not provide for free raw materials." For six weeks of a sweltering Washington summer the wrangle went on. The air was thick with charges of treachery and bad faith, the result of private "understandings" as to what the Democratic majority

<sup>1</sup> The House wanted all sugars free—raw and refined. The Senate proposed a 40 per cent duty on all sugar, a differential of  $\frac{1}{4}$  cent on refined, in addition to  $\frac{1}{10}$  cent on sugar from countries paying an export bounty.



in the Senate would unite upon, and as to what the Administration would agree to. The Senate refused to yield their amendments; the House refused to concur. At last the House leaders held a caucus, voted to recede from their resolution of non-concurrence, and to pass the Senate bill. Wilson rose from his place on the floor to support the motion. Worn out with the long fight, weak in health and broken in spirit at the disappointment of his hopes, the sturdy supporter of the Administration and champion of Democracy strove to put on the best face possible and make the most of the situation. "This I do believe," he said, "that it is not so bad as the McKinley Bill," and with this faint and damning praise from the leader of the majority the bill passed the House—182 to 106. The President's disappointment was profound and he made no attempt to conceal the bitterness of his chagrin. He allowed the bill to become a law without his signature. In a letter to Mr. Catchings, explaining his attitude, he confessed "to a feeling of the utmost disappointment" at a result which, while "a vast improvement on existing conditions," presented such inconsistencies that he could not approve it. Of the recalcitrants within the party ranks he was outspoken in his scorn, declaring that "the livery of Democratic reform had been stolen and worn in the service of Republican protection," taking his stand with those "who have marked the places where the deadly blight of treason has blasted the councils of the brave in their hour of might." The metaphor was a little mixed, but the offenders knew who were meant and their ears tingled.

Congress adjourned with the Democratic majority broken and disorganized, the Republicans jubilant over the demoralization of their opponents and confident of success in the coming campaign. The election was only two months away. The popular verdict was prompt and decisive. The Republicans more than retrieved their overwhelming defeat of 1892, regained control of the House by more than a two to one majority, and changed the balance in the Senate once more in their favor, securing 43 seats to the Democrats' 39. The Administration had done its best for the party and the people; the people were defrauded of the fruits of a Democratic victory in the last national campaign, and the party as a whole paid the penalty for the default of a few.

### III.

The question of the proposed annexation of Hawaii, which met the President at the very threshold of his Administration, was one of the



most momentous issues which ever arose in our foreign relations, or indeed in our whole history. Without going into the details of that long controversy, the facts about which there is no dispute are that the Hawaiian revolution of January, 1893, the deposition of Liliuokalani, and her forced submission were encouraged and made possible by the conduct of the United States Minister Stevens.<sup>1</sup> Before a blow had been struck or a shot fired a company of marines was landed from the United States man-of-war "Boston," ostensibly for the purpose of protecting the persons and property of American citizens, though they were marched away from the resident and business quarter and stationed in a position to command the palace and the government buildings, nearly two miles from the persons and property which they were supposed to be guarding. Under protest, and declaring that she "yielded to the superior force of the United States Government," the queen resigned, and Mr. Stevens made a proclamation declaring the establishment of a "provisional government" pending negotiations with the United States, and immediately sent off a despatch with the triumphant announcement,—“The Hawaiian pear is now fully ripe, and this is the golden hour for the United States to pluck it.” The whole thing was an affair of two or three days. The “Committee of Safety,” as the revolutionists first called themselves, was organized on Saturday, January 14. On Monday, the 16th, the United States marines landed; on the 17th the provisional government was recognized by our minister; and on the 19th the commissioners sailed for this country to negotiate a treaty. They reached Washington on February 3, had an interview at the State Department on the following day; on the 14th the annexation scheme was agreed to and submitted to the Senate for ratification on the 15th! The matter was fortunately delayed over the 4th of March. On the 9th the new President promptly recalled the treaty, and soon after sent Mr. Blount, of Georgia, formerly head of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, as Special Commissioner to Hawaii to examine and report upon the facts. Armed with full authority, but cautioned against any interference with the right of the Hawaiians to settle their own affairs, Commissioner Blount reached the islands on March 29.

<sup>1</sup> Stevens was an appointee of Blaine, his former partner in the “Kennebec Journal.” He seems to have imbibed, and attempted to carry out, the views of the late Republican Secretary of State. Blaine said in 1881, when a member of Garfield's Cabinet, that “Hawaii was part of the protective and commercial system of the United States,” and in 1892 declared, “I consider the acquisition of these islands is of so great importance that I cannot conceive of such a proposition being refused.”



Two days later he hauled down the United States flag, ended the "protectorate," and ordered the marines back to their ship.

On October 18, Secretary Gresham recommended that the treaty be not submitted, set forth the facts, and drew from them the unavoidable conclusion that the provisional government had been established by the act of the American minister and the uncalled-for intervention of our troops. Up to this point the reasoning and conduct of the Administration had been in the highest degree dignified, magnanimous, and strictly in accordance with the uniform policy of our Government and the most advanced principles of international law. But the next step was a blunder. Acting upon the assumption that the continued existence of the provisional government was due wholly to the belief that a loyalist uprising would be followed by a military demonstration on our part, the Secretary of State asked, "Should not the great wrong done to a feeble but independent state by the abuse of the authority of the United States be undone by restoring the legitimate government?" The answer to this question and the further duty of our Government were precisely opposite to what Mr. Gresham evidently assumed. His subsequent action upon this assumption—the only serious mistake during his whole administration, which he conducted in every other instance with a tact, wisdom, and dignity unsurpassed by any of his predecessors—placed the Government in a false and embarrassing position, from which only the stupid obstinacy of the queen and her advisers gave us the lucky chance to withdraw. Carried away by their sense of the gross injustice which had been done, both the President and Mr. Gresham failed to recognize the sad fact, as true in the intercourse of nations as in the relations of men, that there are wrongs which can never be wholly righted, a *status quo* which can never be wholly renewed, however magnanimous and anxious for restitution the offender may be. Because we had wrongly interfered to depose a queen did not justify us in a wrongful interference to reinstate her.

The plain implication to be drawn from the language which Mr. Willis, who in the meantime had succeeded Mr. Blount, was instructed to use, was that if the queen should "grant full amnesty to all who participated in the movement against her" the United States would lend its aid to put her back, even to the extent of using armed force. Fortunately for us the queen refused to give this pledge; the leaders of the provisional government declared that they would fight for their newly-acquired rights, and the Secretary of State was able to retrieve his mistake by telegraphing to the minister instructions to insist on



the promise of complete amnesty, adding the caution that "should she ask whether, if she agreed, active steps to reinstate her would be taken, then he was to answer that the President could not use force without the authority of Congress." In his Message reviewing the facts, in December, 1893, the President failed to distinguish between the right to compensation and the duty of reinstatement, and wrongly insisted upon the latter. But the queen's refusal to accept his conditions forced him to submit the whole matter to Congress, and both Houses, after passing sound resolutions approving the principle of non-intervention and pronouncing annexation or a protectorate inexpedient, let the matter drop. The blunder was as nothing weighed against the noble service which the Administration rendered by its prompt action in saving the country from the incalculable dangers and far-reaching consequences to which we were all but committed by the Republican President and Secretary of State. The future student of American history who reads of their extraordinary attempt to revolutionize our national policy by the incorporation, as part of our body politic, of the territory and inhabitants of a group of islands two thousand miles away from our extreme western coast, without warning, without an examination of the facts, and almost without debate, will lay little stress on the later error of the Democratic President who saved us from all this, and whose mistake was after all only a mistake of methods from the consequences of which we luckily escaped.

Secretary Gresham, after successfully concluding the treaty with Japan, negotiating and completing a treaty with China and coming to an agreement with Great Britain by which the protectorate on the Mosquito coast was given up, died on May 28, 1895. His death was a heavy loss to the Administration and the country; and the changes in the Cabinet which followed were not changes for the better. They took from the head of the law department, to make of him Secretary of State, a conscientious, hard-headed, able lawyer, a man seemingly inclined to treat with bull-dog contempt the ordinary amenities of diplomatic intercourse and to carry on the business of his office with the tone of an aggressive lawyer "claiming everything in sight." Lord Palmerston used to say that there were few matters of state which could not be arranged better by a friendly note than by a formal despatch. Mr. Olney seems to think that due personal and national self-respect requires that he should on all occasions set his foot down hard, with a sturdy indifference to other people's feet and their tender spots—a good old Puritan trait for which some of the historic characters of the most



famous city in New England are not wholly undistinguished. There is such a thing, especially in negotiation, as doing the right thing in the wrong way. To "protest against the enlargement of the area of British Guiana in derogation of the rights and against the will of Venezuela," to reassert in firm and dignified language the time-honored doctrine "consecrated by well-nigh a century of observance," and finally to propose a submission to arbitration of the whole controversy,—were surely right and proper things to do. They asserted no claim to which we had no title, gave a plain but not unfriendly warning, and above all not only left open but suggested a method of settlement honorable to all parties and in accordance with what people in the highest rank of civilization are coming more and more every year to regard as consistent with "the true grandeur of nations." But to boastfully declare that "to-day the United States is practically sovereign on this continent and its fiat law . . . because its infinite resources, combined with its isolated position, render it master of the situation and practically invulnerable as against any or all other powers" was surely a way of expressing one of the tenets of our policy which had not been called in question, to whose form at least exception might be taken, not only because of its vulgar braggadocio, but possibly on the ground of actual fact. And to demand in peremptory language "a definite answer" was to commit on a much larger scale and in a far more ticklish matter the same error into which we stumbled at a certain stage of the Hawaiian business, when our representative was instructed to declare in sharp and positive terms what the President "expected" the provisional government to do. It implied a threat. Gentlemen in their intercourse with other gentlemen, and first-class powers in their relations with each other, do not use threats, except in the last resort and when a peaceful settlement is out of the question. Even then it is better to strike without threatening.

Once more, however, the *deus ex machina* who seems ever hovering over the stage of American diplomacy descended from the flies. By the purest chance, far less offensive language used by the head of another nation in an entirely different matter, caused England to flame with wrath from shore to shore at the very moment when her unresentful treatment of our overbearing tone was causing some short-sighted folk to say that the old English spirit was cowed. When at the mere hint of German interference all England flared up, people on this side of the water began to realize that while Great Britain might put up with a good deal of "bounce" and swagger from us, she would resent with all the old-time spirit aggressions from any other quarter; and we



began to admit that ties of kinship counted, and that to have kindred institutions, a common history, to be "brothers speaking the same dear mother tongue," meant something, after all.

The sober second thought of the nation has worked its beneficent results. Out of all the loose and foolish talk of war the Plan of Peace has come—a peace to be guaranteed and made permanent by the labors of those whose activities have been stirred to renewed efforts by the very events of which we have been speaking, and who would give their labors, and their lives if need be, to see their nations join hands and take the first step in the next great advance along the long road from barbarism to the highest civilization of which the human race is capable.

#### IV.

In spite of Mr. Cleveland's record as a civil service reformer both as Governor and President, and in the teeth of the Democratic platform and his letter of acceptance, the votes of 1892 had hardly been counted before the office-seekers began to swarm. So severe became the pressure, so incessant the demands upon his time at a period when questions relating to his future policy, the composition of his Cabinet, and the settlement of his private affairs required every moment he could give to them, that he was forced to issue an address demanding to be let alone, and warning those who persisted that their encroachments on his privacy would defeat their own ends; for he declared that not only would he pay no attention to their appeals, but the fact that they made them at this time and in this way would be taken as a presumption against them. This sharp admonition had a wholesome effect and the President-elect, instead of spending his days in discussing the merits of this man for postmaster at Podunk and of that one for consul at Kotung, was permitted to devote his time to the consideration of such minor matters as the currency, the tariff, and foreign affairs. Upon taking office he renewed his pledges of fealty to the merit system by the best earnest he could give,—in urging Theodore Roosevelt to remain upon the Civil Service Commission, and in the publication of what was appropriately called "The Second Emancipation Proclamation," in which he besought Senators and Representatives not to introduce constituents during the hours set apart for talking with him on public business. In the matter of civil service reform Congress gave to the President but a half-hearted support. It was one thing to adopt resolutions denouncing the other party for their



"scandalous prostitution of public office to partisan ends," and pledging their own to the maintenance and extension of the reform system, but quite another thing for individual members of Congress to refrain from nagging the President and the heads of departments for places. It was true, as the President said, that "the law embodying this reform found its way to our statute book more from fear of popular sentiment in its favor than from any love of reform itself on the part of legislators"; and the words of his Message were emphasized by the captious spirit with which Congress refused to grant sufficient funds for the support of the Commission, and once even struck off the appropriation altogether, though it repented of its petty spite next day and restored the item.

The President was hampered, too, by what he once impatiently called "the querulous impracticability of many self-constituted guardians" of the reform, whose "vagaries and sublimated theories" tried his temper pretty severely. There were times, too, when Mr. Cleveland's own appointees seemed likeliest of all to discredit the system. Mr. Quincy, the Boston civil service reformer, found the minor consulships so clogged with Republican driftwood, and started in so vigorously to get things clear, that the inevitable result followed. Starting in with the undoubted intention of replacing incompetent Republicans by competent Democrats, he was soon carried off his feet and ended by finding himself driven to the wall and unable to make any defence to the charge of "looting the consular service," other than the plea that any other course would have disrupted the party and prevented other and greater reforms to which the Administration was pledged.

When Mr. Whitney succeeded in persuading Mr. Cleveland to appoint as minister to Italy a gentleman who, though of ample means and leisure, had never been connected with public life or concerned in politics except to the extent of a generous campaign subscription, and was absolutely unknown to the country at large, both "Harper's Weekly" and the "Evening Post" dropped their arms in despair and the latter declared that the President "had given his own reputation a blow from which it could never recover."

While Mr. Cleveland did not hesitate to express openly his disapprobation of the choice, by the party leaders in his own State, of Mr. Murphy for United States Senator, he took no steps to defeat their action, or to aid those who were supposed to be his particular friends in their continuance of the fight against the State machine. In this



way both sides were angered. But when he recognized the "regular" Democratic organization in the city of New York by the appointment of some Tammany men to office, there were loud and bitter complaints from some of the President's staunchest supporters that he had deserted his friends and gone over to the enemy. The New York "Nation" said:—

"The President has done little or nothing to disarm hostility or to increase the number of his friends. He is not 'magnetic,' and if we said he had winning manners we should depart widely from the truth. Ever since he came into office he has almost studiously ignored his chief supporters of 1884, 1888, and 1892. He has not sought their counsel, and he has apparently tried to forget that they ever served him."

*Spretæ injuria formæ?* It may be true that a positive and decided stand by the Administration in 1893 might have saved the party in his own State from the awful follies that have dragged it from a position of complete supremacy to the overwhelming defeats from which recovery seems still so far away. Yet those who blamed the President for failing to act at that time forgot that to justify Presidential interference in State politics, no matter how laudable the purpose, is a dangerous precedent, opposed to Democratic principles, and invariably disastrous in the long run.

In his annual address before the Civil Service Reform Association in December, 1894, Mr. Schurz declared that the hopes that Cleveland "would abstain from changes in the service not required by the public interests had not been fulfilled," although admitting that "excepting the headlong overturning of the consular service, the changes have, on the whole, been less rapid than under the preceding Administration." Meanwhile, Mr. Cleveland, in spite of lukewarm Congresses, hostile spoilsmen, and disappointed friends, went steadily ahead. He revolutionized a whole department in the interests of the reform system by instructing Postmaster-General Bissell to consolidate the smaller offices with the principal ones adjoining, so as to make them branches and bring them under civil service rules. The Postmaster-General himself urged taking the whole department out of politics and recommended the passage of a law withdrawing the fourth-class postmasters (about 66,000 in number) from the list of Presidential appointments, and placing them on the competitive list. Congress, it is needless to say, has not acted upon the suggestion.

Before 1894 was ended the President brought within the operation of the reform more than 5,000 places in the Treasury, Post Office, In-



terior and Agricultural Departments; by the end of 1895 he had added about 4,000 more, and in those two years had transferred to the competitive list 3,048 offices besides. By December, 1895, he had added to the competitive list 12,646 places—9,598 by original classification and 3,048 by transfer from the exempted list. In the consular bureau the President and Mr. Olney have effected a radical and splendid change, bringing within the civil service rules all the consulships under \$2,500 a year—196 out of 320; and the selection by the Secretary of State of a Commission in sympathy with the reform was a pledge for the success of the scheme.

When Mr. Schurz delivered his next annual address in December, 1895, he was able to assure his gratified audience, amidst the applause of reformers from all over the United States, that "he believed President Cleveland to be determined, as to the extent of classification, to leave to his successor little or nothing to do that can be done by Executive action alone." Finally, it will be seen how well this hope has been justified by a reference to the President's order of May, 1896, which rounds and completes the work of his Administration in building up and extending this reform. More than 30,000 offices are by this order brought within the rules—practically every office. "The entire list of positions at Washington, not filled through the merit system, is reduced to approximately 100," said "Good Government," the organ of the Civil Service Reform Associations, in its issue of May 15, 1896.

Mr. Cleveland has thus nobly redeemed the pledges which he gave, and which his party ratified, to strengthen and extend this great reform. He put the axe at the root of the spoils system, and so far as lay with him to make it so Presidential patronage is a thing of the past. Legislation alone—legislation such as he urged Congress to enact—can complete the work, and that, since the people plainly wish it, they are bound to get.

## V.

Mr. Cleveland is nearing the end of his second term. Congress, the control of which has passed to his opponents, pays little heed either to his appeals for necessary legislation or to his warnings against wasteful expenditures. He has given over expecting or asking for laws to cure existing evils in our financial system, and contents himself with checking extravagance, and blocking crude and hasty legislation by the interposition of a timely veto. Every now and then a gust of reckless-



ness sweeps over Congress and the rank and file on both sides break from their leaders, join hands in a log-rolling raid, and "jam" through enormous appropriations of public money to be spent on ships and fortifications, pensions, rivers and harbors, in ways the Treasury cannot stand and the people do not call for. Meanwhile, in spite of the most careful and painstaking economy in the administration of the finances, cutting down expenses here and adding to the net receipts there, the deficit is slowly creeping up, while the drain upon the gold reserve goes steadily on. The day of reckoning will surely come; a day when there will be an appeal from Congress drunk to the people sober. And the men on both sides, whatever their nominal party names may be, who have refused the Administration aid, flouted the President's warnings, and in times like these, with a wasted surplus and a falling gold reserve, have voted away millions in extravagant expenditures, will be called to account.

Posterity will not rank Mr. Cleveland as a brilliant statesman. The pages of the historian will not glow with stories of his winning personality, his attractive magnetism, his delicate tact. But when the roll of American Presidents is scanned and their careers are searched through for examples of diligence in business, steadfast upholding of party principle, sturdy fidelity to party pledges, rigid economy of the public moneys, and a dogged insistence on national good faith in the face of furious hostility and faint-hearted support,—a candid and grateful posterity will rank among the very highest on the list the second Administration of Grover Cleveland.

GEORGE WALTON GREEN.



## STUDIES OF NOTABLE MEN: BARON DE HIRSCH.

WHEN the news was flashed across the wires that Baron de Hirsch was dead it caused a pang of sorrow over the four quarters of the earth—men stopped with hushed breath and heavy hearts, and silently paid homage to him whose benefactions circled the globe from the pyramids to the Golden Gate. Baron de Hirsch cannot be measured by ordinary standards—his activity was both varied and colossal, whether as financier, organizer, railroad constructor, diplomat, statesman, man of the world, or philanthropist. But as the rivulets run into rivers, and the rivers empty into the ocean, so did all these qualities culminate in equipping him with the resources, power, and capacity of becoming the leader of a gigantic exodus of his fellow religionists. No man, perhaps, in our day has by his own efforts amassed so large a fortune as he, and surely no man in his lifetime ever distributed so large a one for the welfare of others. He had a wonderful capacity for making money, but more wonderful still was his heaven-given impulse to do the most good with it. His gigantic enterprises in constructing those arteries of civilization, the railroads, through benighted lands, through Russia, Roumania, and Turkey, brought him into close relations not only with the Czar and the Sultan, with ministers and diplomats, but also with the humblest hewers-of-wood and drawers-of-water, the men who plied the shovel and wielded the pickaxe in digging the road-bed for his iron horses.

A few details of family history, and a brief reference to his numerous benefactions, may precede a fuller consideration of Baron de Hirsch's philanthropic aims and methods. He was born on December 9, 1831. The Baron's grandfather, Jacob Hirsch, who was born in Bavaria in 1764, founded the financial eminence of the family, was appointed royal Bavarian court banker, and raised to the rank of the nobility. He was a man of generous nature and great public spirit, and in him the noble bias for philanthropy, which distinguished his son and grandson, was notably shown in many charitable works. His second son, Joseph, succeeded his father as court banker, and by his ability and enterprise greatly increased the financial and commercial importance of the



family. King Louis II. raised him to the hereditary baronage in recognition of "his fidelity to the throne and in acknowledgment of his many useful works." His eldest son, Baron Maurice de Hirsch, the subject of this article, after a plain but sound education and some time spent in his father's counting house, engaged in business on his own account. In 1855, having previously married a daughter of Senator Bischoffsheim, he became a member of the banking house of Bischoffsheim and Goldschmidt. He soon became the master mind of the bank, and from this time onward his financial, commercial, and railroad enterprises were a record of unbroken successes scarcely paralleled. But in the midst of these successes his generous heart and alert mind kept in close touch with plans, broadly conceived and skilfully realized, for the uplifting of his fellow men.

He was probably most generally known and esteemed in England, although he prized his connection with Austria-Hungary, of which he was a domiciled subject and where he had his chief place of residence. His benefactions in England were for the general good, including splendid gifts to hospitals and other charitable institutions. Vienna, Buda-Pesth, Cracow, Lemberg, and other cities also benefited by the Baron's generosity. The Alliance Israélite Universelle, an association founded for the education of Jews in the East, has also derived practical support from the Baron's munificence. On learning that the funds of the Alliance had proved insufficient for the maintenance of its schools, he presented a large sum to supply deficits, continued his aid for several years and in 1889 consolidated his donations and replaced them by a fund whose annual income of \$80,000 is used in the maintenance of elementary and apprenticing schools.

It was in behalf of plans for Jewish emigration and colonization, however, that his most earnest efforts were enlisted. He endowed a trust fund for the benefit of Russian Jews who had settled in the United States, and also established a colony of Russian Jews in the Canadian Northwest. His chief concern, as is well-known, was for the betterment of his oppressed coreligionists in Russia.

With the accession of the late Czar there came a policy of reaction, devised with the finesse of the nineteenth century, but outstripping in its diabolical purposes the barbarity of the Middle Ages. The inspirer of this ungodly crusade against five millions of peaceful, unoffending, and loyal subjects, is the Chief Procurator of the Holy Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church. When asked how those infamous "May laws," that embody his policy, would rid Russia of five million Jews,



he is reputed to have answered, "One third will be driven into exile, one third will be forced to conversion, and one third will die of hunger." This was in 1881 and 1882, and the enforcement of these laws has been accompanied by pillage, burning, and death. Baron de Hirsch was then fifty years of age, engrossed in his many affairs. He stopped, to the surprise of every one, in his mid-career, he marshalled his resources, and turned his active brain and tireless energy to the problem of reclaiming his suffering coreligionists from humiliation worse than slavery, from starvation and destruction. His first move was to offer to the Czar, through this same Chief of the Holy Synod, fifty million francs for education in Russia, to be applied without distinction of creed or race, hoping that the dissemination of education, mechanical and mental, would in the end induce a better condition, from the lowest to the highest of the Czar's subjects. But Russian autocracy was framing laws to limit, not to extend, the advantages of education, and rejected the munificent offer unless Baron de Hirsch would remove his conditions and permit the expenditure to be made as the Czar and his minister saw fit. But Baron de Hirsch was too well-acquainted with Russian officials to part with his money in order to line the pockets and adorn the palaces of the persecuting Russian ministers of state.

The great philanthropist in his affinities, friendships, and associations was neither Christian nor Jew—but cosmopolitan. Creed lines had no significance for him. He was already well-known for his generous contributions in many directions and for many causes. The misery, and not the race nor the religion of the Russian Jews, attached Baron de Hirsch to their cause and summoned him, as by a voice from God, to assume the colossal task of devising plans and pouring out his treasures with endless munificence in colonizing them in other lands. In a magazine article published five years ago he said :—

"In relieving human suffering I never ask whether the cry of necessity comes from a being who belongs to my own faith or not; but what is more natural than that I should find my highest purpose in bringing to the followers of Judaism, who have been oppressed for a thousand years, who are starving in misery, the possibility of a physical and moral regeneration?—than that I should try to free them, to build them up into capable citizens, and thus furnish humanity with much new and valuable material? Every page in the history of the Jews teaches us that in thinking this I am following no Utopian theory, and I am confident that such a result can be attained."

Here let me say in answer to some evil-disposed critics who, incapable of adequately appreciating the magnificent unselfishness of the man and the boundless scope of his philanthropy, have attributed his



enormous benefactions to the bereavement he had suffered in the death of his only son—a handsome young man of brilliant promise,—that he had begun to devote his energies to the self-imposed task of his life before this calamity had befallen him. He had for years given annually very large sums to maintain ordinary and trade schools, hospitals, and asylums throughout Oriental countries. He had maintained hospitals and had given large sums of money for relief during the Russo-Turkish war, and had sent one million francs to the Empress of Russia for charitable purposes. He had begun negotiations for a foundation, which was enlarged to some twenty-five million francs, for educational institutions in Galicia consisting of forty institutions, wherein five thousand pupils, without distinction of creed, are being instructed. He had hoped that his son, who doubtless would have realized the hope had he been spared, would make it the aim of his life to carry forward and perfect his projected works of benevolence and philanthropy. The loss of this promising son was a severe blow to him, and doubtless had the effect of enlarging and extending his benefactions. On one occasion when it was stated that Baron de Hirsch had lost his son and heir, he replied : “ My son I have lost, but not my heir : humanity is my heir.”

Following an interview, partly true and partly not, a rumor was circulated that he advocated that the Jews of Russia should abandon their faith and become Christians. To correct this he sent a reply to some gentlemen in England, therein stating he had hoped that he had given too many proofs of his devotion to Judaism and to the Jews to be suspected of hostility to a people he had defended with so much spirit and supported with his resources. Profoundly afflicted at seeing so many of his coreligionists reduced to misery by reason of religious or racial hatred, he desired simply and plainly to tell the anti-Semites that persecution intensified religious sentiments and defeated the very objects they sought to attain. He added, “ Remove every barrier, admit your Jewish compatriots to every right and the advantages of social life, and there will be more chances for effecting the fusion which they appear desirous of bringing about.”

In perfecting and carrying forward his plan of relief, Baron de Hirsch, cosmopolitan as he was, speaking half a dozen languages with readiness, and on terms of intimacy with many of the leading rulers and statesmen of Europe, applied all his vast powers and opportunities. There is little doubt that his social relations with princes and statesmen, philosophers and literary men were, in many instances, cultivated



as influential channels to further his philanthropic plans, just as an ambassador, singly devoted to his country's welfare, utilizes social life to advance interests committed to his charge. That such was his purpose, and not to gratify any personal ambition, is shown by the absence of vanity in his nature. No appeals made to him to set aside funds, or to make public donations, for the erection of buildings and monuments to perpetuate his name, ever enticed him to divert his money from his plans of philanthropy. He was not an ascetic, but rather a Sybarite. He loved fine horses, equipages, and the luxuries of life. Whatever he undertook he did on a large scale, whether as financier, philanthropist, or as an owner of racers. Even his pleasures contributed to charitable enterprises. His winnings on the turf and the proceeds from the sale of his horses, aggregating half a million dollars, he distributed among the London hospitals.

It is, of course, impossible to give a complete list of Baron de Hirsch's benefactions, but the following are probably the best known: Jewish Colonization Association, \$10,000,000; De Hirsch Trust for the United States, \$2,500,000; Trust Fund for education in Galicia, \$5,000,000; Fund for assistance of tradesmen in Vienna and Buda-Pesth, \$1,455,000; Fund for the Hungarian poor, \$1,455,000; Turf winnings during 1891-4, distributed for charitable purposes, \$500,000; Gift to the Empress of Russia for charitable purposes during Russo-Turkish war, \$200,000; Gifts in 1893 to London hospitals and other charities, \$200,000; Gifts to Alliance Israélite Universelle, \$400,000; Proceeds of the sale of his son's racing stud, distributed among charities, \$60,000. These alone amount to the enormous sum of nearly \$22,000,000.

His constant care was not to overcrowd the lands to which his army emigrated—he did more than all restrictive laws have done to regulate the exodus and the immigration, to select men who would apply themselves to handicrafts and principally to agriculture. He had an abiding faith that the Jews of Russia, if properly directed, would again become tillers of the earth as their forefathers had been in Babylon and Judea. He never tired of dwelling upon the importance of directing the immigrants in these channels exclusively, so that they would become a part of the sturdy yeomanry of the countries wherein they settled, and would realize the promise of peace and security contained in the prophet Micah: "But they shall sit every man under his vine and under his fig tree; and none shall make them afraid." These views were clearly and forcibly expressed by Baron de Hirsch in *THE FORUM* for August, 1891. He wrote:—



“In the lands where Jews have been permitted to acquire landed property, where they have found opportunity to devote themselves to agriculture, they have proved themselves excellent farmers. For example, in Hungary they form a very large part of the tillers of the soil, and this fact is acknowledged to such an extent that the high Catholic clergy in Hungary almost exclusively have Jews as tenants on mortmain properties, and almost all large landholders give preference to the Jews on account of their industry, their rectitude, and their dexterity. These are facts that cannot be hid, and that have force, so that the anti-Semitic movement, which for a long time flourished in Hungary, must expire. It will expire because every one sees that so important a factor in the productive activity of the country—especially in agriculture—cannot be spared. My own personal experience, too, has led me to recognise that the Jews have very good ability in agriculture. I have seen this personally in the Jewish agricultural colonies of Turkey, and the reports from the expedition that I have sent to the Argentine Republic plainly show the same fact. These convictions led me to my activity to better the unhappy lot of the poor down-trodden Jews, and my efforts shall show that the Jews have not lost the agricultural qualities that their forefathers possessed. I shall try to make for them a new home in different lands, where as free farmers, on their own soil, they can make themselves useful to the country.”

In the prosecution of his plans he searched in every direction for reliable and responsible agents, men who combined brain with heart for the work, especially avoiding those who clamored for lucrative employment, who stormed his door and filled his mails with applications. He cared not to what religious sect such agents belonged; he wanted men, true men of capacity, whose hearts throbbed with philanthropic impulses. His most valued helpmate in all his work was his wife, with whom he took counsel and to whom he imparted every detail, who read his letters and assisted in his correspondence, who accompanied him in his travels and shared his every hope and encouragement—for discouragement he never entertained. Baroness de Hirsch is a remarkable woman, kind, gentle, accomplished, and most simple in her tastes. She is a lady bountiful wherever she goes and spends a large part of her separate fortune in maintaining schools, asylums, and hospitals, which she visits personally and directs with discrimination and judgment. At Constantinople, I have known her day after day to visit the poorer quarters of the city—and they are very poor—and relieve with her own hands the misery and poverty among Mohammedans, Christians, and Jews.

Until his death some ten years ago one of the most efficient of Baron de Hirsch's agents was the Chevalier Veneziani, who installed a number of Masonic lodges in the Orient and expended large sums of money for the Baron in establishing hospitals, homes, and schools. The Baron was instrumental in inducing Hall Caine, the author of



"The Manxman," to visit Russia some few years ago for the purpose of studying the condition of the peasants and lower classes. Mr. Caine, it is believed, made a report to the Baron, but he was so impressed, or depressed, with the sadness of the conditions he there found, that he has not as yet been able to write out and publish the result of his observations. Mr. Arnold White, an authority on sociological questions who has had much experience among the lower classes in London and on the Continent, was sent by Baron de Hirsch on a mission to Russia. He selected Mr. White because of that experience and in spite of the fact that the latter in his writings had shown himself rather prejudiced against his cause. The Baron wanted light, not sentiment, to guide him in his vast plans, believing as he did that permanent good is only defeated by the temporary expedients which sentiment interposes. He realized that colonizing was like planting trees—it required time to bear fruit; his hopes rested upon the children of the emigrants and upon the succeeding generation. The forty years in the wilderness might be shortened, but not escaped, until the Promised Land should give its blessings.

Baron de Hirsch's noble work does not cease with his death, but rests on carefully planned foundations, administered by agents he chose in the several countries. His idea was that in time the work would be self-acting and that the first comers, after they were settled and had reached a certain degree of independence, would attract others to themselves and lead out more and more of their brethren, so that in another generation Russia, freed in part from the activity and energy of the Jews, would learn to appreciate their economic value, or, like another Spain, meet her deserved fate and become a helpless victim of her own intolerance.

The Baron never took part in politics in any form. They were not to his taste; he doubtless recognized that favoring one side would array the other side against his project for the relief of the Russian Jews. He admired men with courage and firmness for the right, and when he learned of Mr. Cleveland's election to the Presidency in 1892 he wrote me a letter expressing his congratulations to the country in selecting as its Chief Executive a man of liberal views and large heart, who stood firmly upon his convictions as against expediency or policy.

Baron de Hirsch is the Napoleon of this great exodus, and for every life that great Liberator of the Jews of France lost in his Russian campaign, Baron de Hirsch has led out two lives, whose children's children will not forget Russia, but will swell the ranks of the sons of liberty,



and in the end will triumph where Napoleon failed. There is something greater than autocratic power or the power of armies or of navies—and that is the aroused indignation of the civilized world. Before the altar of eternal right and justice kings must bend the knee and dynasties moulder into dust:—

“For freedom’s battle, once begun,  
Bequeathed by bleeding sire to son,  
Though baffled oft, is ever won.”

OSCAR S. STRAUS.



## THEODORE ROOSEVELT AS A HISTORIAN.

It may seem to be carrying coals to Newcastle for any writer to endeavor to make Mr. Theodore Roosevelt a more marked man than he is already. As I am sure, however, that no success I may have in this endeavor will cause an additional number of suspicious-looking packages to be sent him through the mails, I shall frankly avow my intention of trying to show that Mr. Roosevelt should be a more marked figure among our leading historians than I fancy he is at present. His successes as a hunter and explorer of indomitable energy, as a fluent and interesting writer upon these and kindred topics, and as a politician more anxious to secure pure politics than party supremacy,—have, it seems to me, somewhat militated against his obtaining proper recognition as one of the most thoughtful, conscientious, and illuminating historians of our national career that we have yet produced. And it is the irony of fate that those qualities of the man that militate against his present reputation as a historian are precisely the qualities that give his historical work such unique and, as I believe, lasting value. No one without Mr. Roosevelt's experience of pioneer life as a hunter, and his ability to judge the characters of men and movements as a politician, could possibly have given us his masterly work on "The Winning of the West," the fourth volume of which has just come from the press.<sup>1</sup> I might go farther and say that no one without Mr. Roosevelt's buoyant patriotism, his uncompromising, if not aggressive, Americanism, for which he is sometimes unduly censured, could have written the eight volumes of history and historical biography that I now propose to examine.

Mr. Roosevelt's first venture as a historian was made in 1882, just two years after his graduation from Harvard, but not before he had begun to distinguish himself by his efforts to purify New York politics. He chose a theme eminently congenial to his early developed patriotism, but somewhat foreign, it would seem, to the tastes that were already winning him reputation as a hunter—a landsman *par excellence*,

<sup>1</sup> "The Winning of the West," Vol. IV.—The Northwest and Louisiana, 1791-1807. By Theodore Roosevelt. N. Y. : G. P. Putnam's Sons.



he undertook to write a history of "The Naval War of 1812." I do not know whether his technical knowledge of nautical matters was derived from personal experience or not, but it was plainly sufficient to make his book take high rank at once among the treatises of its kind, and his general ability as a writer, here first displayed on a considerable scale, created sufficient demand for the volume to warrant the appearance within a twelvemonth of a third edition enlarged by a chapter describing Jackson's victory at New Orleans. This added chapter and certain remarks in the new preface are more important to a critic of Mr. Roosevelt's historical work than all the rest of his interesting book, for they show that thus early the theme of his greatest work—the career and prowess of the western frontiersman—had laid fast hold upon his imagination.

The chapters dealing with the naval war proper seem, as has been said, to be technically satisfactory, while the patriotic enthusiasm of the author, whose love of adventure would naturally make the theme congenial to him, and his direct vigorous style carry the general reader along through what is certainly a very glorious portion of our national history. On land, except at New Orleans, Mr. Roosevelt's buoyancy might well have flagged; even Mr. Henry Adams's more equable genius has hard work to keep its wings extended wide over what is certainly the most disgraceful period of our national history. But in dealing with the great victory of Jackson and his Tennesseans at New Orleans our author was in his element, as much so as when in the body of his book he took delight in exposing the mendacity of the British naval historian, James; and so he has given us a chapter that must be consulted by every student of our history who wishes to understand what is still the most brilliant feat of arms of the nation whose self-respect it did so much to restore. It is perfectly idle, as Mr. Roosevelt shows, to attempt to underrate the military genius displayed by Jackson or the matchless coolness and bravery of his troops; and the fact that the battle was won after peace had been determined upon does not affect in the slightest degree its real importance to the people of the United States. It was a great and brilliant battle whose story is in itself so stimulating and enthralling that we naturally forgive its historian his slight turgidity of style, especially as there is scarcely a trace of this to be found in any of his subsequent work.

Mr. Roosevelt's next book described his western experiences, and so stood him in some stead when he undertook to write the life of the West's most typical ante-bellum statesman—Thomas Hart Benton.



Benton's career needed just such elucidation as Mr. Roosevelt's acquaintance with frontier conditions could give it. To the ordinary historian, hampered by eastern traditions, the character of the Boanergian Senator from Missouri would have been little short of inexplicable. His ponderous erudition, placed at the service of an Administration which of all others has the reputation of having had the least use for learning of any sort save that relating to the doctrine of passive obedience, his remarkable capacity to be fatuously wrong and splendidly right within the limits of a single speech, his ability to remain for a score of years uncrushed between the millstones of North and South, his singular lack of humor and tact, combined with utter unselfishness and bravery whenever the Union was in danger,—make him a figure thoroughly puzzling to any one who does not understand the West and the kind of men it produces. Mr. Roosevelt does understand the West and so he did justice to Benton. He had little opportunity, however, to show his skill as a biographer, for his book was necessarily rather a study in political history with the career of Benton as a guiding thread. But as Benton's career practically covered the momentous period between the Missouri Compromise and the civil war, Mr. Roosevelt had an admirable opportunity to show what might be expected of him should he ever undertake to write political history upon a larger scale. The reader of 1887 would, I think, have had a right to conclude that such an undertaking would meet with considerable but still only partial success. He would have concluded that Mr. Roosevelt would be masterly in his power to grasp and present salient points, but would at the same time be liable to fail to bring out many of those minor points that serve to clarify and make firm and consistent our knowledge of a historical epoch; that the very vigor and straightforwardness of his mind would cast a flashlight wherever directed but intensify the darkness elsewhere. In other words, the impartial reader would have perceived from this biography of Benton that its author might easily in his zeal for his own heroes and causes do injustice to other men's heroes and causes; that, to speak concretely and from example, Mr. Roosevelt could understand Benton's course with regard to the fight against the Bank, while quite failing to catch the real explanation of Calhoun's course with regard to Nullification.

This conclusion would not have been disturbed by a perusal of Mr. Roosevelt's biography of Gouverneur Morris which in 1888 followed the Life of Benton. By writing most acceptably the life of this secondary but still real statesman of the Revolution our author



practically completed his survey of the nation's history prior to the civil war, and his powers and limitations as a political historian were quite fully displayed. He showed himself to be thoroughly capable of grasping the true significance of every great movement in our history and of doing justice to our typical men of positive opinion and aggressive action. He failed chiefly when he had to deal with men of more or less negative or critical opinion and of indirect action. He could do ample justice to Washington, less than justice to Jefferson, and positive injustice to Jefferson Davis, whom, by the way, he accuses without foundation (in his *Life of Morris*) of having been implicated in Mississippi's repudiation of her debt. But these defects must have counted for little with any reader capable of appreciating Mr. Roosevelt's patriotism, his thorough sympathy with the people and comprehension of the part they have played in shaping the destiny of the nation, his utter lack of sentimentality, and finally his fearless denunciation of all that has been wrong or low or weak in our relations with foreign powers and in our management of ourselves. The author of the *Lives of Benton and Gouverneur Morris* might in 1888 have essayed such tasks as Mr. Schouler, Prof. McMaster, Mr. Henry Adams, and Mr. Rhodes have set themselves, and he would have won laurels in the competition; but he had already essayed a task more congenial to his powers. He had left the devious paths of the politicians for the trails of the pioneer and the Indian through the western wilderness; instead of becoming one of a number of methodical students of our political and social evolution in the settled East, he was to become practically the sole historian of the mighty *Völkerwanderung* that passed the Alleghanies and peopled the mid-continent.

The first two volumes of "The Winning of the West" appeared in 1889; they covered the period from 1769 to 1783. The third volume appeared in 1894 and brought the narrative down to 1790. The fourth volume, which has just been issued, ends with the expedition of Pike in 1807. Roughly speaking, then, the work, so far as it has been completed, begins with the first organized movements of population beyond the Alleghanies and ends with the discovery of the Rockies, thus including the foundation of the Watauga and Cumberland Settlements, of Kentucky, and of the abortive State of Franklin; the winning of the Northwest Territory and its subsequent division into the State of Ohio and the Territory of Indiana; the establishment of the Mississippi Territory; and finally the purchase and exploration of the immense domain acquired from Napoleon under the name of Louisiana. The



four volumes therefore constitute a connected history of the mid-continent during its formative period. They have been based upon special research of the most thorough and far-reaching character and are the history at once of a region and of the separate States composing it. From this point of view they need fear no comparison with other works devoted to the Northwest, the Southwest, and the various component States. They are full, accurate, and admirably written, and have the additional advantage of possessing unity and comprehensive sweep. They would have a unique and lasting value were this all that could be said in their favor.

But this is by no means all; it is indeed the least part of what one can and ought to say about this great work. Merely to have written in a pleasing and accurate manner the annals of the States and Territories enumerated above would have entitled Mr. Roosevelt to gratitude, but hardly to admiration. Critical admiration is not due to the annalist but only to the historian who has shown in his work the broad grasp of the philosopher and the keen intuition of the poet. And this I claim Mr. Roosevelt has done to a remarkable degree in his "Winning of the West"; and therefore while I thank him as a citizen of Tennessee for having given me by far the best history of my adopted State and region, I thank him still more as a man and a student for having given me a history that enlarges my comprehension of the character of the nation and people to whom I belong, and fills me with emotions of pride and pleasure by unfolding to me the heroic and noble deeds of the generations that have preceded me.

Now what is this but to say that Mr. Roosevelt possesses a philosophic judgment and an epical imagination? He has seen that the history of the West is something more than a mere account of the adventures of hunters like Boone and Mansker, or a narrative of the guerrilla-fighting and State-building of a man like Sevier, or the annals of a people of small frontier farmers. He has seen that the history of the West is the history of the movement of a people which cannot be understood except in connection with the similar movements that have characterized the Aryan race, and especially the English portion of it, for centuries upon centuries. Thus as a philosopher he brings the history of the mid-continent into its proper relations with European, or rather with universal, history, linking the deeds of the Scotch-Irish of Tennessee with those of their forefathers across the ocean and with those of all peoples who have waged the war of civilization against barbarism and savagery. Nor is this all, for the true philosopher is



not satisfied with reading the past ; he must interpret the present and try to fathom the future. So Mr. Roosevelt is never weary of pointing out to us the part the West has played in making the American nation what it is—how the axe and rifle of the frontiersman kept the newly freed States from being pent up along the Atlantic seaboard through the jealousy of European powers, and how in the fulness of time the region settled under the control and auspices of the General Government stood by that Government in its hour of peril and saved the Union. The winning of the West is thus the winning of the fairest portions of a continent and of the hegemony of a hemisphere, and the historian who has most fully grasped and presented this idea is surely one that deserves our admiration.

But Mr. Roosevelt has done more. He has not merely estimated like a philosopher the value of the western people's services to the nation and to humanity ; he has like a poet loved and comprehended and sympathized with the western people themselves. He has not fallen into—indeed he protests times without number against—the foolish error the East has committed of underrating and sneering at the West ever since there was a West to sneer at. Such fatuity and banality are far from Mr. Roosevelt. He is a man and an American, and nothing that is human and American is alien to him. Himself a citizen of New York, he is thoroughly at home in Tennessee and in Montana ; himself a Northerner with intense Union sympathies, he is never lacking in courtesy and friendly feeling toward Southerners of a different way of thinking. He grows eloquent over Andrew Jackson, and has the courage to maintain that Lee is the greatest military genius this country has produced ; thus showing his freedom from bias though doing, perhaps, an injustice to Washington. His patriotism and Americanism are, however, not at all of the flamboyant style. He sees that with all their virtues the western people have had many faults and some vices and he does not seek to disguise the fact. At the same time he will not imitate those historians who keep a sharp eye open for the failings of all sections save their own. He denounces justly the early separatist movements in Tennessee, but he is equally emphatic in his denunciation of the Hartford Conventioners and the “league with hell” Abolitionists. Yet fairness and intelligent comprehension are not so potent as enthusiasm and love in enabling a historian to do justice to a people. It is because Mr. Roosevelt has a large and manly heart that his imagination takes a poetic form and enables him to live with and be one with his characters. Daniel Boone



is no mere lay figure to him, but a real man whose quaint clothes and queer orthography warrant no patronizing; George Rogers Clark is to him neither a Hannibal nor a besotted Catiline, but a strong man who in his prime did a great deed that helped to build up a great nation. Mr. Roosevelt is able, then, to treat the positive and direct characters of the frontier people with the sympathy and intelligence of a dramatic poet, and he tells the story of their western migration with a verve and sweep that are truly epical. He has but one rival in this respect—Cooper. The “Leather-Stocking Tales” and “The Winning of the West” ought to save us from the yearly infliction of an attempted national epic; but they probably will not.

A minute examination of the four volumes that constitute Mr. Roosevelt's chief title to fame will not be expected in an appreciation such as this paper is intended to give, but it may be well to pass their main features rapidly in review. The first two volumes are perhaps the most interesting, but the last is nearly if not quite up to their level. The third, which followed after a long interval during which its author was wrestling with the problem of the civil service, dealt with the least picturesque features of the general subject and needed condensation. The process of excision might also have helped a few chapters of the earlier volumes, but on the whole the latter contained little that the special student or even the general reader would part with. The descriptions of the spread of the English-speaking peoples, of the French settlements in the Ohio valley, of the Northwestern and Southwestern Indians, of the primitive life led by the borderers amid the Alleghany ranges, of the exploits of Boone and the “Long Hunters” and of Sevier and Robertson, of the settlement of the Watauga country and Kentucky, and of the various contests with the Indians just before and during the Revolution, leave nothing to be desired in point of interest and little in point of execution.

The opening of the second volume is still more interesting and dramatic, for the exploits of George Rogers Clark<sup>1</sup> would enliven the pages

<sup>1</sup> Clark's conquest of the Illinois region, by the way, is dismissed with a line and a half in an otherwise excellent school manual of our history which shall be nameless here. This is a fair sample of the methods of the average eastern historian, but it is paralleled by a southern historian's equally scanty mention of the services of Chief Justice Marshall in interpreting the Constitution. If Clark had thrashed a hundred Indians on the sacred soil of Massachusetts, or if Marshall had devoted his energies to showing how the Constitution might be weakened and evaded, both would doubtless have fared better at the hands of the writers to whom I allude.



even of a historian of far less narrative power than Mr. Roosevelt possesses. It is needless to say that Mr. Roosevelt puts a proper estimate upon Clark's great services to Virginia and, as it fortunately turned out, to the nation at large. He gives a whole chapter to the dauntless captain's campaign against Vincennes—to that inclement march across the overflowed plains which ought never to be forgotten by any man who admires pluck and endurance and the determination to conquer or die. Compared with this chapter the accounts given of the gradual peopling of Kentucky and the Holston Settlements, and of the foundation of the Cumberland Settlement by Robertson (himself a pioneer hero of fine character and ability) naturally show a slight decline in intrinsic interest, but the balance is made even again by the fine chapter on the battle of King's Mountain. I am not sure that Mr. Roosevelt has ever done a better piece of work than this, and I think that few historians have surpassed the power of picturesque and vivid narration that he here displays. As I read it I can see the sombre frontiersmen riding through the mountain gorges and I can hear the sharp cracks of their rifles as they surround the gallant Ferguson and his ill-fated veterans.

As I have already stated, it seems to me that the third volume needs condensation. There is a little too much repetition of border warfare and life—a criticism which I think applies as well to certain chapters of the prior volumes. Condensation, too, might have helped the description of the political events in the West between 1784 and 1790, which, however, gave the volume its chief and very real value. For this was the period when the separatist movements for the control of the Mississippi began, and when men like Clark, Wilkinson, and Sevier intrigued with the jealous but decrepit power of Spain. It was also the period of the brief existence of that curious little commonwealth of Frankland, or Franklin, which has attracted an interest far out of proportion to its intrinsic historical importance. It is needless to say that Mr. Roosevelt treats these movements from the point of view of a strong nationalist, but that sympathy with the often sorely tried backwoodsmen never fails him. The reader's sympathy sometimes fails for the dim-eyed eastern statesmen who were utterly oblivious of the great interests of their western empire.

The fourth volume sets us once more in the midst of dramatic scenes. We are present at St. Clair's defeat and at Mad Anthony Wayne's victory at the Fallen Timbers. Then the scene changes to Tennessee and we assist at the birth of the first State formed from a



Territory, an event which the people of that commonwealth have just celebrated in their centennial exercises. Next we are brought in contact with renewed Spanish intrigues and filibustering movements on the part of the backwoodsmen, and with the operations of the numerous swindling companies formed to speculate in the newly acquired and ample territory. Then after a glance at the state of affairs in Kentucky and Ohio, both being fast settled up, we come to the purchase of Louisiana and Burr's conspiracy. Here Mr. Roosevelt has the disadvantage of being obliged to follow Mr. Henry Adams, but he performs his task well in spite of the limited space at his command. The volume concludes with a brief but graphic account of the exploring expeditions led respectively by Lewis and Clark and by Lieutenant Pike. The mid-continent has now been practically won and has been settled, though as yet sparsely, as far as the Mississippi; but there is still much for Mr. Roosevelt to tell. The exploits of Jackson against the Southwestern Indians, which opened up Mississippi and Alabama; the repulse of the British from New Orleans, the gradual settlement of Missouri and of the Northwest, the brave deeds of Houston and his comrades in Texas, the Mexican war and the acquisition of the Pacific coast, the rush to California, the partition of Oregon, the settling of the Great Plains, the migrations of the Mormons, the attitude of the West toward slavery and the Union, and finally the linking together of the uttermost edges of the Continent by railroads and continuous settlements—are topics that may be expected to enliven the four future volumes of his noble and sustained work.

But while we are looking to the future it may be as well to call the author's attention to a few points with regard to the style and general arrangement of his work that can hardly fail to impress themselves upon a careful reader who goes straight through the volumes. In the first place it is obvious that, although this is the day of long histories, the mass of readers will be deterred from undertaking the perusal of "The Winning of the West" on account of its length. It is equally obvious that there is a great deal in the volumes that every American who makes any pretension to being a reading man ought to know. The conclusion is plain that Mr. Roosevelt ought sooner or later to give us a one-volume history of the great movement he is describing. He is the only man thoroughly competent to abridge his own work, or rather he is the only man competent to give us a new but briefer work covering the same field; for an abridgment is generally a poor affair. This new work need not interfere at all with the usefulness of the



more monumental history, for the latter will always be needed by the student and by the man of letters. But when new plates are required for the larger work a slight amount of recension and condensation will prove advantageous as regards both matter and style. Mr. Roosevelt, as I have said, writes with a force and a fluency that carry even the critical reader away, but his style not infrequently shows traces of hurry. Too great use of the split infinitive and an occasional ambiguity resulting from carelessness in the use of pronouns are faults that may be corrected easily without the loss of a particle of the sincerity and force that give his style its marked and attractive individuality.

I make these criticisms the more willingly because I think that when he is at his best Mr. Roosevelt writes as well as any man need desire to write, who is not aiming at that elusive glory of being considered a master of style. The truth of this statement will be plain to any one who will take the trouble to analyze the impression made by a rapid reading of the chapter describing the fight at King's Mountain. The effect can be summed up in a brief sentence—You are at the battle. Surely this is a better test of the quality of a man's style, than can ever be furnished by minute rhetorical analysis, which would I suspect convict Mr. Roosevelt of offences at which a pedant would shake his head. But, as every reader of this article may not be able to turn at once to the chapter referred to, I shall allow myself the pleasure of making a quotation which will serve not only as a sample of Mr. Roosevelt's style at its best but also as an illustration of his habit of linking the history of the West with that of the world. He is describing in the second chapter of his third volume the life of the British officers at the frontier posts, and he continues:—

“ But the important people were the army officers. These were imperious, able, resolute men, well-drilled, and with a high military standard of honor. They upheld with jealous pride the reputation of an army which in that century proved again and again that on stricken fields no soldiery of continental Europe could stand against it. They wore a uniform which for the last two hundred years has been better known than any other wherever the pioneers of civilization tread the world's waste spaces or fight their way to the overlordship of barbarous empires; a uniform known to the southern and the northern hemispheres, the eastern and the western continents, and all the islands of the sea. Subalterns wearing this uniform have fronted dangers and responsibilities such as in most other services only gray-headed generals are called upon to face; and, at the head of handfuls of troops, have won for the British crown realms as large, and often as populous, as European kingdoms. The scarlet-clad officers who serve the monarchy of Great Britain have conquered many a barbarous people in all the ends of the earth, and hold for their sovereign the lands of Moslem and Hindoo, of Tartar and Arab and



Pathan, of Malay, Negro, and Polynesian. In many a war they have overcome every European rival against whom they have been pitted. Again and again they have marched to victory against Frenchman and Spaniard through the sweltering heat of the tropics; and now, from the stupendous mountain-masses of mid-Asia, they look northward through the wintry air, ready to bar the advance of the legions of the Czar. Hitherto they have never gone back save once; they have failed only when they have sought to stop the westward march of a mighty nation, a nation kin to theirs, a nation of their own tongue and law, and mainly of their own blood."

Now there is but one epithet that will suit this passage and that is "fine." And I use it with all the more pleasure because there seems to be quite a school of historians in this country who have a holy horror of anything like style. They appear to think that a good style is incompatible with thoroughness of research—and it certainly is if we judge exclusively from the works they favor us with. But mere thoroughness of research never yet made a man a great historian. To be that he must possess imagination, and if he has imagination he is sure to have style. I need not therefore apologize for making this long quotation which illustrates both Mr. Roosevelt's poetic imagination and his powers of style, even though its insertion compels me to dismiss without criticism the excellent volume on the city of New York which the versatile author published<sup>1</sup> in 1890.

I have little to say in conclusion save to emphasize the opinion that we have had few abler or more conscientious historians than Mr. Roosevelt. I know of none who has had a broader or firmer grasp upon the main threads of our history, of none who has more thoroughly linked the present of the nation with its past, of none who has judged men and events, take them all in all, with more candor and sympathy and insight. He has the defects of his qualities, but who has not? He does not always understand the drift of minor currents, he does not always do justice to men of negative or critical ways of thinking, he does not always keep on the high table-land of impartial history and refrain from descending into the plains of present and party politics. But this is only to say that Mr. Roosevelt is impetuous and human. His friends would not have him otherwise, and I feel sure that all unbiassed readers of his books are his friends. For behind the true historian always stands the true man, and the reason that "The Winning of the West" is a noble and patriotic book is that its every page is stamped with the personality of its author.

W. P. TRENT.

<sup>1</sup> "New York." Historic Towns' Series. N. Y.: Longmans, Green & Co.



## CARDINAL MANNING, ANGLICAN AND ROMAN.

THE "Life of Cardinal Manning,"<sup>1</sup> by Edmund Sheridan Purcell, Member of the Roman Academy of Letters, is one of the most extraordinary biographies ever published. It quite rivals Mr. Froude's treatment of Thomas Carlyle in what one might style its brutal frankness. Like Mr. Froude, Mr. Purcell was selected as biographer by the subject of his biography, and his letters and diaries after personal revision and excision were placed by Manning in Purcell's hands. The author has therefore taken no undue advantage of the confidence placed in him, by using material unapproved by the Archbishop of Westminster. Canon Morris, another convert, in high favor with both Cardinal Wiseman and Cardinal Manning, and who was to have written the life of Wiseman, had he not died prematurely, asked Mr. Purcell: "On what principle is the Life of Cardinal Manning based? Do you relate the simple facts without omissions and embellishments; or do you by what is called 'judicious suppressions' produce an idealized picture instead of the man as he was in truth and reality?" On hearing the answer Canon Morris added: "In so complicated a life as Manning's you have pursued the safest, wisest, and indeed the only honest course." Cardinal Manning himself told Dr. Purcell that he might write, from the material given him, what sort of a life he chose, only asking to see the passages relating to his married life, every record of which he had cut out of his diaries, and which he indeed left in shadow,—not because that life was not happy, but because its happiness was out of tune with the life of a great ascetic ecclesiastic, as whom the Cardinal wished to be known and remembered.

In his use of the material, already expurgated by the Cardinal, Mr. Purcell displays both the lights and shadows of his character, giving a by no means flattering but yet a very complete view of his extraordinarily imperfect nature. The result is that we see a strong, but by no means a lovely, image. As in life the meagre figure of the man seemed to reveal the frame rather than the form, so in this biography



it is the skeleton rather than the clothing of flesh and blood which is impressed upon the reader. The book in its effect corresponds to a photograph taken by the X rays of Röntgen, a cathodograph rather than a photograph, displaying the articulation of the anatomy usually hidden in mercy from the eye, meant to be inferred rather than depicted, but here emphasized so as to produce the image of a man full of defects but of unflinching purpose, whose only variableness was that of the methods taken to accomplish an invariable end.

One cannot but think that this "Life" has been written to conciliate the present Pope and the English Catholics. The time of Manning's supreme influence was during the pontificate of Pius IX. The trend of that time we know. It was the establishment of ultramontaniam which reached its climax in the promulgation of the dogma of Papal Infallibility. The tone of English Catholicism was far more moderate, and Manning's whole course after he joined the Church of Rome was a protest against what he termed the lax and disloyal attitude of English Catholicism, of which he regarded Newman as the exponent. When Leo XIII was elected Pope, the atmosphere at the Vatican changed. It assumed much more the tone of English Catholicism, and Newman, hitherto neglected, was promptly made a cardinal. Now while Mr. Purcell does not wish to conceal Manning's great services to the Roman Church, he yet does not wish to express approval of that strain in him which set him in a direction contrary to the present trend of ecclesiastical affairs at Rome. He seeks to present him to his countrymen and to the Vatican as one who had conferred distinguished service, but as one who failed to recognize the value of what was in any measure opposed to his own school. The "Life" is an effort to exhibit him as a great ecclesiastical force, and yet to recognize and extol the other forces now in the ascendant. In fine, he seeks to conciliate the Pope and the English Roman Catholic laymen, while depicting and honoring the achievements of one whose whole course was a protest against their cherished traditions and sympathies. He does this without any display of literary skill. His style is repetitious and cumbersome. The arrangement of the material is awkward; the construction of the narrative is clumsy; the grammar of the sentences is often slipshod and at fault. The "Life" gains no interest from the way in which it is told; its course seems rather to be obscured by the infelicity of the narration. But the man and the scenes in which he lived, the vicissitudes of his career, and the critical periods of history through which he passed and in fashioning which he proved a potent factor,—all these



elements are of so stirring a nature that there is no lack of interest in the book. It was well said of Maurice that he wrote clear sentences and produced a muddy page. This book illustrates the opposite quality. We have muddy sentences and a clear page. One reads the clumsy clauses under protest and with a weariness prophetic of total discontinuance ; but one does not discontinue. The subject lures the reader on ; although there is bewilderment there is also fascination, and as a final result there emerges a very vivid likeness of the man. It is like an impressionist picture, whose material seems crude and irrational, but which a proper point of view reveals gleaming with vitality and force.

So much for the volume ; now for the man. Manning was not a religious youth like Newman or Pusey. He was always correct, but not until after he left the University did he become devout. He records that in his boyhood's days it was the fear of hell that kept him steady, but this fear failed to lead him to devout courses of thought or conduct. Nevertheless, it always remained through life a strong element in his religious character. The impulse seemed to be far less the satisfaction of his spiritual nature than the dread of what might occur if he should miss the truth or be unfaithful to it. He was not an earnest student either before or after entering the University. He took things so easily while a schoolboy at Harrow, that there was a thought of putting him in his father's banking house ; and, when it was decided to send him to Oxford, he had to be coached for nine months by a private tutor (after leaving Harrow) to avoid being plucked at the entrance examination. While at the University his distinction came from his ability as a debater at the Union, of which he was a brilliant member, and not from any proficiency in his studies. Indeed it was a surprise to every one when he took his degree of B. A., in 1830, together with a first-class in classics. But under his tutor he had learned to concentrate his mind, and this, with a natural quickness in acquiring knowledge, enabled him, while taking part in all the sports of the University, to cram in a short time and stand well in examination. Here, as elsewhere afterward, his nature is shown to be not that of a student but that of one bent on acquiring position and distinction by use of study. His eye was on the prize, not on the goal. And even in the University, with all his mingling with the debaters in the Union and the athletes in sports, he did not form intimate friendships with his fellows. As in after life, he lived very much apart—self-centred, more alive to ambition than to sentiment. He was at Oxford with Gladstone, and Henry and Robert Wilberforce, and during Newman's residence (as fellow of



Oriel); but it was later family relationships which brought him into closer fellowship with them.

On leaving Oxford Manning's religious opinions were quite unformed. The questions which were stirring the hearts and minds of Newman, Hurrell Froude, and other future leaders in the Tractarian movement had no interest for him. He was bent on politics and a seat in the House of Commons. During his university life, however, his father lost his fortune, and this gave a death-blow to the son's hope of political preferment. It was when in a despondent frame of mind on account of this financial misfortune that Manning spent a long vacation with his friend Robert Bevan, who with his sister and family were strong Evangelicals. What the preaching of Newman at St. Mary's failed to do the counsels and influence of Miss Bevan accomplished, and he calls the effect of his intercourse with her and her family his "conversion." He thus began his religious life as an Evangelical. In referring to these friends many years after he said:—

"They showed me a side of religion which the Anglican writers, except J. Taylor and Bishop Hall, seem unconscious of. I have always believed that Anglicanism and Puritanism are the ruins of the outer and the inner life of the Catholic Church from which they separated at the Reformation and then split asunder. This accounts for the dryness of Anglicanism and the disembodied vagueness of Evangelical pietism."

He records, however, that,

"None of this drew me from the desire of public life. I had a drawing to Christian piety; but a revulsion from the Anglican Church. I thought it secular, pedantic, and unspiritual. I remember the disgust with which I saw a dignitary in Cockspur Street in his shovel and gaiters."

With his awakened religious interest Manning did not at once purpose going into the Church. After leaving Oxford he obtained a place in the Colonial Office. It was a subordinate position which promised little advancement and that slow; and he soon discovered that his father's bankruptcy had given a fatal blow to his entrance into Parliament. This collapse of worldly expectation and an unfortunate love affair induced a despondency which inclined him to listen and yield to the pressure of his family and the solicitation of his friends to take orders. There was in this step a mixture of motives; but distinctly the most prominent motive at the time was the prospect of a more congenial position and an opportunity for a more influential career. The presence of a more spiritual aspiration, which he affirms in a retrospect fifty years after, does not appear in his letters and diary of the time.



His biographer affirms: "It is clear Manning was driven against his will to take up the Church as a profession." He himself in a letter to his brother-in-law, John Anderdon,—a warm Evangelical,—wrote at the time:—

"I think the whole step has been too precipitate. I have rather allowed the insistence of my friends, and the allurements of an agreeable curacy in many respects to get the better of my sober judgment."

The fact was that a curacy at Lavington was offered him through his friend Henry Wilberforce, and a fellowship at Merton College was now open to him as a clergyman, which he had sought and which had been refused him as a layman. Fifty years later he writes:—

"I resolved to give myself to the service of God, and of souls. It was as purely a call from God as all that He has given me since. It was a call *ad veritatem et ad seipsum*. As such I tested it, and followed it."

In the light of what followed years after, in regard to his appointment as Archbishop of Westminster, it is evident that Manning referred directly to God what was the outcome of much skilful management on the part of his friends.

His biographer, with the utter frankness which marks his comments throughout, explains the discrepancy of Manning's earlier and later statements by saying (p. 94):—

"Undoubtedly it was a wrench to his heart to give up his political aspirations. But there was no help for it, for he knew now that they had no material bottom. To become a clergyman was a sacrifice,—a sacrifice, however, not of his own choice, but imposed upon him by the necessity of things."

Yet Manning writes in 1883:—

"If I ever made a choice in my life in which my superior will controlled my inferior will, it was when I gave up all the desires, hopes, aspirations after public life at the dictate of my reason and my conscience."

The biographer comments as follows:—

"If the broad outlines of his life in youth were impressed on the mind of Cardinal Manning, in his old age the details had long since faded from his memory. . . . What more natural than to attribute the self-sacrifice made in youth to the spiritual motives and ideas with which his mind had since become so deeply imbued? He was conscious of the potentiality in himself of such sacrifice. It was only a lapse of memory to convert the potential into the actual."



Thus in the beginning of his career the struggle between the *Dr. Jekyll* of his spiritual nature controlled and impelled by religious fear, and the *Mr. Hyde* of his worldly nature stirred by ambition for prominence and predominance, was clearly manifest. It characterized his whole after-life both as an Anglican and a Roman Catholic. That life was so varied that we can only glance at certain salient points in it; but there was the same conflict and commingling of forces in all its crises.

He married in the very beginning of his life at Lavington a lovely woman, the daughter of the rector (the Rev. John Sargent), who took him as curate, and a sister of the wife of Samuel Wilberforce, afterward Bishop successively of Oxford and Winchester. He speaks in 1880 of this marriage (a very happy one whose speedy termination four years later by the death of his wife was a great blow to which he never could refer) as follows: "Knowing nothing of the Catholic life or instincts or perfections, in November, 1833, I married." He himself destroyed all diaries of that time, but as his biographer points out in a note: "In Manning's diary, dated 1844-47, among 'God's ten special mercies' is to be found the date '1837,' the year of his wife's death." This could only have been in reference to his ecclesiastical life, as it cleared away every obstacle to his entering the priesthood on his conversion to Rome. Possibly he recognized that the influences of so noble a wife might have kept him contented with the Evangelical pietism which characterized the years of his married life and which later he regarded as so unsatisfactory. In after years the Ward and Manning faction of the perverts used to say that the greatest blow to Catholicism in England was Newman's conversion (he being a tower of strength to the Moderate party). The English Catholic laity were said to respond, No, it was the death of a woman—referring to Manning's wife—that left him free to run his ecclesiastical course.

Manning was from the start a devout believer in God and the Bible and an earnest preacher among the poor of his secluded flock. He had succeeded to the rectorship of Lavington on the death of his father-in-law the year after his marriage. "As a Catholic," he said of himself, "I was a Pietist until I accepted the Tridentine decrees." He was a strict disciplinarian and, according to his biographer, somewhat of a martinet in regard to his church and its services. He was, however, the pride and hope of the Evangelical party as represented by the "Record" newspaper, though in 1835, when he preached his first sermon in Chichester Cathedral, he spoke in defence of Apostolical



Succession. It was for the authority and regular commission of those who, like himself, preached Evangelical doctrines, that he contended. His theme was "Our Commission to Witness for Christ." But from the time of his wife's death in 1837 a change was impending. In 1838 he was quick in discerning that the Tractarian movement was becoming a power in the land; the fact of popularity appealed to him then as always; and he preached at the Cathedral in the June of that year a sermon on "The Rule of Faith" which thereafter associated him in men's minds with the Tractarians, though it did not identify him with them. He stood in this sermon (which was published with voluminous notes) for the Anglican position of the Scriptures interpreted by the Primitive Church—in opposition to the Roman position of their interpretation by a living and organized authority, as well as to the Evangelical interpretation by individual illumination by the Holy Spirit. Newman and Keble approved the sermon, with reservations, but the Evangelicals were disheartened and dismayed. The "Record" roared its displeasure. This was Manning's first controversial treatise.

It is impossible in so brief a paper to follow his course onward to his conversion to Rome. It was all characterized by advocacy of church rule and authority: first, as against the royal commission on ecclesiastical property; second, in its right to define and enforce dogma by purely spiritual courts—i. e., courts not only composed of bishops, but of bishops not appointed thereto by the Crown.

The marked distinction between him and the Oxford leaders was that, while going in the same direction, his principal interest was in church government, theirs in its dogmatic and doctrinal system. He was an ecclesiastical politician, they were ecclesiastical doctors and teachers. He was still Manning the statesman in the Church, instead of in Parliament, as had been his first ambition—*Cælum non animam mutavit*—when he entered the priesthood. While Pusey and Newman were busy with the restoration of Catholic faith and practice or discipline, so-called, the soul and mind of the body, Manning was occupied and interested in the ecclesiastical prerogatives and status of the Church, their form and attitude. He speedily inclined more and more to the views of the Oxford leaders. In 1838 he began to hear confessions and receive penitents. He had cut loose from the Evangelicals, but yet did not identify himself with the Tractarians. He tried to keep in touch with both. Circumstances favored this. He was far from the scene of the fray. As rector of a quiet parish



near Chichester and afterward as archdeacon of the diocese, he determined to rule efficiently and with popularity. So he endeavored to maintain a position of compromise, which really compromised himself.

Both sides finally repudiated him, so far as the leaders went. The "Record" threw him off with violence, Newman quietly withdrew all confidence. For, while he privately set up his confessional, he publicly acquiesced in the condemnation of Tract Ninety. As his biographer points out, he stood quite aloof from the Tractarians when once they became the losing party. He preached a strong no-popery sermon in St. Mary's, Oxford, after Tract Ninety had come into disfavor, and when he went out to Littlemore after its delivery to see Newman, the recluse firmly declined to see him. There were, however, many and influential persons with whom he continued on terms of intimacy, and Mr. Gladstone was one of them. The powers in Church and state he was bent on placating, and Manning was everywhere recognized as a man of power. He was an effective preacher, his sermons were eagerly read, and his fame became widely diffused. It was said by some in high quarters that it was impossible to prevent him from being made bishop. His own mind was evidently set on that goal, and he was too sagacious to injure his prospects by a too close affiliation with suspected and distrusted men. It is not just to say that he was merely ambitious or unscrupulously so. He confesses to much worldly ambition in his diary and deplores it; but he never seems to have got rid of it. His idea of his own usefulness was that he should be in a prominent position of leadership for which he felt fully competent and for which the general judgment affirmed him fully competent. Ambition spake with the voice of conscience and he meant to accomplish his end if a skilful diplomacy could secure it. Thus though he had a spiritual nature which was not slumbrous, and mental difficulties and distractions which were genuine, the prominence and permanence of his ambition for place and distinction disturb our sympathy and alienate our respect. His difficulties were chiefly those of a perplexed ecclesiastical politician, and he could not come into accord with such earnest though mistaken seekers after truth as Newman and his closest friends.

Through all this time Manning held the admiration and confidence of Gladstone. Yet it afterward transpired that he had not given his own confidence. Until the time of the Gorham Judgment Mr. Gladstone, who shared his intimacy, or thought he did, and who saw him often and corresponded frequently with him, had no notion whatever



that Manning's confidence in the claims of the Church of England were shaken. Not a word had been uttered or written to him indicating doubt on the subject. And when, after Manning's death, his letters to Robert Wilberforce during this period were shown to Gladstone, containing as they did open confession of very serious and ever increasing doubts, and at last of distinct convictions that the English Church was in heresy and delusion and therefore devoid of authority, Mr. Gladstone could hardly believe his eyes. He said that he would not charge Manning with insincerity, but he certainly had not been straightforward. It is significant of the man that his doubts, culminating in his distinct rejection of the claims of the Church of England, were expressed in confidence to a fellow clergyman who could not affect his fortunes and were withheld from the statesman who could advance them. Manning had some years before his death requested from Mr. Gladstone the return of all the letters which he had written him during this period. He received and *destroyed* them all. On learning this Mr. Gladstone expressed his indignation by saying, "Had I dreamt that he would destroy those letters I would not have returned them to him." This act of Manning's indicates that he recognized that silence concerning his real thoughts to so intimate a friend as Mr. Gladstone, who supposed he had received his complete confidence, might indicate a duplicity whose charge he would gladly escape.

The same double course was pursued by Manning in regard to his parishioners. He gave them the strongest reasons for trusting the Church of England even after his own confidence in her had become shaken. There is, of course, this explanation at hand,—that he must show confidence in the Church he was serving, until he left her, and that he could not impart the doubts, which were consuming his own loyalty, to others until prepared for the final step. But it is evident that no man with a truly honest mind could have continued ministrations which contradicted his own convictions. He could at least have remained silent and refused to give counsel, when that counsel did not represent his own mind. This is what Newman did on his retirement to Littlemore. This is what Manning would have done had his interest been more in the substance than in the framework of the Church.

Yet amid all his doubts and adverse conclusions, he seemed to be hoping that something would turn up to place him in power, where he might rule the Church in the interests of those who distrusted and would transform her. At this time a bishopric might have re-



tained him an Anglican, while he was at heart a Romanist. He later expressed thankfulness that he had escaped this snare. It was when he saw that he was not to be made bishop that his repudiation of the English Church grew apace. The defection of Newman and Ward and Oakeley and other distinguished Tractarians did not move him. But, though technically not one of them, he was popularly and rightly regarded as essentially one with them, and the distrust and distress were too deep and widespread to permit the elevation of such as he. This conviction became clear to him. When, then, the Gorham case came up there was a clear opportunity to act. He himself said, it was not so much the (to him) heretical decision concerning baptism as the claim of the right of the court to decide it, which convinced him that the Church of England had abdicated her spiritual authority. That court was indeed composed of bishops among others and wholly of English Churchmen; but it was appointed by the Crown, therefore it was not in his eyes truly ecclesiastical or authoritative. Yet its authority was acquiesced in practically by the ecclesiastical powers, though there was violent protest on the part of some against it.

Manning now withdrew from his archdeaconship and after some months was received into the Roman Church. The dogmatic temper of himself and of his sympathizers could not tolerate any divergence of view concerning the same doctrine in the same communion. They were ecclesiastical exclusives. Canon Mozley, a very great thinker and a very high Churchman, conceded that the views of Gorham were allowable under the formularies, but Manning called the decision "abolishing an article of the creed." He shared the intolerance of absolute determination, and the whole question in his conversion was as to where authority inhered. Once that was decided, whatever it decreed must be taken without question.

Thus after he had conformed to Rome, in his letters to his friend Robert Wilberforce who was still hesitating over what seemed to him doubtful decisions of Rome, Manning urged steadily the one point of her authority to decide as she had done, and that any criticism of her decision was simply the assertion of private judgment against the judgment of the Church, and therefore heretical, in its method as well as in its substance. To the objection of Wilberforce that he could not identify the modern Roman with the Primitive Church, he replied that the Roman Church, notwithstanding her developments, decided that she was the same, and should not her judgment of her own position be paramount? There was nothing but private judgment to oppose to



it. The quality of the Church's acts could not have any weight when once the acts were hers. The appeal to history was heresy because she had infallibly interpreted history.

The life of Manning after his conversion was guided by the same principles as those which had ruled in him as an Anglican: only the predominant worldly traits now became more apparent and intense. For now there was no balancing between ecclesiastical principles and popular prejudice, and, advanced to the priesthood ten weeks after his submission, he at once took an aggressive mien and policy which might bring him into prominence. He was in dead earnest to vindicate his new position and he stirred up opposition and dislike in the minds of the more moderate English Catholics, both clerical and lay. "I cannot bear that forward and intolerant priest" was the expression of more than one of his new associates. But he saw the drift of the Roman Church at the time and it was as consonant to his nature as to his interests to push to the extreme the views which had decided his own conversion.

The Church was possessed not only of absolute truth but of absolute illumination in regard to its meaning and development. An infallible revelation demanded an infallible interpreter. The illumination of the Holy Ghost is as perpetual as His presence. Does His presence sustain the stream of grace and not sustain the stream of truth? It must do both, and the Church must not only have an infallible interpreter, but a perpetual one. If the body possess the function, how much more the head. Moreover, the body cannot always be assembled in council, but the Pope always abides. He must be then the infallible interpreter, and he with the consenting council must define his office and make it clear. So he went on and became the most aggressive priest and bishop, as Ward was the most aggressive layman, for the ultramontane doctrine of the Church of Rome. It may be said with soberness that, but for these two converts, the dogma of Infallibility would not in all probability have been promulgated by the Vatican Council. They urged and argued it, they worked unceasingly for it. Manning came thus into high favor with Pope Pius IX, and was made Archbishop of Westminster when Cardinal Wiseman died. The intrigues concerning this appointment instigated by Manning, the enforced relinquishment of his claims to the succession by Bishop Errington (of the Moderate party), which was compassed by Manning, the command of the Pope to Errington to give up his claims, which the Pope with irreverent humor called a "*coup*"



*d'état* of the Lord God," the machinations of Mgr. Talbot of the Pope's household to defeat others and advance Manning,—are not the whole wire-pulling and Tammany tactics clearly displayed in this marvellous biography? And yet at the end Manning could say that his appointment was a direct inspiration of the Holy Ghost in the mind of the Holy Father! If so, the Holy Ghost works by exceedingly unworthy instruments and by most disreputable methods. But the Pope spoke, no matter how induced thereto, or by what disregard and defiance of another's rights. And so God spoke, and Manning was Archbishop of Westminster by direct inspiration!

The Moderate party was now in complete despair and subjection in England, and all who favored it—especially the converts like Newman—were denounced by their fellow-converts as disloyal Catholics. That illustrious man was kept in retirement, which was virtual disgrace, for forty years; and Manning, who either intellectually or spiritually was not worthy to unloose the latchet of his shoes, helped to keep him down and out of sight. When Newman wanted to have an Oratory at Oxford where Roman Catholic students could reside and be influenced during a university course, no stone was left unturned to prevent him. He must not have too much influence over the educated young Catholics and they must be educated dogmatically, apart from Anglicans. And during Manning's episcopate no Roman Catholics were allowed to go to Oxford. He did not care to appear in opposition and tried to show that he was not, but Newman asserted that he was, and that he allowed his *entourage* to do the work without rebuke. When Manning in 1867 wanted to get into relations with Newman (seeing that the absolute separation was damaging to the Catholic cause as indicating division in the Church) Newman wrote him frankly that he distrusted him and could not get over his distrust. He said pointedly that there was no short cut to a restoration of confidence, but that new deeds only could reverse the old. Manning answered with a *tu quoque*, quoting Newman's words to him: "I have felt you difficult to understand and that your words have not prepared me for your acts." The upshot of the correspondence was a final brief note from Newman saying to Manning: "I do not know whether I am on my head or my heels when I have active relations with you. In spite of my friendly feelings, this is the judgment of my intellect." This terminated all intercourse for years.

The conduct of Manning when Newman was, after the accession of Leo XIII, made a cardinal, was most dishonorable and reprehensible.



It showed emphatically that his dogmatic and ecclesiastical conversion was accompanied by a distinct moral degeneration. The offer of the cardinal's hat was made as some reparation for long personal neglect. It indicated, however, a complete change of policy at the Vatican. It was not only a recognition of Newman's services, but an imprimatur of his tone and position. To Ward and Manning this was most unwelcome and altogether unbearable. No effort must be left unattempted to frustrate the offer. But Manning's position at Rome had changed with the death of Pius IX. The English Catholic laity insisted, and Manning had to be the composer and bearer of the petition of the Duke of Norfolk and Lord Petre to the Holy Father. This did not, however, prevent machinations to thwart the success of his own mission. Newman's answer to the proposal expressed great joy and appreciation of this mark of favor; he said nothing could induce him to decline it unless it involved unfaithfulness to St. Philip Neri, in whose honor the Oratory at Birmingham was founded and from which at his age he could not endure to be separated. This was intended as a hint to the Pope to allow him to retain as cardinal the position he had heretofore held.

Manning chose to interpret it as declining the proffer. He had been entrusted with the document to convey it to Rome, and it was confidential and not to be read or spoken of save by Cardinal Nina to whom it was addressed at the Vatican. At Paris Manning read the letter, let its contents, according to his interpretation of it, transpire, and authorized a publication in the newspapers saying that Newman had declined the proffered honor. This was a last endeavor to force the Pope's hand into a withdrawal of the proffer. But the Catholic laity and other clerical friends of Newman were fully aroused. The declination was as publicly denied. Newman himself wrote a dignified but indignant letter to the Duke of Norfolk (who among others had started the movement) showing that the statement could not have come from himself, who considered the suggestion sacred; nor from Rome, because the statement was made public before his letter reached Rome. He further said:—

“It could only come, then, from some one who not only read my letter, but, instead of leaving *the Pope* to interpret it, took upon himself to put an interpretation upon it, and published that interpretation to the world. A private letter, addressed to the Roman authorities, is interpreted on its way and published in the English papers. How is it possible that any one can have done this?”

It was Cardinal Manning who had done all this, in violation of every sense of propriety and of just interpretation. But he had to



repair and apologize for his mistake, and Cardinal Nina, after listening to Cardinal Manning's explanation, drily remarked that "the author was a better interpreter than another of his own words."

After Newman was made cardinal he met Cardinal Manning but twice, and that formally and but for a moment. When Newman died, Cardinal Manning, alone of the Roman Catholic bishops in England, was absent and unrepresented at the funeral. The event, however, occasioned too widespread an emotion to render silence or absence altogether possible. At a solemn dirge held at Brompton Oratory, Cardinal Manning read a carefully written and eloquent discourse. It was a just and not ungenerous tribute. But as his biographer records:—

"In the emotion of the moment Cardinal Manning, perhaps not unnaturally, forgot his prolonged opposition to Newman in Rome and in England; forgot his armed hostility and mistrust; forgot that for half a century from 1840 to 1890 he had not met or spoken to Newman more than half a dozen times. At Littlemore they met but once, and once at the Oratory in Birmingham. As cardinals they met but twice."

And yet in this public oration he represented—

"that he and Newman were knit together in the bonds of closest friendship for 'sixty years and more.' He forgot how utterly he had broken with Newman, saw as in a glass darkly only what he wished to see. At that supreme moment the not unnatural desire of Manning's heart was that his name should go forth before the world linked with that of Newman's as a life-long friend, and fellow-worker; that he might in a sense be a copartner in Newman's glory. . . . No act or effort was spared in the words spoken on that memorable occasion to create the impression which he wished to leave on the minds and imaginations of men. . . . In his illusion he saw only 'what might have been,' and not the things that were."

But "the things that were" have been told by Manning himself in his letters and acts, which showed the inner belief of his heart and the mature judgment of his mind. Yet not this belief and judgment will live in the minds and memories of men, but to the falsification of history illusion will take the place of reality, fiction of truth. What then is the truth? Cardinal Manning records it in an autobiographical note dated 1887. "If I was opposed to Newman, it was only because I had either to oppose Newman or to oppose the Holy See. I could not oppose the Pope."

The whole biography makes a most unpleasant impression of Cardinal Manning's *morale*. It is the impression of a man of strong natural powers, who was led by the lust of power all his days. His spiritual nature was not quickened by a longing and desire for "the vision and the faculty divine," but was roused and kept awake



by fear. He dreaded what would happen should he neglect it. He never came to the sense of sonship which cries "Abba, Father." Before he was a Romanist he records in a diary in view of possible death: "Perhaps in that event I should be safest by a quasi-baptism." He proclaimed a complete confidence in the Church. He never seems to have had thorough confidence in God. Thus an honest and fearless uprightness never marked his ways. He might try to justify or explain his duplicity, but it was there to be justified and explained. He could condescend to intrigue with Odo Russell (the Protestant ambassador) and Mgr. Talbot, the papal chamberlain; to try every method of cajoling and persuading and entrapping men into formulating the decree of Papal Infallibility. Nothing came amiss which could insure success in that, and when success came, by whatever means, it was to him the triumph of God; yet a triumph by chicanery, the Holy Ghost speaking by profane lips; an infallible utterance secured in brilliant salons by flattering ladies, and won by social blandishments and the subtle tricks of electioneering politicians. In any other sphere of life such success would be called the triumph of evil by demagogues. Manning called this triumph of voices over the remonstrance of learning and reason, "the triumph of truth by the saints." To read his own account of the methods by which the end was gained serves to totally discredit the end to all except those who hold that in its final utterance a church council cannot err. To these no criticism of method is competent to deal with the result. If Divine Providence permits an utterance, then the utterance is divine. The external voice must silence the inner conviction.

The record of Manning's life as a Roman Catholic, together with the silent suggestions of Newman's career, throws great light on the interior life of the ecclesiastical communion into which they were led by such different gates. They seemed to be entering an ideal country whose air would breathe ennobling peace. They came upon discords as harsh as those they had left, a disheartening counterfeit of what they sought. They had breathed an ampler air than that of the region they entered. The atmosphere of nationality had encompassed them as Anglicans, and the aspirations of a Church had lent dignity to their strife. They came upon a household which, with all its pretensions, in England shared the spirit of a sect. Compared with the broader spirit of the Establishment, the Roman Catholic Church in England, few in numbers, uninfluential in the state, sluggish in its religious life, and split into discordant and petty factions, seemed a contracted place, more like



a bear garden than the garden of Paradise they had dreamed of. Newman, if he had been allowed, would have raised the tone of its life by imparting the broad culture he brought with him to its rising youth, by associating its members with the life of the nation in its universities and public movements. Manning would rather raise its tone and awaken its enthusiasm by sharpening its contrasts with the prevailing life, deepening and intensifying the sect spirit by making it more Roman and less English. The one would raise it as the leaven, breathing into it a loftier spiritual tone and devotion and a higher intellectual conception; the other would make it felt as an institution, by making it less national and more papal. The strife which they found in their new ecclesiastical home soon penetrated their own ranks. The converts were divided into two hostile camps. Ward and Manning were as defiant of Newman as ever the most recalcitrant Anglican bishop had been. There was cessation of intercourse and bitter opposition. The spirit which had denied any flexibility of doctrinal definition in the English Church was now rampant against any moderation of view or practice, which it called disloyal Catholicism. Conversion had not brought peace among the converted, but a sword. Newman would rule by submission; Manning would rule by reconstruction. The one would create a Catholic university; the other equip and organize a Catholic army. But all of them found a rough field to be subdued instead of smooth paths to be trod. Relief must be sought in some endeavor to quicken in some direction the body they had deemed tingling with life.

Disillusion accounts for much in Manning's fierce energy to bring the Church up to what he had conceived it already to be. This called forth into supreme exercise his choicest powers, and opened for him a sphere of ambition wholly congenial to his nature. He was not slow to enter it. His great success attests his natural ability and reveals the kind of unity which is to be realized in Rome. In comparison with the dissensions of Protestantism, the bitter discords in the Roman camp are like a blare of trumpets to the murmur of flutes. There is an external unity of law, but a dissonance of thought and purpose which the most divergent sects of Protestantism cannot equal. The unity is the unity of the letter which killeth, not that of the spirit which giveth life. Submission to authority is its keynote, not the kindly cooperation of varying forces toward one great end. Thus with the eye of the ecclesiastical politician Manning strove, and strove successfully, to strengthen the central power, and, in the elevation of the Pope, to discredit and depress the episcopate, and by force of will rather than of reason to rule



the world in the interests of a divine kingdom. When might makes right his ideal will be realized, but not till then.

Manning's career as archbishop and as cardinal shows also that, while his natural powers were intensified and expanded by his conversion, his moral nature was not elevated by it. In fact there are numerous signs of spiritual degeneration. He became more unscrupulous in his methods, more malignant in his animosities, more daring in his ambition. Anglicanism had kept him in check; Romanism gave him a loose rein. It was the exercise of his less spiritual and less amiable characteristics that secured his triumphs. And these too were in the realm of the temporal, not of the eternal.

But Manning was not only a theologian and an ecclesiastic, he was also a philanthropist, and in forming an estimate of the man and of his service it were grossly unfair to fail to note his efforts for the amelioration of the poor of London. His nature had never been gross and his ecclesiastical life made him an ascetic. He drank nothing, he ate almost nothing. To totally abstain from wine was as consonant to his inclination as to be drunken and gluttonous to others. He could thus command the attention and respect of the masses as one who urged them to the discipline he himself observed. And from one point to another along the line of social reform he moved with ever-ascending influence and power. His career in this phase of his life found its root in his Anglican life and is no special product of his Roman convictions. His biography is not specially remarkable for its delineation of it, but it is known and read of all men. Hath it not been published in the "Times"? It is none the less worthy for that. It is a softening and ennobling rounding-out of a tumultuous life which happily left ecclesiastical politics for social reform. His career as philanthropist was occasioned by the obscuration of his career as an ecclesiastical politician. The death of Pius IX threw a dark shadow across his path. It was a wonderful overturn for one who had been chief councillor at the Vatican to receive, as he did in 1886, from the editor of an influential paper conducted by the Jesuits, a message saying: "I am directed henceforth not to mention the name of Cardinal Manning with praise." And why? He had modified his view of the temporal power of the Pope, which earlier he had advocated with such violence as to intimate that it might become a *dogma de fide*.

After the success of the Italian Government, he wished it to be so far recognized as to have a strong Catholic delegation sent to the Italian parliament. There was profound statesmanship in the suggestion, but



the Jesuits in Rome henceforth regarded him as a renegade. This change in Manning arose from the same innate tendency to recognize and fall in with a successful movement which had all his life animated him. It spoiled his career in the Roman Church, as his temporizing had discredited him when an Anglican. His great energies were however not to be suppressed. He turned them with renewed vigor into the channel of social reform. There was in this a mixture of ecclesiastical policy with the sentiment of humanity; but his services to temperance, to the rescue of poor children from ignorance and vice, to a sound education of the clergy, to the wrongs of the employed, to most of the more pressing social problems of the time, were most beneficent. He recognized that all such reforms in England, could they be associated with the Roman Church, would buttress its claims, give it prestige with the masses, and recognition by the classes; and this strong ecclesiastical motive added intensity to his endeavors. The ends thus sought were in a measure gained, and they were gained by activities in behalf of the needy and oppressed, which were worthy of all praise and associate with his name an enthusiasm for humanity far more to his credit than the enthusiasm for ecclesiastical despotism which marked most of his career.

It is well in the interests of charity to dwell on these later years, devoted to efforts worthy the imitation of all Christian men. They explain the enthusiasm with which he came to be regarded in life, and the respect which was manifested by the vast concourse of the people of London who attended or witnessed his funeral solemnities. But as his entrance into the ministry at first was the effect of disappointment in his early political aspirations, so this better side of his activity was the result of his disappointed ecclesiastical ambition. It was, however, a noble recoil and exhibits the best side of the man, as his sermons do, being the practical, as his sermons were the intellectual, outflow of his spiritual nature, which, however dominated or perverted by ambition, never died out nor even slumbered long. Ambition made him archbishop and cardinal. These were the crowns bestowed by temporal powers, worldly rewards for worldly services, albeit for the Church—and these the Church could give. But that by which he will be held in grateful recollection is not the splendid prize he coveted so eagerly and sought so long, but what he gave of sympathy and service to the necessities of his lowly fellow men.

C. C. TIFFANY.



## SUBSTITUTES FOR THE SALOON.

THE hold of the saloon on the community does not proceed wholly, or perhaps chiefly, from the thirst for drink. The number of patrons of a saloon who are slaves of the drink-habit is relatively small. The saloon primarily satisfies the social instinct. It is the poor man's club. Club-life has become a social factor of rapidly increasing importance in all strata of modern society. It meets a demand felt both in the country and the city, and by women as well as by men. A very large proportion of those people who have the most abundant resources in their homes now spend many of their leisure hours in one or another form of social club. But when the poor man is moved by the social instinct which satisfies itself in club-life, where is he to go? He returns from his benumbing work to his squalid home, craving the company of his mates and a warm, bright spot amid the dulness of his routine; and these resources of change of scene and recreation which more favored persons find in their club he finds most naturally and conveniently in the saloon.

As competition between saloons increases, the line of competition testifies how much of their patronage depends on their satisfying the social instincts. Contributions to sociability are multiplied. There are added to the mere sale of liquor at the bar, entertainments, music, the baseball score, the racing news, the pool-table, the kinetoscope,—not as sources of direct profit, but simply to make the saloon more sociable and an agreeable centre of the evening's gossip, curiosity, and excitement. No attack on the saloon can be permanently successful which does not take into account this satisfaction of the social instinct. It has been said that the most valuable invention which could just now be made for the welfare of the human race would be the invention of an attractive and innocuous drink. It might be still further said that the most important step which could at this moment be taken in temperance reform would be the satisfaction of the social instinct without the accompanying risk of intoxicating liquor. It becomes of interest therefore to inquire how much has been done for this form of social satisfaction. Is there at present any considerable



competition with the saloons as means of sociability? How far have we been successful in devising social substitutes for the saloon?

In order to make some approach to an answer to this question a twofold inquiry was made in Boston, Massachusetts, during the summer of 1895, in behalf of the Committee of Fifty for the Investigation of the Liquor Problem.<sup>1</sup> On the one hand has been estimated the average daily patronage of the saloons of that city; and on the other hand the average daily patronage of such resorts as could be fairly described as social substitutes for the saloon. By daily patronage is meant in both cases the number of persons entering. If the same person entered more than once he was counted each time. In the table, on another page, there is presented in the first column the approximate population of the city, grouped by Police Divisions. This classification and other statistics of population have been generously provided by the Chief of the State Bureau of Statistics, Mr. Horace G. Wadlin. In the third and fourth columns appear the facts concerning the licensed saloons of the city and their estimated daily patronage. These columns are based on the evidence of the Boston police, and were procured, in behalf of this inquiry, by order of the Police Commissioners.

This evidence as to the saloons was obtained as follows: Each patrolman was called on for his impressions as to the probable daily patronage of the saloons on his beat, and his judgment was in doubtful cases fortified by the evidence of the saloon-keepers themselves. These returns were then checked and tabulated by the captains of Police Divisions and reported to the Commissioners. Finally, at the office of the Commissioners a complete table was prepared and put at the service of this investigation. Thus, the figures as to the saloons, while not attempting strict accuracy, are probably as near the truth as is attainable. The other columns of the table, representing the existing substitutes for the saloon in Boston, are the result of a special and independent investigation. The entire city has been patrolled and

<sup>1</sup> The Committee of Fifty represents different communities and occupations and is engaged in the study of the liquor problem, in the hope of securing a body of facts which will serve as a basis for intelligent public and private judgment. Its officers are: Seth Low, President; Charles Dudley Warner, Vice-President; Francis G. Peabody, Secretary; William E. Dodge, Treasurer; John S. Billings, Chairman of Physiological Committee; Charles W. Eliot, Chairman of Legislative Committee; Jacob L. Greene, Chairman of Ethical Committee; Francis A. Walker, Chairman of Economic Committee. All reports made to these committees are to be regarded as preliminary in their nature and as contributions to any general conclusion which may be in the future reached by the Committee as a whole.



inspected by an agent of the Committee of Fifty, and a letter from the Police Commissioner to the Division Captains has opened many doors.

The scope of investigation both by the police and by the present inquiry has been strictly limited. It is not a study of all the drinking-places of the city, or of all the influences which counteract drinking. It considers only the saloons and the substitutes for them. By "saloons" is meant only the licensed bar-rooms of the city, leaving out of account all resorts where drinking may be regarded as an accessory, as, for instance, hotels, private clubs holding licenses, and licensed grocers. By "substitutes for the saloon" is meant only such resorts as appear to compete directly with the bar-rooms by offering to those who might be their patrons some degree of sociability without drink. A vast amount of drinking must therefore be added to the figures here given for any adequate picture of the drink-habit in Boston; and, on the other hand, it should be remembered that there are many forms of competition with the saloon which the present inquiry excludes because they do not contribute to the satisfaction of sociability. The number of patrons of each such substitute for the saloons is based on estimates, or rather on guesses, verified by various kinds of evidence,—the judgment of patrolmen, or of customers, or of proprietors,—and is likely in some instances to have been overestimated by interested persons, or in some instances to have been understated for some supposed advantage to be gained. In particular, it may be doubted whether pool-rooms are fairly to be reckoned as substitutes for the saloon in the sense of being on the whole more elevating resorts than bar-rooms. Some adjoin bar-rooms or are opposite to them, so that, as one proprietor remarked, men may play between drinks. Some, on the other hand, are in their way substitutes for saloons, and at least permit sociability to exist without drink. These pool-rooms are therefore included in the table, but are set in a column by themselves.

Turning, then, to the examination of the table, several indications of general importance seem to be at once suggested.

1. The first fact made plain, even by statistics confessedly lacking in accuracy, is the prodigious dimensions of the drink-habit. According to the Census of 1895, the city of Boston contains 496,920 inhabitants, men, women, and children. It appears therefore, according to the best judgment procurable, based on the daily and almost hourly observation of patrolmen, that an army equal to about half the entire population of the city, or no less than 226,752 persons, patronizes the bars of the city every day. This estimate, as has been said, reckons



## SUBSTITUTES FOR THE SALOON IN THE CITY OF BOSTON. 1895.

Police Divisions.	Population (Approx.)	Number of Saloons.	Daily Patronage.	Arrests Drunks Daily.	Pool Rooms.	Daily Patronage.	Coffee Rooms.	Daily Patronage.	Lunch Rooms.	Daily Patronage.	Reading Rooms.	Daily Patronage.	Clubs.	Daily Patronage.
1	22,288	99	36,600	18	21	2,000	..	..	20	6,000	4	300	4	175
2	10,970	72	39,240	2.5	11	1,800	3	7,650	35	15,225	..	..	..	..
3	25,070	63	21,385	11	17	1,500	3	2,400	14	3,200	1	?	2	115
4	12,244	89	36,045	13	28	2,500	4	3,200	27	9,965	3	1,800	..	..
5	52,809	63	28,350	4.5	49	3,900	4	1,200	20	3,350	4	320	14	700
6	29,555	53	15,260	5	15	2,200	9	100	3	300	1	50	..	..
7	39,995	27	7,020	4	12	1,000	2	350	35	1,375	2	120	10	550
8	2,600	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
9	51,798	23	6,875	3.5	7	750	..	..	10	1,200	..	..	5	220
10	44,171	50	16,000	7	23	2,700	1	50	49	5,500	2	150	2	200
11	42,004	3	600	1.5	6	700	..	..	..	..	4	175	5	125
12	35,828	14	4,350	2	6	500	..	..	3	200	..	..	1	35
13	36,116	6	900	1	3	450	..	..	..	..	2	60	2	55
14	15,001	6	900	2	1	150	..	..	1	50	3	150	4	100
15	40,304	38	13,227	5	26	2,500	3	428	10	1,200	2	150	7	225
16	36,167	..	..	?	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	7,500	..	..
Total	496,920	606	226,752	80	225	22,650	29	15,378	227	47,565	35	10,825	56	2,500

Harbor Police. No Report.



each patron every time he enters. The number of distinct drinkers is, therefore, reduced by the large number of repeaters. There is to be reckoned, moreover, in this great multitude, the very large number of drinkers in Boston who are residents of other towns, and especially in adjacent towns under a no-license policy. On the other hand, this over-estimate of the drink-habit among residents is in a large degree corrected when we recall the many resorts not here enumerated where residents daily drink. Whether the patronage by city-dwellers of the bars of hotels, the private licensed clubs, the licensed grocers, and the unlicensed resorts is sufficient to balance the bar-room drinking by non-residents, is a question inviting to speculation. It is at any rate a sufficiently serious fact that, wherever the patronage comes from, it pours at such a rate into the Boston saloons.

Calculation becomes interesting as to the amount of money which this patronage contributes to the saloons, and various competent judges have been consulted as to the average amount spent by each patron at each visit. Some experts regard eight cents as a probable average; but the balance of opinions leans to the belief that the average patron does not escape without spending ten cents. If this estimate be not excessive then there is daily spent in the Boston saloons the sum of \$22,675, or in a year of three hundred days the prodigious sum of \$6,802,500; or an annual gross income of about \$10,000 for each of the 606 saloons. The total running expenses of the Boston public-school system for 1894-95 was \$2,061,160. The total expense of the Boston Fire Department for the same year was \$1,041,296. The total bill for the Police Department was \$1,318,186. The total expense for the city park system was \$2,241,814. All these formidable expenditures taken together amount to a smaller sum than was spent during the same year in the bar-rooms of the city. A comparison with the living expenses of the manual-labor class is equally instructive. The sum of money paid over the Boston bars, nine tenths of which—it may be fairly estimated—comes from persons of modest incomes, is sufficient to meet the total living expenses of nearly 11,700 families spending \$600 a year each. According to the Census of 1895, there are in Boston 103,306 families. How many of these families have their incomes encroached upon by expenditures in the saloon, is a question impossible to answer; for the saloon-habit affects all classes and in degrees not open to computation. If, however, we estimate that of the total of families in the city one quarter, or 25,000 families, are thus more or less affected, and if we conceive that these families,—the



great proportion of which are of the wage-earning class,—have an average income of \$1000, then each of these 25,000 families is taxed about \$272 a year by the bar-room; or, in other words, more than one fourth of the income of 25,000 families is now consumed by the drink-habit. Such considerations, though they do not touch the question of moral or domestic degeneration, indicate something of the relation of drink to wages and the possible surplus already available to wage-earners in city life.

Again, there are in Boston, approximately, 239,666 male residents; but of these, 83,136 are under twenty years of age and therefore by law excluded from the saloons. Of males above twenty years there are 156,530; so that the patronage of the Boston saloons is as if every man in the city drank every day, and in addition treated a friend from the country every other day. The distribution of the drink-habit is also instructive. The Police Divisions may be roughly grouped in three classes. In Divisions 1–4 (North End, Down Town, West End, Lower Washington Street,) the daily patronage of the saloons amounts on the whole to nearly double the entire population of the Divisions (133,270 drinkers for 70,572 residents); and there are maintained no less than 323 bar-rooms, or more than one half the saloons for less than one seventh of the population. This disproportion is due, in Divisions 1 and 3, in part to the daily movement to and from the Union station; in Division 4 to the great thoroughfares and the movement to and from the Southern stations; and in Division 2 to the great tide of business life flooding into the State Street region every day and ebbing away at night. Yet, even with these interpretations, which give some reasonableness to the situation in Divisions 2 and 4, the conditions of Divisions 1 and 3 seem unendurable; these adjoining districts with a joint population of 47,358 supporting 162 bar-rooms, or nearly one fourth of the saloons of the city for less than one tenth of the population; and providing three eighths of the city's total arrests for drunkenness. It has, moreover, appeared in the course of this inquiry that, at least in Division 1, a very small proportion of these arrests are of residents of the Division. That is to say, the region is burdened with a traffic which its own population does not demand.

A second group is made of Divisions 5 (Upper Washington Street), 6 (West End of South Boston), and 15 (Charlestown), where the estimated daily drinking is approximately one half the total population. Both these latter regions are outlying parts of the city and both are gradually but surely losing their native population. The



saloon patronage of Charlestown is in some degree due to migration to and from suburban towns and to the large warehouses and freight stations of the district. South Boston, on the other hand, is a pocket in the city's outline. There is little migration to or through it. Its drinking has to be done by its own residents, and, further, a great number of these residents migrate for the day into the city, and do only their evening drinking in South Boston. Thus, the figures for South Boston seem quite worthy to be ranked with the first group, and in their indication of the habits of the residents appear as serious as in any Division. Throughout the rest of the city (Divisions 7-14, 16), being the region of homes, the drink patronage is relatively insignificant in comparison with the population. In Division 16 (Back Bay) there are no licensed saloons, and in Division 11 (Dorchester) there are but three saloons, with a patronage of 600 in a population of 42,004. Thus the liquor-trade is a highly concentrated form of business, with the advantages and disadvantages of being set along main thoroughfares and in a limited section of the city, more than half the daily arrests for drunkenness (44.5) occurring in a region containing less than one seventh of the population (70,572).

2. The second fact which is illustrated by the table is of a more encouraging nature. We observe that substitutes for the saloon already exist in Boston in considerable numbers and have a reasonable degree of attractiveness. Summing up all the resorts enumerated, the total average daily patronage is approximately 98,918, or, without pool-rooms, 76,268; so that it may not unreasonably be affirmed that the proportion of attendance is as 1 to 2.5. It is to be noticed also that while the patronage of the saloon is greatly increased by non-resident drinkers, the patronage of the substitutes for saloons, being for the most part in the evening, is almost wholly of city-dwellers, so that the proportion of attendance, considered only as among residents, becomes still more favorable for the "substitutes." When one considers the inadequacy of many of these resorts, their meagre provision for sociability and comfort as compared with the splendor of the saloons, and the disadvantage under which some of these substitutes are put, by regarding sociability as secondary to moral or religious influence, one may be encouraged to believe that the desire among working people for the satisfaction of the social instinct, without the compulsion to drink liquor, must be serious and general. Some of these would-be substitutes for the saloon are cheerless and barren, some are slightly disguised prayer-meetings and missionary enter-



prises, but the patronage received under present conditions, and especially the success of a few enterprises which have no other end than sociability, should give reasonable encouragement to those who care for this flank attack on the saloon.

3. Again, this study brings to light both points of special need and movements of special promise. Two regions are exhibited as at the same time infested by saloons and lacking in sufficient substitutes. These are the North End (Division 1) and the West End of South Boston (Division 6). Division 1 is not lacking in devoted missionary enterprises (the Epworth Settlement, the North End Mission, the North End Union, the Baptist Bethel, the Seaman's Friend Society); and there are also, among Salem Street and North Street Italians and Jews, many praiseworthy little ventures of their own for the sale of the lighter drinks. The mixed character of the population involves special difficulties in devising plans of sociability, and the existing missionary efforts deserve high praise. Taking the Division as a whole, however, and remembering that its population is almost without exception of the class least able to resist the saloon influence, the region seems simply crushed under its burden of 99 saloons, and gravely needs new accessions of rational recreation. Division 6 is less overwhelmed with saloons, but also less leavened by undertakings of a wholesome social nature. It seems to be a neglected region, very barren of elevating influence, as it stands somewhat apart from the movement of city-life. There is a Coffee-room of the Episcopal Church Temperance Society; there is a branch of the Public Library; and there are a few social clubs. But the Protestant population is declining and shifting and the Catholic clergy do not seem to have realized the serious inroads of the saloon upon their people. Here then appear to be regions demanding on the one hand special limitation of saloons by the Licensing Board, and offering on the other hand a special field for private enterprises which are looking for the greatest social need.

This comprehensive examination brings to light also local and modest enterprises, which have gone far to leaven certain regions of the city, and which should be carefully studied as indicating, under certain conditions, the best lines of action. Very marked instances of such success are to be found in East Boston (Division 8), in the East Boston Athletic Association; in the very notable work of the Charlesbank Gymnasium (Division 3); in the Wells Memorial Institute (Division 3) and a number of clubs organized and maintained in



that Division by various groups of working-men; and in Division 10 (Roxbury), in the People's Institute, with its 900 members, and the Boys' Institute of Instruction, with its 300 boys and girls. Many of these organizations are in large degree self-governed, and all are directly devoted to the healthier activity of body or of mind, or both. An attempt has been made in connection with this inquiry to consider the popular theatres of the city as social substitutes for the saloon, but this is a matter where conclusions may vary from week to week. A theatre for the poor—as for the rich—may on one day be giving the most satisfactory and on another the most nauseating performance. It is evident, however, that such theatres, which attract, as a rule, crowded audiences, may make a very important part of such social substitution, and, it is at the present time apparently true that while some of the cheap theatres are distinctly degrading, there are some, and very profitable ones, where the performance is distinctly more moral in tone than in much of the modern drama; and where it has been discovered that excitement and enthusiasm can be stimulated without indecency.

4. To this indication of points of danger and lines of action should be added another fact which such a study discloses. It is the lack of unity among the agencies which are now offering substitutes for the saloon. The saloons, though competitors with each other, are united by the strongest ties, and against hostile influences are massed as an army. The substitutes for the saloons are little, scattered enterprises,—often of the most conscientious and generous nature,—but, in most instances, without even the slightest mutual alliance and in some instances without even the knowledge of each other's operations. For any rational progress in an attack on a thoroughly entrenched enemy, there should be an alliance of all the forces engaged—religious and secular, Catholic and Protestant; together with a careful division of fields of operation, and a reference of patrons from one resort, where a man may not be content, to another substitute for the saloon which might prove attractive.

5. Another inference to which such an examination naturally leads must be candidly stated. Considering, for the moment, nothing but the satisfaction of the social instinct, it seems plain that this end, to be gained, must be unmingled with purposes of missionary zeal. It is difficult for people who care supremely for religion to believe that it should be ruled out of any resort; yet the fact is that when in any substitute for the saloon the patron knows that he is likely to have a prayer-



meeting "sprung" on him, he is—unless he be "Gospel-hardened," or inclined to "work the piety-game"—in some degree repelled; just as a more cultivated man—even if religious—would rebel at the invasion of a prayer-meeting into his social club. This does not mean that a resort, openly religious, is of no service to the working-man and may not be a social as well as religious influence. There are, no doubt, men who are strengthened and restrained by such positive expressions of faith as they would be in no other way. The temperance mission and church coffee-house have their own good work to do. But they are not primarily a form of club or saloon; they are primarily a form of church. In a genuine poor-man's club—as in a rich-man's club—visible signs of religious intention must be eliminated. The fact is that in temperance, as in scientific charity, we are called upon to recognize the deeper and unostentatious place of religious influence in social reform. It inspires and directs philanthropic service, but it does not make of philanthropy an instrument of propagandism. To deny to philanthropy the technical expressions of religion does not banish religion from philanthropy. It only sees in philanthropy itself a direct and sufficient expression of religious consecration and desire.

6. Finally, in the city of Boston—and under their own conditions in other great cities—certain checks on the saloon seem to be suggested by the present inquiry.

(a) It appears, for instance, that, quite apart from proposed changes in the law, the law as it now exists is rarely strictly enforced, and perhaps in many of its regulations is not often understood. Sellers of liquor, not infrequently, do not know the conditions of the law under which their trade is permitted. The opponents of the saloon, on the other hand, are often unaware of the serviceable, even if imperfect, weapon which is even now ready to their hands in the long series of restrictions with which the law, as it exists, surrounds the liquor-traffic. It is not even certain that the patrolmen, whose duty it is to enforce the law, could pass an examination on its multifarious conditions as to hours, screens, doors, windows, and licenses; and it would be of service to distribute a cheap compilation of existing liquor-laws among the police and the charity-workers of the city.

(b) Another important and just check on the saloon evil would be effected if the license-system were administered in connection with more limited districts. Under the present law the total population of the city regulates the number of saloons—there being not more than one saloon to 500 of population—but these saloons are set where the



commissioners may determine, it being assumed that, on the whole, the maximum number shall be permitted in the entire city. Thus, simply because one part of the city is unprofitable to the saloon, all the more saloons are planted among the most largely-tempted classes. The very fact, that is to say, that some regions are respectable, increases the chance of degradation in less fortunate districts.

The Back Bay wants no saloons and Dorchester supports but 3, but this immunity practically compels the North End to maintain the shocking number of 99. If the unit of assignment were the Division or the Ward, instead of the city, the total of saloons would be enormously decreased, with no loss of convenience to the drinkers and no radical change in the basis of assignment. The only loss would be a corresponding part of the license-fees; and to the principle which involves this form of loss the voters have already consented by establishing the 1 to 500 proportion.

(c) With this change of the basis of assignment there would become possible a further restriction gravely and obviously needed,—a reasonable separation of saloons from one another. Nothing seems to the average observer more preposterous in the present assignment of licenses than the licensing of a half dozen saloons next-door to each other, or even of a street of bar-rooms like Eliot Street between Park Square and Tremont Street. The method, however, under the present system, may be reasonably defended. If there must be in the city not less than 606 saloons it may be better to set them near together, along thoroughfares and under easy police supervision. But from the point of view of public convenience one saloon properly placed is as good as six, and for public safety it is much better. Thus, while in the strictly business portion of the city (Division 2) an exception might have to be made, because of the slight resident population, the general welfare would be much more consulted by breaking up the threatening groups of superfluous saloons, and distributing half the number on the basis of local population and local demands.

(d) A more radical step in restriction would be taken if under the principle of local option the whole question of licenses could become a question for independent determination within each Police Division or Ward. It is evident that in some parts of Boston the abolition of the saloon would lead to evils at least comparable with its existence. It is equally evident that, in other parts of the city, even the few saloons which do exist, are licensed in opposition to the overwhelming sentiment of the voters. Thus it seems reasonable that the interests of



different regions in a great city should have independent consideration and expression ; and the result which would ensue, and which is even now in a large degree attained, of fixing the liquor business in special limited regions, would be, with all its terrible evils, on the whole a further advantage in the direction of supervision and restraint.

Such are some of the limitations on the drink traffic which may commend themselves to an observer of conditions of city-life ; and such reasonable checks would tend to give the substitutes for the saloons a fair chance to compete. The saloon is a degrading form of social enjoyment, but it is a real form. It offers so much to the life of the poor that at least one skilled observer in Boston has remarked, in the course of this investigation, that if it were a question between the saloon and no poor-man's club he would wish the saloon to stay. The substitute for the saloon, in order to survive, must give more resources of sociability than the saloon gives, and compete with it on its own terms. There must be no hint of patronage or of missionary zeal. There must be the same tone which prevails in the rich-man's club,—a sense of proprietorship, a comfort which tempts to patronage, resources of athletic life, games which are of real interest, literature which is not discarded rubbish of the benevolent, light and liberty, and self-government ; and for this form of institution there are already among the working-classes obvious and often pathetic signs of long-suffering expectation and desire.

FRANCIS G. PEABODY.



## IS THERE ANOTHER LIFE?

THE appearance of a portly and learned volume by the Rev. Dr. Salmond on "The Christian Doctrine of Immortality" shows the anxious interest which has been awakened in these questions. His treatment of the subject also recognizes the necessity which is felt of perfectly free though reverent inquiry, as our sole way of salvation amidst the perplexities—theological, social, and moral,—in which we are involved. For himself, he unreservedly accepts the Christian revelation. Christianity, he is so happy as to believe, "has translated the hope of immortality from a guess, a dream, a longing, a probability, into a certainty, and has done this by interpreting us to ourselves and confirming the voice of prophecy within us." But he subjects the sacred records of Christianity to critical examination. He does not talk effete orthodoxy to an age of reason. Nor does he rest upon the evidence of Revelation alone. He endeavors to combine with it that of Manifestation as presented by reason and history.

The change made by Darwin's great discovery—as, with all rights of modification reserved, it may surely be called,—in our notions regarding the origin of our species could not fail to stimulate curiosity as to its destiny. We held, it is true, before Darwin that man had been formed out of the dust; in that respect our ideas have undergone no change. It is true also that whatever our origin may have been, and through whatever process we may have gone, we are what we are, none the less for Darwin's discovery; while the fact that we have risen from the dust or from the condition of the worm instead of leading us to despair ought rather to inspire us with hope. Still, before Darwin we rested in the belief that man had been called into existence by a separate creation, in virtue of which he was a being apart from all other animals, and this belief has by Darwin been dispelled. A being apart from the other animals man remains in virtue of his reason, of which other animals have, at most, only the rudiments, and yet more perhaps in virtue of his aspirations and his capacity for improvement, of which even the most intelligent of the other animals, so far as we can see, have no share. He alone is consciously moral, he alone is religious;



he alone is speculative, looking before and after; he alone feels the influence of beauty and expresses his sense of it in poetry and art; what is lust in brutes in him alone is love; he alone thinks or dreams that there is in him anything that ought not to die. Yet Darwin's discovery has effaced the impassable line which we took to have been drawn by a separate creation between man and the beasts which perish.

Science, moreover, Darwinian and general, has put an end to the traditional belief in the soul as a being separate from the body, breathed into the body by a distinct act of the Creator, pent up in it as in a prison-house, beating spiritually against the bars of the flesh and looking to be set free by death. Soul and body, we now know, are indivisible from each other, man's nature being one, enfolded at first in the same embryo, advancing in all its parts and aspects through the same stages to maturity, and succumbing at last to the same decay. Not that this makes our nature more material in the gross sense of that term. Spirituality is an attribute of moral elevation and aspiration, not of the composition of the organism. Tyndall called himself a "materialist," yet no man was ever less so in the gross sense. If we wish to see clearly in these matters it might be almost better for a time to suspend our use of the word "soul," with its traditional connotation of antagonism to the body, and to speak only of the higher life or of spiritual aim and effort.

We have moreover in approaching these questions to clear our minds entirely of geocentricism, theological and philosophical as well as physical, of our notions of this earth as the centre of the universe and the grand scene of providential action, and at the same time of the ideas of our religious infancy about the Mosaic beginning and the Apocalyptic end of things. We have wholly to banish the creations of Milton's fancy, so strongly impressed upon our imaginations, as well as the Ptolemaic cosmography, and think no more of a heaven above and an earth below, with angels ascending and descending between them, or of a court of heaven looking down upon the earth. We must float out in thought into a universe without a centre, without limit, without beginning or end, of which all that we see on a starlight night is but a point, in which we ourselves are but living and conscious atoms. There has been much debate among religious thinkers about the origin of evil. But evil, it would seem, can have no origin, since the universe has none, and evil, or what to us seems evil, as well as good, is a part of the constitution of the universe. To



fathom the mystery of the universe—that is, the mystery of existence,—we cannot hope. Of eternity and infinity we can form no notion; we can think of them only as time and space extended without limit, a conception which involves a metaphysical absurdity, since of space and time we must always think as divisible into parts, while of infinity or eternity there can be no division. The thought of eternal existence, even of a life of eternal happiness, if we dwell upon it, turns the brain giddy: it is a sort of mental torture to dwell upon the idea.

The doctrine of a future life with rewards for the good and punishment for the wicked, as we all know, pervades the New Testament. That this world is evil, and Christians must look forward to a better world, is the teaching of the founder of Christianity and of all the Christian Churches. It could not fail to be fostered by the state of the world and especially of the subject provinces under the Roman Empire. The Christian martyrdoms are a signal testimony to the same belief. Yet the doctrine can hardly be said to be so distinctly stated in the New Testament as its overwhelming importance might have led us to expect. It is in fact rather assumed than stated. The passages concerning it are rather homiletic than dogmatic; they are enforcements of the infinite blessedness of piety and goodness, of the infinite curse attending wickedness, rather than enunciations of an article for a creed. Nor is anything explicitly said as to the manner in which the mortal is to put on immortality, or as to the state and occupations of the blessed in the next world. White robes, harps, palm branches, a city of gold and jewels, are not spiritual; they must be taken as material imagery; taken literally they provoke the derision of the sceptic.

Difficulties crowd upon us and severely tax the exegetical resources of Dr. Salmon. A sudden and absolute change of nature is contrary to all our experience, which would lead us to believe that gradual progress is the law. The disproportion of eternal rewards and punishments to the merits or sins of man's short life is profoundly repugnant to our moral sense. When we take in the cases of children, of savages, of the hapless offspring of the slums, of the heathen who have never heard the Word, the difficulty is immensely increased.

In all the churches there is now a revolt against the belief in eternal fire, which, nevertheless, if the Gospel is to be taken literally, it would seem impossible to avoid. Such a belief in fact can hardly be thought ever to have gained a practical hold on the mind; if it had, it would almost have dissolved humanity with terror. Nor is there in reality any such line of demarcation between the good and the



wicked as that drawn in the homiletic language of the Gospel between the wheat and the tares, between the sheep and the goats, between those who enter by the wide and by the narrow gate. Between the extreme points of goodness and wickedness there are gradations of character in number infinite and fluctuating from hour to hour. The Roman Catholic Church tries to meet this difficulty by the invention of Purgatory, which, it is needless to say, is a creation of her own. In this case also the difficulty is enhanced when we take in children and those on whom circumstances have borne so hardly as almost to preclude volition. Nor are the passages in the Gospel concerning the future state, if pressed literally, altogether consistent with each other, at least with regard to the mode of the transition. The idea generally presented is that of a final judgment in which the good are to be separated from the wicked, the good entering into eternal joy, the wicked into eternal fire, and of a period of sleep or unconsciousness which is to last till the Judgment Day. But this is not consistent with the parable of Dives and Lazarus, with the preaching of Christ to the souls in prison, or with the words of Christ on the cross to the penitent thief. These variations become more important when we consider the unspeakably vital character of the doctrine. Resurrection of the body is an article of the creed. It presents insuperable difficulties: not only are the particles of the body dispersed, but they must often be incorporated into other bodies. Besides, is a babe to rise again a babe, and is an old man to rise with the body of old age? Devices for meeting such difficulties may be found; but they are devices and not solutions.

It is on the Christian revelation that our hope has hitherto rested. Butler, when he applies reason to the question of a future life, has revelation all the time in reserve. He professes not to offer independent proof of the doctrine, but merely to disarm Reason of the objections which she might urge against Revelation. Of independent proof, with deference be it said, he offers, not so much as, with our present scientific lights at all events, will amount even to a serious presumption. Assuming, after the fashion of his day, that the soul is a being apart from the body, he suggests that it may be a simple monad, indecerptible and therefore indestructible, or at least not presumably liable to dissolution when the body is dissolved. But we know that his presumption is unfounded, and that what he calls the soul is but the higher and finer activity of our general frame. He says that the faculties and emotions sometimes remain unaffected by mortal disease



even at the point of death. But they do not remain unaffected by a disease of the brain. His strongest point perhaps is the unbroken continuance of conscious identity notwithstanding the change of our bodily frame by the flux of its component particles, and in spite of sleep and fits of insensibility. But the flux of particles or the suspension of consciousness by sleep or a fainting fit is a different thing from total dissolution, such as takes place when the body moulders in the grave. Besides, the phenomenon is common to us with brutes, and the objection that this or any other of Butler's arguments would apply as well to brutes as to man is not to be evaded by calling it invidious. The great thinker would perhaps have seen this more clearly had he lived in the Darwinian age and been disenchanted of his belief in the special breathing of a soul into man. He is so far from our present point of view as to think that dreams are products of the mind acting apart from the bodily sense.

Of the two great thinkers of antiquity Plato believed intensely in a future life, for which this present life was but a training, and in a future state of rewards and punishments. His arguments, put into the mouth of Socrates, who is about to die, come to us in the most persuasive guise. But they are entangled with the fanciful tenets of preexistence, of knowledge as reminiscence from a previous state, and of the real existence of abstract ideas. They are based on the erroneous conception of the soul as an entity distinct from the body and imprisoned in it, so that, in the case at least of one who has kept his soul pure and healthy by philosophy and asceticism, death would be emancipation. The soul, Plato thinks, cannot be affected by diseases of the body, but only by its own diseases, ignorance and vice. An evidence of more weight practically than any of the metaphysical arguments adduced by the disciple of Socrates is the death of Socrates itself, which, like the Christian martyrdoms, implies a strong and rooted faith in the future reward of loyalty to truth and virtue. The same faith is expressed by Plato in the "Republic." To him amid the license of Athenian democracy in its hour of decay, as to the Christian amid the demoralization of the Roman Empire, the world seemed evil; and he found support for righteousness in the conviction that though the righteous man might suffer obloquy, persecution, and even a painful and shameful death in this life, it would be well for him in the sum of things. If there is a soul of the universe and if it holds communion in any way with the soul of man, such a belief would seem likely to be at least no mere hallucination.



In Aristotle's "Ethics" there is no trace of the doctrine, either in its specific form or in the form of faith in the ultimate triumph of virtue which it assumes in Plato. The fact is that virtue, in one sense of the word and as denoting obedience to a moral law, is hardly a term of Aristotle's system. His virtue is not so much obedience to a moral law as the functional activity of fully developed and perfectly balanced humanity, such as is presented with a rather statuesque dignity in his model character of the high-minded man (*megalopsychos*). All that he wants is a life sufficiently long for full development (*bios teleios*). Of compensation or retribution he seems to have no idea.

In the great Stoics, Epictetus and Marcus Aurelius, there is no expression of belief in a personal life beyond the present. What they seem to expect is absorption in the universe, which, if personality is merged, would be the extinction of our personal selves. On the other hand they show the profoundest faith in the divinity of the moral law, in the nothingness of present pleasures or pains, and in the infinite reward of virtue. Their asceticism—that of Marcus Aurelius on a throne—was a practical demonstration of their faith. In Seneca may be found a vague intimation of belief that death is a transition to a higher life, but Seneca is a rhetorician, not a philosopher.

A belief in the immortality of the soul has been a part of most of the religions, yet not of all. It is absent from the sacred books of the Hebrews, desperate as have been the efforts to import it into them; and bold as is the statement of Anglican Articles that both in the Old and the New Testament everlasting life is offered to mankind through Christ. An exception such as that of the Hebrews, an eminently religious nation, is enough to bar any argument from universal consent, even if universal consent, where it can be explained by natural desire, were sufficient to prove a belief innate. The other world has often formed the lucrative domain of priests, who have pretended by mystic rites to provide the dying with a passport to celestial bliss. Egypt seems to have been preeminent in the definiteness of her belief and the minuteness of her mortuary ritual, while she was also strangely preeminent in the effort to protract the existence of the bodily tenement, showing thereby apparently an absence of belief in the separate existence of the soul. The Persian faith in a future life appears also to have been strong, though mixed with degrading absurdities which make it philosophically worthless. Buddhism is a philosophy rather than a religion, while upon any hypothesis as to the meaning of Nirvana, the hope of the Buddhist is not personal immortality but escape



from personal existence. Be Nirvana what it may, it is a fancy, generated apparently by local causes, and offers nothing in the way of verification.

"The evidences of a future life, Sir, are sufficient," was Boswell's remark to Johnson. "I could wish for more, Sir," was Johnson's reply. It was no doubt his sense of the insufficiency of the evidences, considering the vital character of the doctrine, that disposed Johnson to belief in ghosts, and made him anxious to investigate all stories of the kind, even when they were so absurd as that of the ghost of Cock Lane. It cannot be necessary to discuss such fictions. The only case, so far as we are aware, in which there is anything like first-hand evidence is that of the warning apparition to Lord Lyttelton, which may be explained as the masked suicide of a voluptuary sated with life. Nor can spiritualistic apparitions call for notice. They have been often enough exposed. Nothing is proved by them but the fond credulity of bereavement pining for communion with the lost. Spiritualism, it should not be forgotten, had its farcical origin in table-turning. Apart from the miraculous resurrection of Christ, and Christ's miraculous raisings from the dead, no one has been seen or heard from after death. That evidence, which alone could be absolutely conclusive, has never been afforded. This is the stubborn fact with which Butler and those who adopt his line of argument have to contend.

Positivism hopes that it has indemnified, or more than indemnified, us for the loss of personal immortality by tendering an impersonal immortality in the consequences of our lives and actions prolonged through the generations which come after us to the end of time. But this immortality is not only impersonal, it is unconscious, and, therefore, so far as our sensations are concerned, not distinguishable from annihilation. It is not even specially human: we share it with every motor, animate or inanimate,—with the horse that draws a wagon, with the water that turns a mill, with the food which passes into the muscles of the consumer, with the falling stone.

Besides, all theories which pretend to console man for his mortality by making him a partaker in the immortality of his race, seem to encounter the objection that the race itself is not immortal. How long the planet which is the abode of man will last or remain fit for man's habitation, the oracles of science may not be agreed, but they appear to be agreed in holding that the end must come. If they are right, philosophy does but mock us when she bids us find our real spiritual life in efforts to perfect humanity and our paradise in anticipation of



the state of bliss into which humanity, when perfected, will be brought. At a certain, however remote, date universal wreck will be the end. Nor has the promise of perfection by evolution, such as another school of thinkers holds out, any advantage in this respect over the promise of perfection by effort. Evolution, like effort, comes at last to naught. That death is the renewing of the species and apparently indispensable to progress, might be a satisfactory reflection if the species were everything and the individual were nothing. But the individual is something in his own eyes. Against any scientific theory that human organisms are simply vehicles for the transmission of life the consciousness of each organism protests and rebels.

Still less can any substitute for our hope of a personal immortality be found in demonstrations of the indefeasible vitality of protoplasm. The hope which we resign is personal. Protoplastic vitality is not. Life more or less active may, as these comforters tell us, pervade all things; and in that sense we may continue to live after our dissolution and absorption into the general frame of nature. But what is the value of a life of which we shall not be individually conscious? There may be life in the fermentation of a dunghill. But who can imagine himself blest in the prospect of sharing it?

Of death and of the perpetual renewal of the race the necessity is obvious so far as the present estate of man is concerned. Upon the succession of generations man's conjugal and parental character, among other things, depends. The existence of an undying man would be that of one of Swift's *Struldbrugs* infinitely prolonged.

John Stuart Mill, in a passage of his essay on "Immortality," highly lauded by Fitzjames Stephen, admits the possibility of conceiving that thought may continue to exist without a material brain, the relation of the two being no metaphysical necessity, but simply a constant coexistence within the limits of observation. Even if we suppose thought to embrace life, feeling, and affection, the mere admission that its disembodied existence is conceivable would be but cold comfort. Mill himself seems to fall back on the enjoyment of the present life exalted by the religion of humanity and ending in what he calls "eternal rest." "If," he says in his essay on "The Utility of Religion," "the Religion of Humanity were as sedulously cultivated as the supernatural religions are, . . . all who had received the customary amount of moral cultivation would up to the hour of death live ideally in the life of those who are to follow them." What is the religion of Humanity? How can there be a religion without a God? How can



we worship a generalization which cannot hear prayer or hymn, which is not even complete, since the history of man is unfinished, and of which, to enhance the anomaly, the worshipper himself is a part? Is the religion of Humanity anything more than a fervid philanthropy which must probably be confined to a few choice natures and, so far as it involves self-sacrifice, is not likely to be increased by the conviction that the philanthropist, in giving up present good, gives up all? What again is ideal life but unreal life? What is unreal life but death? To Mill it appears probable that after a length of time different in different persons they would have had enough of existence and would gladly lie down to take their eternal rest. Death is not rest; it is destruction. When we lay ourselves down to rest it is with the prospect of waking again refreshed and invigorated to new life. A Greek poet spoke to the heart when he tearfully contrasted the lot of man with that of the flowers of the field which renew their growth at the return of spring, while man with all his bravery and wisdom, once laid in his dark and narrow bed, sleeps a sleep which knows no waking. Yet it is not the extinction of bravery and wisdom that most moves our pity for ourselves. This the next generation may repair. The torch of science is handed on, and the discovery half made by one man of science is completed, when he is gone, by a successor. It is the perpetual slaughter of affection that touches us most, and that, we should think, would most touch the Power in whose hands we are, if in its nature there is any affinity to mortal love. Affection, at all events without the survival of the personalities, must die for ever.

The mere existence of a desire in man to prolong his being, even if it were universal, can afford little assurance that the desire will be fulfilled. Of desires that will never be fulfilled man's whole estate is lamentably full. If to each of us his own little being is inexpressibly dear, so is its own little being to the insect, which nevertheless is crushed without remorse and without hope of a future existence.

It is sad that man should perish, and perish just when he has reached his prime. This seems like cruel wastefulness in nature. But is not nature full of waste? Butler rather philosophically finds an analogy to the waste of souls in the waste of seeds. He might have found one in the destruction of geological races, in the redundancy of animal life, which involves elimination by wholesale slaughter, in the multitude of children brought into the world only to die. The deaths of children, of which a large number appear inevitable, seem to present an insurmountable stumbling-block to any optimism which holds that



nature can never be guilty of waste even in regard to the highest of her works. Waste there evidently is in nature both animate and inanimate, and to an enormous extent if our intelligence tells us true. The earth is full of waste places as well as of blind agencies of destruction, such as earthquakes, volcanic fires, and floods, while her satellite appears to be nothing but waste.

Can we rest on the presumption that for all suffering, at least for all unmerited suffering here, supreme justice must have provided compensation hereafter? Is there not an infinity of suffering among animals? Are not many of them by the very constitution of nature doomed as the prey of animals to suffer agonies of fear and at last a painful death? Are not others fated to be tortured by parasites? Yet where will be their compensation? Where will be the compensation of the hapless dog which writhes beneath the knife of the vivisector, and which not only is innocent but is an involuntary benefactor of humanity?

That a survey of nature drives us to one of two conclusions, either to the conclusion that Benevolence is not omnipotent or to the conclusion that Omnipotence is not, in our acceptation of the term, purely benevolent, has been proved with a superfluity of logic. What may be behind the veil we cannot tell. But in that which is manifested to us there seems to be nothing that can warrant us in looking for immortality as the certain gift of unlimited benevolence invested with unlimited power.

Yet man shrinks from annihilation. If he were certified of it, in spite of all that science or criticism has done to prepare him for disenchantment, and notwithstanding the complacent talk of philosophers about "eternal rest," his whole being would receive a shock. A fearful light would be thrown on the misery and degradation of which the world is full, has always been full, and is likely long to remain full. A fearful light would be thrown on all the horrors of history. The sufferers of the past at all events derived no comfort amidst famine, plague, massacre, and torture, from these theories of an "ideal life," of a "Religion of Humanity," and of a "posthumous and subjective existence in the progress of the species." A selfish tyrant like Louis XIV. or Napoleon would on this supposition—at least while his fortune lasted—have been of all men the happiest, while the victims of his selfish ambition or rapine, slaughtered in his profligate wars, perishing of hunger through his extravagance, or worked to death as slaves in his galleys, would have been of all men the most unhappy.

Is there any voice in our nature which distinctly tells us that death



is not the end? If there is, there seems to be no reason why we should not listen to it, even though its message may be incapable of verification such as in regard to a material hypothesis is required by physical science. That the intelligence of our five senses, of which science is the systematized record, is exhaustive, we have, it must once more be said, no apparent ground for assuming; the probability seems to be the other way; it seems likely that our senses, mere nerves even if completely evolved, are imperfect monitors, and that we may be living in a universe of which we really know as little as the mole—which no doubt seems to itself to perceive everything that is perceptible—knows of the world of sight. Now, there does seem to be a voice in every man which, if he will listen to it, tells him that his account is not closed at death. The good man, however unfortunate he may have been, and even though he may not have found integrity profitable, feels at the end of life a satisfaction in his past and an assurance that in the sum of things he will find that he has chosen aright. The most obdurately wicked man, however his wickedness may have prospered, will probably wish when he comes to die that he had lived the life of the righteous. It may be possible to explain the sanctions or warnings of conscience generally as the influence of human opinion reflected in the individual mind, transmitted perhaps by inheritance and accumulated in transmission. But such an explanation will hardly cover the case of death-bed self-approbation or remorse. There seems to be no reason why we should not trust the normal indications of our moral nature as well as the normal indications of our bodily sense; and against the belief that the greatest benefactors and the greatest enemies of mankind rot at last in the same grave our moral nature vehemently rebels.

Not much, it is to be feared, is to be gained in regard to this or to any other question respecting man's estate by taking mystical or transcendental views of the moral law. Kant said that the two things which most impressed him with awe were the starry heavens and the moral law. He assumed, as systems of moral philosophy in general assume, that the moral law is one, the fiat of a single authority, or the embodiment of a single principle. There are rules which we must observe to enable us individually to preserve our bodily health and strength, to enable us to earn our bread, and to keep our affections warm and pure for the enjoyment of social and domestic happiness. There are rules which we must observe as domestic beings for the regulation of our families. There are general rules of mutual help and forbear-



ance which we must observe toward our fellow passengers through this life, and the better to secure the observance of which states and communities of various kinds are formed. But these rules seem to be no more identical with each other than is the care for our own comfort in travelling with due respect for the convenience of our fellow travellers. There is a close connection, no doubt, domesticity and sociability being attributes of our individual selves; but not an identity such as would warrant us in speaking of these rules together as "the moral law," and referring them all to a single principle, natural or above nature. Nor is there anything which transcends our being in this world, which is not bounded by and capable of resolution into the needs of our present state, or necessarily points to an existence beyond.

It may conceivably be otherwise with Character, which, formed and manifested by acting in conformity with the rules of our present estate, yet has value and beauty of its own, so that we can contemplate it, mark its improvement or deterioration in ourselves, and make its improvement the object of distinct and conscious effort. In fact, what we call "spiritual life" seems to be the cultivation of character carried on by a sort of inner self. The value and beauty of character, if anything in us, may be thought to transcend the necessities of our present state and to be transferable, so to speak, to a wider sphere. It is conceivable that they may be prized by the soul of the universe, if the universe has a soul, as kindred and capable of being united to itself. That a power of good akin to human goodness is manifested in the universe and predominates over evil, none but extreme pessimists have yet denied. In affection, beauty, melody, and everything that appeals to sentiment, there are intimations of tenderness as well as goodness. It seems at least possible that the destiny of character may not be confined to earth. At the same time, so far as we can discern, character can be formed only by effort, which implies something against which to strive; so that without evil, or what appears to us evil, character could not be formed. For aught we know, effort, or something which we can only describe as effort, not fiat or mere evolution, may be the law of the universe. It is true that the immortality to which any suggestion of this kind points would be of the conditional kind, since good character only could have a life-giving affinity to the power of good.

All arguments of this kind of course have relation to the natural aspect of things apart from revelation. He who, with Dr. Salmond, believes that he has a divine revelation in the Gospel, and a pledge of immortality in union with Christ, can stand in no need of further



assurance otherwise than in the way of corroboration. He discusses the natural evidences, like Butler, with revelation in reserve.

There are those who think they display their good sense in bidding us give up these speculations,—which, they say, are beyond the range of our understandings,—and cultivate our pleasure and happiness in the present world. One element of our pleasure and happiness is the gratification of curiosity on the highest subjects. Our curiosity has been or is being gratified as to the origin of our species, and surely the destiny of our species is a question which is not less interesting, while it is inevitably set on foot by the other. However, pleasure and happiness are different things. Pleasure may be felt by the condemned convict in eating his last meal. But happiness seems to imply the sense of security and permanence. Grant that the estate of man upon this earth may in course of time be vastly improved. So much seems to be promised by the recent achievements of science whose advance is in geometrical progression, each discovery giving birth to several more. Increase of health and extension of life by sanitary, dietetic, and gymnastic improvement; increase of wealth by invention and of leisure by the substitution of machinery for labor; more equal distribution of wealth with its comforts and refinements; diffusion of knowledge; political improvement; elevation of the domestic affections and social sentiments; unification of mankind, and elimination of war through ascendancy of reason over passion—all these things may be carried to an indefinite extent, and may produce what in comparison with the present estate of man may be called a terrestrial paradise.

True, all progress is not improvement, nor is the horizon clear of cloud. Overgrowth of population is a danger which the anti-Malthusian can no longer set at naught, and to check which it is certain that Providence will not interpose. Art and poetry do not seem likely to advance with the ascendancy of severe science. There is some truth in the saying of the poet that a glory has passed away from the earth. A glory has certainly passed away from the Moon,—once Diana's bow, the Queen of heaven, the cynosure of love, now a volcanic refuse-heap. However, let us suppose the most chimerical of Utopias realized in a commonwealth of man. Mortal life prolonged to any conceivable extent is but a span. Still over every festal board in the community of terrestrial bliss will be cast the shadow of approaching death; and the sweeter life becomes, the more bitter death will be. The more bitter it will be at least to the ordinary man, and the number of philosophers like John Stuart Mill is small.

GOLDWIN SMITH.



## PRESIDENT ANGELL'S QUARTER-CENTENNIAL.

THE recent celebration by the University of Michigan of the completion of twenty-five years of service by its President is a noteworthy event. When we remember that the Semi-Centennial of the founding of the University was observed only nine years ago, we are at once made to realize how large a factor President Angell's administration has been in the history of the leading State university of our country. In this article it is my purpose to characterize the chief features of this administration, and incidentally to glance at some of the problems that remain still to be solved in adjusting and organizing our higher education with reference to the demands of our times.

The history of the University of Michigan must always be one of paramount interest to the student of higher education, from the very fact that its policy and character have so largely shaped the origin and growth of all the universities of the West and of the Pacific Slope. Many of the newer universities and colleges of our country, whether of State or of private endowment, both East and West, have modelled in no small degree their curricula of studies, their organization and methods of work, after those tested and approved by the University of Michigan. That this University has in many ways been a pioneer and reformer, as well as a conservator of what has been proved to be best in the past, is due in no small measure to the cautious yet wide-awake, progressive and liberal yet conservative and conscientious, spirit of the man who for so many years has guided its onward course.

Probably no man could have been found who was better suited, both by native endowment and training, to wear the mantle so ably borne by his predecessors in office—Presidents Tappan and Haven—than was Mr. Angell. His training for the presidency of this vigorous young State university was an exceptionally fortunate one. He had occupied for six years the chair of modern languages in Brown University, his *alma mater*. This experience gave him the teacher's and the scholar's point of view. Later, as editor of the Providence "Journal," he acquired that facility and grace of expression that have made him a master of the *ars loquendi*, and that wide acquaintance with



national affairs and public men and life that has made him tactful and alert in administration, wise in counsel, and skilful in diplomacy. Then came the initial stage of his presidential experience as the head of the University of Vermont. During his five years' administration, that institution received an impulse that has not yet spent its force.

When James B. Angell assumed, in 1871, the presidency of the University of Michigan, he found himself at the head of an institution that had cherished high ideals and large hopes. The University had not yet fully recovered from the shock it had received from the ruthless dismissal of its first great President, Henry P. Tappan. The majority of the *alumni* were still predicting disastrous results from this action, in spite of the wise and conciliatory policy of President Haven. The University stood at the parting of the ways. The earlier hopes and aspirations must now be rekindled, or else the future of the University was to be eclipsed by its past.

In his Inaugural Address, President Angell foreshadowed the beneficent results of his administration. He recognized first and foremost the relation of the University to the State, both as its ward and as the controller of its destiny. No truer words have ever been spoken concerning the demands the State may justly make upon its University than these:—

“The State, as the great patron and protector of the University, has a right to ask that it do the best work possible with the means at its command, that with enlarged resources its activity and usefulness be increased, that it do not become the refuge of dawdling *dilettanti* or of curious pedants. It may fairly demand that the University do not, as some institutions have done, when they have waxed strong and rich, shut itself off from living sympathy and contact with the great body of honest, toiling men who help to sustain it, but that it show in the lives of its graduates how its culture enriches and strengthens and adorns the whole life of the State, that it make it plainly manifest to each intelligent citizen that every appropriation to the University sows seeds in the most fruitful of all soils, and swells that rich harvest of intellectual force and manly character which is the greatest treasure and highest glory of any commonwealth.”

This idea that the University is the school of the common people is one that Mr. Angell has frequently emphasized in his public addresses.

What, on the other hand, the University has a right to expect from the State, has not been left unsaid. Repeated pleas for more endowment by the State have not been made in vain. Up to 1873, the University, aside from its original grant from the General Government, which yielded about \$38,000, was dependent for its resources solely upon special appropriations made by the legislature, and upon the fees



of students. But in the year just named the legislature voted one twentieth of a mill tax, which produced \$31,000 the first year. In 1874 the total income of the University was \$145,209, of which \$20,210 came from the fees of students. The legislature had still to provide for special objects, particularly for new buildings. In order to secure permanence of policy and definiteness of plan running through a series of years, it was essential that the University should have a fixed and definite income, which could be reckoned with in all plans for future development. This plea was made so effective that in 1893 the legislature increased its fixed appropriation from one twentieth to one sixth of a mill, which yields at present an income of about \$188,000 per annum. In the last fiscal year the total income of the University was \$440,146, of which \$141,888 came from students' fees.

The expenditures of the University have kept fully abreast of its income, and this is not surprising when it is noted that, as compared with twenty-five years ago, the number of students has increased from 1,200 to 3,000; the University has added four new departments to its organization, and has increased its staff of instruction nearly fivefold. That during this period the gifts to the University have been so small has doubtless been largely due to a widely prevailing opinion that the State is bound to care for its own, and that therefore to give endowments to the University is simply to make benefactions to the State. But the question may well be asked whether the largest generosity that can reasonably be expected from the State is likely to supply in the future the ever-growing and multifarious wants of a great university. Has the limit of State support been practically reached, and if so, are public-spirited citizens and friends of education likely to make State universities the objects of their munificence? Upon the answer to this question depends the future of the State universities.

When President Angell entered upon the duties of his office, there were two ideas that had just been incorporated into the life of the institution and were receiving their first practical test,—coeducation and the diploma system of admission. The first woman entered one year before Mr. Angell became President. That coeducation has long ago passed out of the experimental stage in the University of Michigan is generally believed, though there may be some reasons for holding that it has entered upon a new phase of trial. No administration could well have been more generous and fair toward this innovation than that which we are passing in review. In reading the President's Annual Reports, one finds more frequent reference to this than



to any other one feature of the life of the University. In his very first Report, we find the President saying:—

“Hardly one of the many embarrassments which some feared has confronted us. The young women have addressed themselves to their work with great zeal and have shown themselves quite capable of meeting the demands of severe studies as successfully as their classmates of the other sex. They receive no favors and desire none.”

This opinion was expressed when there were but 64 women in attendance. In 1893, twenty-one years later, the number of women had increased to 614, constituting nearly 23 per cent of the total number of students, and we find the President expressing his views as follows:—

“The educational, intellectual, and social consequences of this forward movement in the training of women we may not be able to foresee fully, but that they must be very important no one can doubt. I cannot but think that they will be very beneficent. The success of women in all branches of university study and the wise use which they are making of their attainments in life are fast overcoming the objections long held to offering them the opportunities of higher education, while the experience of the institutions which are educating men and women together is rapidly conquering the theoretical objections to the coeducation of the sexes.”

The so-called “diploma system,” by which the University admits graduates of approved high schools without examination, was inaugurated by Prof. Henry S. Frieze, while temporarily discharging the duties of the presidency. From the first, this plan of bringing the University into organic relation with the secondary education of the State met with President Angell's hearty approval; and the work of preparing teachers for the secondary schools has long been an important function of the University. As early as 1874, Mr. Angell called attention to the desirability of having some instruction given in pedagogy to those who were preparing themselves to teach. In 1879 the chair of the Science and Art of Teaching was established, the first professorship of its kind in this country. This example has been copied by many of the leading universities of our country, including Harvard, whose authorities were at first skeptical about the usefulness of such a chair.

About the same time, other important innovations were introduced. One of these is what is known as the credit system of graduation. It was felt that undue importance had been given to the element of time in fixing the requirements for graduation. Under the four-year plan of undergraduate study, the best men do not have the highest stimu-



lus presented to them to do their best work. It seemed to the Faculty that, by taking proper precautions to prevent mere cramming, students might wisely be allowed to do as much work as they could do well, and that each student should be recommended for his degree whenever he had completed the work required for it. The practical result of this arrangement has been to enable the stronger students to complete their undergraduate work in three years and one semester—a few have done it in three years—and to give such students the opportunity of gaining time for their professional studies. In recent years, an arrangement has been made by which students who look forward to medical and law courses in this University, can gain a year toward the attainment of their academic and professional degrees, by double registration during their Senior year. This has become possible only by the expansion of the elective system, which had been introduced, however, long before. Under this system, opportunity was afforded in all the courses, save the Engineering, to elect some study in every semester, and in the Junior and Senior years,—the prescribed courses having been completed,—to choose such studies as would naturally lead up to courses in the Medical and Law Schools. In this way this University has been trying to solve the problem, now coming more and more to the front, how a student who is planning for a course of professional study can cut short his undergraduate course with least injury to himself and to the interests of higher education. Upon the general question of reducing the undergraduate course to three years, President Angell remarks in his Report for 1890:—

“ We cannot neglect to consider what would be the effect of such action on education in the West. Without assuming too much for ourselves, we can hardly doubt that if we made the proposed change, our example would compel the smaller colleges in this region and probably tend to bring all the State universities in the West to make the change also. One who is familiar with the range of work now generally done in the western colleges and universities can hardly think that it would be beneficial to the West to reduce the standard of graduation by a year's study, at least until the requirements for admission are considerably raised.”

That other steps are likely to be taken to bring the professional schools into closer relation with the academic department, and to give a certain unity and coherence to the work of the University as a whole, is part of a movement toward realizing the ideals of a true university.

In looking over the Reports of the President, we are constantly reminded that these high ideals have never been lost sight of. We call



to mind his pleas for the expansion of the higher side of university work, which culminated in the establishment of a graduate school four years ago. While the number of students actually enrolled in the graduate school is not large, the presence of even a small body of graduates engaged in research and investigation is a wholesome stimulus to the entire University, teachers as well as students. In connection with this higher work done in the graduate school, it is proper to call attention to the courses of advanced study organized after the plan of the German seminar, a plan first introduced as early as 1871 by President Adams of Wisconsin University, then professor of history, and open to undergraduate students who have made special attainments. On several occasions Mr. Angell discusses the character and function of a true university, and expresses the desire that the colleges of the State might affiliate themselves with the University, and enter their students at the close of their third year for advanced courses in literature and science as well as for professional study; and that the high schools might relieve the University of the work of the first two years, which is so largely disciplinary. That this desire is utterly vain, we certainly cannot say. At any rate, when we reflect upon the strides in secondary education made in the last two decades, we may well hope that some day our strongest high schools will carry their pupils through all the gymnasial courses now commonly laid down in the first two years of the ordinary college curriculum.

While these changes and advancements have been brought about in the Department of Literature, Science, and the Arts, no less marked innovations and improvements have characterized the life of the professional schools during the period of this administration. In the Medical Department especially the standards of instruction and graduation have been notably raised. Before 1875 there was no examination for admission to this Department. The Harvard Medical School did not require an examination for admission before 1877, and Dartmouth and Bowdoin followed Harvard. Prior to 1877 the medical course ran through two terms of six months each, but in that year the terms were lengthened to nine months. In 1880 another year was added to the course. In 1890 the plan to increase the required term of study to four years was adopted. Meanwhile the entrance requirements had been raised, until they were substantially equivalent to those required for admission to the scientific course in American colleges. The instruction has been taking on a more genuinely scientific character. The laboratories have supplanted the lectures of the old type. In



spite of these advanced requirements, or perhaps rather because of them, the attendance has increased.

Almost as marked has been the advancement made in the Law School. Until recently, the sole requirements for admission were that a student should be at least eighteen years old and that he should bring a certificate of good character. The instruction was given by lectures, the course running through six months for two years. In 1883 the course was lengthened to two terms of nine months each. During the present year, a class has for the first time entered upon a three-years' course. Similar advancements have been made in the Schools of Homœopathy, Dentistry, and Pharmacy. The most recent step looking toward specialization and better articulation of work has been the separate organization of all the Engineering courses—Civil, Electrical, and Mechanical—into one School.

The progress of the University during President Angell's administration has been not only in the multiplication of departments, in the raising of standards of graduation, and in the increase of facilities of instruction, but also in the growth of what may be termed the true university spirit,—a spirit that disdains mere pedantry and loves learning for its own sake, and that seeks to slough off the puerile manners and barbarous customs that sometimes disgrace American college life. The President's kind yet firm bearing, quiet and unostentatious manner, and genuine and high character have impressed themselves upon the life of the student community, making it wholesome and free from pretence. A devout member of the Congregational Church, and a man of pronounced and positive Christian character, Mr. Angell has ever striven to make the University an institution whose life and influence should tell on the side of religion in its broadest and highest type, wholly free from a narrow and sectarian character. While no man has ever failed to be recommended by him for a chair because of any particular religious affiliations, it is equally true that he has sought for those men whose personal life and character were not only above reproach but promised to be helpful to the student community in the attainment of high ideals. President Angell is the most approachable of men, and while he comes into personal contact with comparatively few of the large body of students, no one fails soon to know the familiar form that may be seen passing in a jaunty kind of way to and fro on his daily walks, or hesitates to seek, in case of need, the sound advice of this wise and gracious counsellor. Aside from his duties as President, Mr. Angell has lectured regularly on international



law and the history of treaties and diplomacy, subjects on which he has become a recognized authority.

There are few positions in public life that call for so much wisdom and patience as the presidency of one of our great universities. That the cares and perplexities of such an office are not diminished in the case of one who presides over a State university will easily be granted. How skilfully Mr. Angell has avoided friction, how wisely he has sought to win public confidence in the University, how tactfully he has secured its well-being in times of grave crisis, are matters of history that are or ought to be known to every citizen of Michigan.

In educational circles it has often been a matter of comment that the Faculties of the University of Michigan have been remarkably free from internal strife. That this spirit of concord and peace has been greatly fostered by the genial temper and tactful guidance of President Angell will not be questioned.

The reputation of Mr. Angell is not limited by his work as an educator. Three times during the period under review has the National Government called him into its service. First, to perform the delicate task of reconstructing the Burlingame Treaty with China; later, as Commissioner to assist in settling the fisheries dispute with Canada and Great Britain; while at this moment he is a member of the Deep Waterways Commission recently appointed by President Cleveland. His knowledge of the history of treaties and international law, together with his well-known sagacity as a diplomatist, have made his counsels in all international affairs invaluable.

It is given to but few men to serve such high interests for so long a time. He who has done so with the signal success and loyal devotion that have characterized the service of President Angell deserves well of his country, and is entitled to the gratitude of all who appreciate the worth of a university to the State.

Entitled though he is, in view of the discharge of "duties beautifully done" for so many years, to the unvexed enjoyments that belong to an Emeritus, President Angell still possesses so large a share of *vis viva* as to warrant the hope that he will place the University and its patrons under increasing obligations by prolonging his wise and happy administration.

MARTIN L. D'OOGHE.



## MOLTKE AND HIS GENERALSHIP.

WHEN in the year 1858 the then Chief of the Prussian General Staff, General von Reyher, of the cavalry, died, there was keen excitement among great numbers of people as to who was to be his successor in that important and responsible post.

General von Reyher had possessed the confidence of the whole army. He was a self-made man in the fullest sense of the word. The son of a parish clerk in a small town in the province of Brandenburg, he was drawn as a recruit at the beginning of the century, and entered an infantry regiment quartered at Berlin. Being able to write a good hand, he soon found employment in the office of the general who commanded the regiment, who got so fond of him that he even gave him the *entrée* into his family circle. After the catastrophe of 1806-7, Reyher was transferred to the cavalry, taking part in the ill-starred raid of the gallant Colonel von Schill, which ended in the annihilation of his troops. He was then transferred as sergeant to a Uhlan regiment, whose commander was that smart officer, Colonel von Katzler, afterward so celebrated as the leader of York's advance-guard in the war of Liberation. Reyher's whole personality—the reliability of his character, his devotion to duty, the complete success with which his endeavors were crowned—all contributed toward supplying the social and educational deficiencies of his early life, and won for him increased respect and favor in his new position. The officers were very anxious to see him one of themselves—an almost unheard-of thing, in those days, with a man of his antecedents. Every effort was made to facilitate the realization of this wish, and when, not long after, he passed the literary examination in brilliant style, Katzler soon made him his orderly officer. He was thus placed when war broke out in 1813, which furnished him with the fullest opportunities for gaining ample military experience; and, distinguishing himself conspicuously, before long he was transferred to a larger field as officer of the General Staff, in which capacity he served through the remainder of the campaign from 1813 to 1815, and laid the foundation of his great reputation. After the war was over he rose from rank to rank, till the son of the



Brandenburg parish clerk reached one of the highest posts in the army.

And so, when his death became known, the question of a successor to this brilliant and distinguished soldier was talked of on every hand. The choice lay with him who was destined to be the first kaiser of the restored German Empire, and it fell on Major-General Helmuth von Moltke. By this choice William I showed for the first time the sagacity and knowledge of men for which he was so remarkable—qualities which, throughout his glorious reign, always enabled him to put the right man in the right place, at least as regards the chief adviser of the crown.

Moltke too had to overcome many difficulties from early youth. In his young manhood his constitution was not robust; his position was an embarrassing one, while the transfer of his services from the Danish to the Prussian crown left him unknown and without patrons. But his iron will and indomitable energy perfected him in his military duties, while, by studying the classics and by carefully observing all that came within his mental purview, he had laid in an ample store of knowledge, and in both those spheres had so equipped himself that a happy application of his acquirements could not fail to ensure him success. This was all the more certain because he had kept himself under strict discipline, continually endeavoring to develop his natural gifts of character, and by so doing perfecting himself for the life-work that lay before him. He was a fresh instance of the truism that the talents and qualities inherent in a man can only develop into genius when they go hand in hand with an untiring love of, and power for, work.

The further progress of Moltke is well-known. In a comparatively short time his ability was rewarded by his transfer to the General Staff, which, as is well-known, is the *élite* of the Prussian army. Only conspicuous ability and personal merit, such as hold out the prospect of developing into a skilful commander or a useful colleague in the work of the higher officials, receive a place in that body, and that only after a long training and probation; but, when once obtained, it carries with it the prospect of speedy promotion, and a precious opportunity of self-development by employment in various fields.

And so it was in the case of Moltke. By his mission to Turkey, during the struggle between the Sultan and the Egyptians, he received his first important military experience, being present at the disastrous battle on the Nisilo; and his prolonged sojourn in Italy helped mate-



rially to develop his powers. Not only did his insight into the course of great events in the world's history, and the time spent on the sacred classical soil, stand him in good stead, but he found time to perfect himself in many ways, more particularly by engaging in historical and geographical studies, and collecting considerable topographical materials. Later on he was promoted to a higher rank in the General Staff at home, where he came in contact with the Prince of Prussia, who thus became intimately acquainted with him, and on whom his conspicuous ability and great qualities made such a favorable impression that he considered him the fittest person to entrust with the vacant post of Chief of the General Staff. How Moltke justified the confidence placed in him, and the hopes based on it, is known to the world.

At the time of his appointment Moltke was in his fifty-eighth year. In regard to his personal appearance, what struck one was his tall, slender figure and elastic movements; and still more his classical features and clear, well-opened eyes. In society he showed great reserve, which led to his being called "the great silent man," and it was only among a very small circle that he took a lively part in conversation; but when he did so, he could be very entertaining, his talk being at once interesting, stimulating, and instructive without ostentation. Full of inexhaustible energy, he had, as time went on, so hardened himself, that he was an untiring pedestrian and an enthusiastic rider. As regards the inner man, the most striking characteristic was heartfelt devotion and attachment to the service of his sovereign and master, which constantly found expression both in word and in deed. His ambition was not of the heaven-storming order, but aimed only at filling his post to the utmost of his power, with true devotion and strict attention to his duty. Of almost Spartan simplicity and unpretentiousness, he always put the cause above the person, and thought far more of the best interests of his king and country than of any fame that might be won for himself.

Let me add here a few little anecdotes in illustration of what I have said of him. One morning, at Versailles, in January, 1871, the letters from home were being looked through while he was present. In one of them was a long poem in his honor, full of all imaginable eulogies, such phrases as "the sage orderer of battles," "the great silent man," etc., constantly occurring. He sat quiet while this great composition was being read out, and when it was over he smiled calmly to himself and remarked to us, "Well, you know, if we had



not conquered, the poem would have begun with the words, 'Thou old fool.'” On another occasion he undertook an official journey to the court of one of the smaller German states. His reception there was most hearty and cordial, and it was in high delight that the general took leave of his princely entertainers after dinner. As he went down the staircase, he suddenly paused, and said to one of his aides-de-camp, “Really, how very forgetful I am! I ought to have worn the prince's order to-day,” to which the officer addressed replied, “I should have taken the liberty of drawing your excellency's attention to the fact, but it has not yet been conferred on you, and so you are not entitled to wear it.” Thereupon Moltke looked at him gratefully, and said, highly pleased, “Really, really! I am glad to hear you say so. I was afraid I had been guilty of an impoliteness.”

When he entered upon his duties as Chief of the Staff, Moltke was but little known to the army, nor did he become so till his capacity was proved by the institution of autumn manœuvres on a large scale, and still more by his conduct of the tours, for purposes of instruction, made by the General Staff,—in both of which cases it was most conspicuous. In the inauguration of these military tours and intricate problems and movements, his great aim was to promote the general efficiency of the Staff, and also the training of aspirants to that coveted position; and these tactical problems were highly appreciated by the army, owing to the admirable solutions of them given by himself. But for the time being the majority of the people had no idea to what extent he gave promise of proving the most judicious adviser of his royal commander in the field; only a very few of the uninitiated knew with what foresight he had reckoned up possible warlike entanglements from the first, or the thoroughness and deep insight with which he worked out all details relating to such a war, should it come to pass. His influence made itself felt, however, in the conduct of the war against Denmark; but the world-wide fame which afterward came to him had its foundations laid securely for the first time in 1866, when his ability was fully and decisively demonstrated by his exploits as Chief of the Staff of the whole Prussian army.

His foresight was signally vindicated at the outbreak of the Franco-German war. It was commonly reported that one day—in July, 1870—an officer came into Moltke's study and said to him, “Your excellency, the relations seem to be growing so strained that it might be well to begin preparations for a war with France.” “Do you think things are so bad as all that? Well, then, kindly open that bureau



there, and pull out drawer number four on the right-hand side, and you will find all that has to be seen to ready cut and dried." Even if this story be not literally true, at least it is quite correct as regards the gist of it. Everything relative to such a war had indeed long before been weighed, and worked out, and decided, and all the necessary orders lay ready to the smallest detail, requiring only the addition of the date for immediate dispatch.

What General von Moltke thought about the duties of the General Staff with regard to preparation for war may be gathered from one of his own printed utterances. He says in the book published by the General Staff on the campaigns of 1870 and 1871:—

"It is among the duties of the General Staff in peace time to arrange the massing and transport of the necessary bodies of troops for *all* probable eventualities that war may bring with it, and to work out the same in full, and to have the plans in readiness beforehand. When an army first takes the field, the most varied political and geographical considerations have to be weighed, as well as the merely military. Mistakes in the original concentration of the armies employed can hardly be redeemed in the whole course of the campaign. All these arrangements may be made long beforehand, and if the troops are prepared for war, and the transport properly organized, they cannot fail to lead to the desired result."

In accordance with the opinion here expressed, the Prussian Staff had long before made all preparations for a war with France, for ever since France in 1866, after the victory of Prussia over Austria, had begun to talk of "compensation," it was merely a question of time as to how long it would be before the French hankerings after the left bank of the Rhine would culminate in an appeal to arms. What follows the above-quoted expression of Moltke's views is of such importance as showing the ideas of the great strategist with regard to the conduct of war in general, that I feel bound to quote it here. The passage is as follows:—

"The further duty of the strategist—the application in the field of the means already provided, in actual contact with the enemy—is on quite a different footing. Here our will is soon brought face to face with the unfettered will of our antagonist. That will can indeed be hampered, if one is ready to take the initiative in good time and is resolute, but it can be broken down only by actual fighting.

"The material and moral consequences of every considerable engagement are so complex, that they generally place one in a totally different position, and with it a new basis for further movements is laid. No plan of operations can be formed with any certainty until the first encounter with the main body of the enemy has taken place. *Only a layman could fancy that in the course of a*



*campaign he sees the carrying out of a previously conceived plan, complete in all details, and maintained unaltered to the end.* No doubt the successful leader will pursue certain great aims, undeterred by the vicissitudes of events, but the ways of attaining them can never be determined with any certainty long beforehand."

These views of the lamented field-marshal are decidedly at variance with those so generally entertained as to the methods he used in the conduct of war. The question has often been raised, "What system did Moltke pursue in strategy?" All are now pretty well agreed in answering it as follows, "His system lay in the maxim, 'March on different lines, and concentrate to strike.'" The question is, of course, wrongly put, for what great commander ever followed any "system of strategy"? And the answer given above is not less wrong in itself, for it expresses no principle, but merely contains one of many conditions without which great bodies of troops cannot possibly be handled, or war on a large scale carried on. Yet this question and the answer to it form such a definite part of the general conception of the subject that we must enter into it at some length here, if we wish to arrive at a clear conception of Moltke's generalship as a whole.

At various periods theoretical speculations have led to the construction of systems of the art of war, and men have thought that in knowing and acting on them lay the right means of conducting war to a successful issue. Nay! even during particular wars, the scene of operations and their conduct have been made the subject of scientifically-concocted theories, as a rule much to the detriment of the men to whom such advice was offered. A system implies settled principles and well-defined rules, and we demand of it, if it is to be practicable, that it should be applicable at least in the majority of cases and tend to the desired result.

But in actual life there is very great variableness even in the elementary conditions. The whole political situation, to begin with, has to be considered, the feelings of other states to be thought of, and, moreover, the extent and nature of the resources at command, the topography of the country, the means of transport, the questions of cost and provisioning, and last, but not least, the intentions and movements of the enemy. In all these respects, where one nation is pitted against another single-handed, the factors to be reckoned with are not always the same, nor can they always be reduced to a hard-and-fast system; but every individual case takes a different shape according to the special circumstances attendant on it. The American



war of Independence was quite different in its conditions, its aims, and the means at command from the Crimean war, and the Italian war of 1859, in its political objects and in geographical conditions, was in its turn materially different from the Franco-German war of 1870. Moreover, one cannot remodel actual warfare to suit the ideal laws of a theoretical system; reality takes all sorts of varied shapes, and we must take it as it comes, accepting the very heterogeneous details which constitute it.

On the other hand, the principle which forms the basis of one of these so-called "systems" is applicable only in an exceptional case, which is so constituted that one can make use of it with advantage for the nonce. In any case it may be greatly to the profit of one of the contending parties, should circumstances allow it, to mass his whole strength compactly, while the other has to assemble his forces at different points. In this way the former of the two adversaries can advance with all his troops well in hand against the scattered forces of his opponent, and thus fall on them in detail with his whole strength, or at least with a great numerical superiority. But to enjoy this advantage the first thing necessary is, that the natural features of the country through which one advances should admit of the whole force being collected on the one line of advance, while it compels one's opponent to move in comparatively detached bodies, which form a wide arc round one's own line of advance. Thus, for instance, circumstances greatly favored the German army in 1870, because the Bavarian palatinate and the Rhine province afforded them an opportunity for collecting their strength, while the French, owing to the configuration of their frontier and the position of their railway system, were almost forced to advance in two bodies from Metz and Strasburg. The Germans thus found themselves at the beginning of the campaign in possession of "inner lines," and would have reaped the full advantage of such a position—for the French did actually concentrate in the first instance at two different points—had not the enemy at once endeavored to remedy the defect. To accomplish this troops were directed to march from Strasburg and effect a junction with the main body in Lorraine,—but it was too late.

In any case one must take the geographical features of the frontier districts as one finds them, and they do not always fall in with the ideal requirements of the theory of marching on "inner lines." If circumstances militate against a concentration on the frontier, no choice is left but to effect a union of forces farther on, by a series of manœuvres,



making absolutely sure of being able to concentrate together. Other conditions, it may be remarked, are necessary in order to gain the full advantage which is given by acting with a massed army against scattered forces. The most important of these is the question of roads. The great armies which now-a-days take the field require a great area of ground for their concentration; they are composed of several armies, between which there must always be a certain distance, for they must be brought from the districts where they are quartered by different lines of railway. In most cases these smaller armies will each have its separate objective, which will again lead to their being separated. If the communications between the various bodies of the army which is acting on "inner lines" are defective, while the enemy, though on "outer lines," has a sufficient command of suitably-placed lines of railway, it is within the bounds of possibility for the latter to concentrate more rapidly and thus deprive the former of the advantage of "inner lines."

Let us now examine the relation of Moltke's generalship to the different theories, by a review of the several operations of the war of 1870 taken in their entirety.

The concentration of the whole strength of Germany was planned to take place on the left bank of the Rhine, in the advanced western portions of the Rhine province and the Bavarian palatinate, in case the French dispositions should not make other arrangements necessary,—such as, for instance, an early advance on their part from Strasburg into south Germany, which might have necessitated a partial alteration. From that position we were able to move our whole force, either in a mass or in detached bodies, in any direction, and to advance into the enemy's country by the shortest route. If the French, therefore, massed their troops in two great bodies to the west and south, in Alsace and Lorraine, as might be expected from the position of their lines of railway, and remained for the time in that position, the German leaders would reap all the advantages offered by the command of the "inner lines." If, however, the enemy's troops massed themselves in a westerly direction, say along the Moselle from Thionville to the northern end of the Vosges, the Germans would no longer have any "inner lines," and must take the offensive by a simple advance to their front. Moltke was determined on thus taking the offensive, if necessary, but only when sufficient forces were assembled for carrying it through effectively. It was the only way that held out a prospect of concluding the war speedily, and he was all the more justified in trying



it, as the German leaders had at their disposal forces which were, at least numerically, considerably superior to those of the enemy. At the same time the plan of concentration, as it was carried out in the event, offered another great advantage. The assembling of the third army under the Crown Prince of Prussia in the southern portion of the palatinate, fronting southward against the troops of Marshal MacMahon which were massing at Strasburg, not only covered the flank of our main body, but also afforded an excellent flank position, from which to advance against a possible incursion of the French from the Upper Rhine into southern Germany, and involve the invading force, without difficulty, in disaster. In this part of the theatre of war the dispositions were accordingly made in accordance with the theory of "flanking positions," which some have in all ages considered the only means of operating "*en règle*." But to ensure its success the general conditions, especially as concern one's opponent, and the topography of the country, must be favorable, for it is not every position which flanks the enemy's line of operations that can be used to flank an advance on his part. On the contrary, the opportunity for taking up such a position under favorable conditions is exceedingly rare.

However thorough may be the preparations made for a concentration, it always requires a certain amount of time to carry out, and the skilful application of the means of transport afforded by the railways will not alone ensure that such great fighting bodies shall reach the place of concentration in perfect readiness to fight and march. From the very nature of the case this can be effected only gradually. If, then, the place of concentration lies near the enemy's frontier, the detraining and assembling of the troops must be covered, which is essential in order to prevent disastrous interference by the enemy. This requirement may be fulfilled in various ways. For instance, the divisions, or, if necessary, army corps, which are quartered in peace time nearest the frontier may be assembled on a peace footing, without waiting for their complements to be filled up by reserves, or for new regiments to be formed out of them, or for the arrival of the horses and wagons necessary to complete the artillery, ammunition columns, ambulances, pontoon trains, etc., to war footing, or for the equipment of the numerous supply trains required in the field, without which no large body of troops can be considered fully equipped. Moltke did not think it advisable to make such a proposal, for it would have put the troops affected by it in the position of not being able to put out their full strength, and would have made their use in further



operations a doubtful question—at least for some time. Instead of so doing he adopted a plan which was a part of the much and justly despised “cordon system,” but which, nevertheless, was most adapted to the object in view, and gave excellent results. This system, which was often applied in the old wars, consists in protecting a district or carrying on a defensive war by occupying all the roads and important points. It inevitably leads to a great dispersion of forces, so that the enemy, if he attacks at any point in force, can make the whole plan futile. Moltke’s proposals for covering the concentration were confined to placing small unsupported detachments at various points on the frontier which were of special importance: by this means he hoped to secure the frontier districts from incursions of the enemy which might interfere materially with the mobilization of the troops quartered in them. His object was attained to the full, and thus only a small portion of our forces were subjected to the inconveniences which attend taking the field straight from quarters, without giving time for the reserves, etc., to come in.

The French adopted another movement, for they at once threw their whole forces on the frontier, and tried to put them on a war footing when they were there. The result was hopeless confusion, which ended in their army being delayed longer before taking the field than would otherwise have been the case. The consequence was that they were attacked on their own territory by the German armies, which had quietly and methodically made their preparations in their own garrisons, before they were fully equipped or their concentration had had time to be completed. Moltke was quite justified in adopting the “cordon system,” for he never expected that those small detachments pushed forward on the Sarre could hold out against heavy odds, but intended them mainly for purposes of observation, and to hold in check small bodies of the enemy’s troops. His further object—the immediate purpose of his movements—was to find out the enemy and beat them with his whole force. He succeeded in this so far as regards the imperial army, but when the republic continued the struggle, and organized fresh armies, in view of the altered conditions he made another objective the goal of his efforts. This was no longer the mere defeating of the enemy’s forces, but the capture of a city, and that city Paris, the key of France. He was not mistaken in his hopes, for with the fall of the capital the war was at an end.

It may be asked why he did not rather set his mind on taking possession of the whole of France, thus becoming master of the



points at which the fresh masses of the enemy gathered and were organized into armies. The answer is simply, that with such a large country as France the means at his disposal were not sufficient both to hold Paris in check and occupy all the provinces as well. But, at the same time, this proves that he did not attain success by following one and the same plan from beginning to end, and that even the military objective changed in accordance with the requirements of the changed conditions. Here again we find no rigid adherence to any fixed principle or system.

But let us turn back to consider the details from the beginning of the operations. They began with a general offensive movement, and that made in an eccentric way, with the main body, the first and second armies, fronting westward, and the third army southward. The result was that no later than the third day the whole affair of the "inner lines" came to nothing, as the southern portion of the enemy's forces also drew off toward the west. Had the French chosen they might, if they had gone about it in the right way, have effected a junction between their two bodies, not indeed on the frontier, but farther back in their own territory. Had they done so, it would have been quite out of the question for the Germans to operate on "inner lines," at any rate in the early days of the campaign. That the German leaders did not attempt to profit by the advantage which such a movement would have given them at the beginning of the war, was due principally to the course which the operations took. The advance of the main body, the first and second armies, was directed against the French main body which lay behind the line of the Moselle and was, in the first instance, *a direct frontal advance*. It was the indecision of the French leaders and their defective dispositions that furnished us with the opportunity of extending our line of operation with the object of cutting off the retreat of the enemy into the interior. The battles of Gravelotte and St. Privat, on August 18, which ended in the shutting up of the enemy's main body in Metz, were fought by us *fronting to the rear*, *i. e.*, without regard to our communications, and with our backs to the interior of France, a venturesome proceeding even for an army numerically superior to its opponent. Thereupon sufficient troops were left before Metz to secure the environment of that fortress. That portion of our forces which did not seem requisite for the purpose (the newly-formed army of the Meuse, under the Crown Prince of Saxony) was set in motion, in conjunction with the third army under the Crown Prince of Prussia, against the remainder of the French regular



troops. The advance of both these armies was directed toward Paris, but so soon as it was noticed that such troops as the enemy still had in the field were endeavoring, under MacMahon, to move round our right flank to the relief of Metz, this direction was at once abandoned, and the difficult movement of wheeling to the right carried out by the whole force, a movement which resulted in the surrounding of the enemy at Sedan, and the capture of Napoleon and the army. The campaign had begun by *eccentric attack* on the German side, but here we have the *concentric attack* in its most complete form, so applied as to result in the entire surrounding of the enemy.

After the catastrophe at Sedan, the aim, hitherto pursued, changed, for, as I have already pointed out, the proper objective—the army of the enemy—existed, for the time being, only in detached columns. Accordingly, the taking of Paris now became the object aimed at, and the march on that place was entered upon *in as extended order as possible*, which tended greatly to the sparing of the troops, and made it much easier to supply them. This could be done without danger, as the enemy was nowhere able to oppose us in such force as could not be crushed by any one of the individual columns. Accordingly, the march was made as far as the neighborhood of Paris in detached bodies, without any necessity for caring whether it was possible to concentrate the whole force for united action. Not until they neared Paris did the two armies unite in concerted action in order to environ and isolate that city. For this purpose the various corps, though they were now very close to large bodies of the enemy, had to be placed at such a distance from each other that in case of a battle concentration was out of the question. The conditions thus forced upon us made a reversal of the principle, “March separately, and fight united,” indispensable, and the watchword now became, “March separately, and fight separately.”

The further conduct of the war proved, owing to the unexpected delay in the fall of Paris and the exceptional exertions made by France to put new bodies of men in the field, a task of extreme difficulty; but, in the main, it was based on one great principle—the simple determination to isolate Paris until it fell, and to check all attempts on the part of the enemy to relieve that city or to cut our communications. Accordingly, all the troops that could be spared, as well as those that were gradually added to those at our disposal by the fall of Metz and Strasburg, were used with that object. In checkmating the attacks of the relieving armies our movements were sometimes *frontal* and *concentric*; at others, *eccentric* or flanking positions were taken up, or com-



munications cut (as in the case of Bourbaki's disaster and flight into Switzerland), according as circumstances permitted of our using this or that means with a fair prospect of success.

This brief survey of the operations of 1870-71 may help, in the first instance, to show the justice of Moltke's saying, quoted at the beginning of this article, that it is impossible, in the exigencies of a campaign, to carry out, complete in all its details, any preconceived systematic line of action, and adhere to it strictly to the end. It is only the assembling of the forces to be employed which can be carried out in accordance with a preconceived plan in all its details. The events which immediately follow cannot be foreseen; the course pursued may change at any moment, and in most cases will do so, as it is the disposition of the enemy and the result of the battles fought that shape the situation. Thus it is labor lost to attempt to propound a system of generalship. The only thing is to realize at each particular moment what the situation really is, and to take measures accordingly. In both of these arts Moltke was a passed master. The principle ascribed to him of "marching separately, and fighting in combination" is no system, but merely a fundamental rule of all strategy, of which there are plenty; still less is it a new system. The vast hordes of the Avars and Huns were forced to march separately for fear of being famished if they did not, yet they fought in a body both at the Lechfeld and the Catalaunian Fields.

But if one is determined to find a ruling principle in Moltke's generalship, it may be traced in its most fitting expression in his favorite maxim, "First weigh and then dare!" (" *Erst wägen, dann wagen!* ").

JULIUS VON VERDY DU VERNOIS.



# The Forum

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AUGUST, 1896.

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## MR. GODKIN ON THE WEST: A PROTEST.

THIS is a protest. Protests are like pills—some do good to the taker, some to the giver, some to both, and some to neither. If this protest does no good, its temper is such that it will do no harm. It is made good-naturedly by an average western business man on behalf of the West, and against that part of the metropolitan press which is unfair, unkind, and unwise in its treatment of the West. I have recently observed two instances of this.

THE FORUM for May last contains an article entitled "The Political Situation," written by Mr. E. L. Godkin, the editor of the New York "Evening Post." The "New York Herald" of June 6, 1896, contains an editorial nearly a column in length with this black-letter title: "Mr. McKinley is sure to be nominated, for we don't think Big Hat Harrison has the slightest chance."

Both these articles are blunders.

Mr. Godkin's contentions are that the chief political questions now before the country are those of the currency and the tariff; that both these questions are sequelæ of the civil war; that neither was known as a question of national importance prior to the war; that following the war the apprehension was that there would be disturbances in the South and difficulty about the return of the army to peaceful pursuits, but that instead of these, the troublesome questions proved to be those of the currency and the tariff; that the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States upholding the greenback legislation fixed the fiat idea firmly in the minds of the people; that the free-silver theory



and the greenback theory are identical, and that both are mere branches of the protective theory. In elaborating this argument he makes, among many others, the following statements:—

“The currency problem is made all the more complicated by the attitude of the West toward the East. That there is a line dividing the two regions has been for a long time vaguely perceived, but it was never so clearly defined as by the war feeling and by the silver question. Speaking generally, the bulk of whatever there was of pugnacity toward England after Mr. Cleveland’s Message was to be found west of the Alleghanies ; and, speaking generally, also, it may be said that the principal support of the silver standard is to be found west of the Alleghanies. It is accompanied in both cases by a dislike or distrust of the East, which is partly social and partly financial, and covers also European countries, but principally England. The social dislike or distrust would need an article to itself. The financial is, in the main, that of a borrowing for a creditor community, and that of a new agricultural community for one which is devoted mainly to the business of selling commodities and exchanging money. It is composed, in part, of the old dislike of the farmer for the financier, and in part that of the poor debtor for the rich creditor. Behind it all lies great ignorance about foreigners and foreign relations, and of the other forms of society than those by which western men are surrounded, combined with an immense sense of power. It is difficult to make a western man understand that a country of 70,000,000 of inhabitants cannot do anything that it has a fancy to do, including the circulation of silver at a fixed ratio. It is also difficult to persuade him that a well-dressed man with superfine manners does not cherish evil designs of some sort. He does not see how the great fortunes he hears of in the East have been honestly acquired, and he, therefore, would hear with equanimity of the bombardment of eastern cities. He brooks very ill the unconscious assumption of superiority which the long cultivation of the social art brings with it in older countries, and thinks it the main business of the American abroad to resent this by threats and defiance.

“Among the mass of western people, a knowledge of the conditions of foreign exchange is scanty. The notion that a nation with \$1,600,000,000 of foreign commerce can be a law unto itself in commercial matters, and that it is easy to create financial conditions which will cut us off from the rest of the world, is still rife in that part of the country. In fact, it would not be too much to say that, in spite of a high degree of culture at certain points, the West is suffering all the observed consequences of too great isolation,—that is, want of more contact with other social conditions and other forms of civilization. All genuine and steady progress thus far has come from intercourse with foreigners and familiarity with their point of view, and readiness to adopt whatever is best and most suitable in their ideas, manners, or customs. This has been true from the earliest times, is, in fact, the most familiar phenomenon of advancing civilization. The greatest danger the Valley of the Mississippi runs to-day is the danger of living in its own ideas,—the belief that Providence still creates peculiar peoples.

“Escape from the silver idea is not likely to be easy. The protective idea is incorporated with it. The belief that silver is a commodity, not simply a measure of value, has taken possession of the western mind. The notion that it is, therefore, as much entitled to protection as any other commodity, by any means within reach of the Government, is not easily dislodged, so long as the protective theory prevails at the East. . . . The western man is a protectionist, too, but he



wishes to push the plan farther, and he has concocted a theory of currency to go along with it. A self-supporting, Europe-defying country, producing everything it wants for its own use, including its own money, is his idea of a state. . . .

"That these ideas will be overcome, except by actual experiment, seems unlikely. If the currency should, by the next election, fall into the hands of a Government dominated by the ideas of the silverites, we must be prepared for deliverance through a panic of very great magnitude. This is the way, as a general rule, the financial heresies of a democracy are dissipated. Books are not read, or theorists much listened to. The thing has to be tried. . . .

"Much the same things may be said, *mutatis mutandis*, of the tariff question." . . .

If all readers of Mr. Godkin's article were familiar with his methods as a political writer, what he says would do no harm. But under the circumstances it is a most pernicious piece of literature. It is composed of a skeleton of prejudices adroitly clothed with truths, half truths, and assumptions, the whole being thoroughly bad. Its badness is all the worse because of Mr. Godkin's high personal character and pretensions as demonstrated in part by his clean and in many ways most admirable newspaper. His objectionable method, briefly described, is that of the special pleader, who determines first what he desires to prove, and then produces the facts, or alleged facts, with which the proof shall be made. This is the reverse of the scientific method, and results in making Mr. Godkin the bitter partisan that he is—especially in his hostility to other partisans. It is a method which is particularly illegitimate in any exclusive forum like the pulpit or the school-room or the printed page.

Mr. Godkin is not personally familiar in any broad sense with the people living west of the Alleghanies. He looks at these people through the twisted lens of his own dislike—not to say hatred—of sundry men, measures, parties, and publications which he assumes are representative of the whole West. This assumption is brutal and unintelligent. On the other hand my own convictions concerning the West are based on a lifetime of close contact with all the larger communities between the Alleghanies and the Pacific, except those of the southern States east of the Mississippi River. I have scrutinized these communities from the points of observation of the student, the editor, the lawyer, the business man, and the general observer. I have taken careful note of the temper, convictions, and general characteristics of the western people, and I assert with positive conviction that there is no such "attitude" of the West toward the East as that described by Mr. Godkin.

On the contrary, the attitude of the West toward the East is of the



most friendly character. It is natural that this should be so; it is impossible that it should be otherwise. The western people came from the East, or their ancestors did; and almost without exception they are bound to the East by the closest ties of consanguinity. They have taken pains to go East and to study the East. To them the East is "back," while to the eastern people the West is "out." They are proud of the great interests and institutions of the East. They feel that the East stands between them and Europe, and that thereby our country presents a majestic front to the Old World. They have been principally educated in the East; and their preachers, teachers, physicians, and intellectual leaders generally are of eastern training. Their systems of law and government are from the East. All the literature they read above the local newspaper is from the East; their educational methods are adopted from eastern standards. Every western banker or financier watches the chiefs of his profession in the East as pupils watch their teachers. Western merchants go East for their goods. Western people seeking recreation go East for their rest. There is no possible room, in short, for any such general feeling of hostility as Mr. Godkin describes.

There are certainly instances of bitterness toward the East. But such bitterness arises from individual experiences and is in no sense typical of the whole. There are men and communities in the West that entertain a resentful feeling toward the East, because of some particular business disagreement, or other similar reason, but the reverse is also true, just as it is true that there are those in Philadelphia who dislike New York, and those in New York who dislike Boston. The hostile individuals in the West are not to be taken seriously as representing the whole West, any more than Mr. Godkin and the "Herald" are to be accepted as fairly representing the attitude of the East toward the West. The belligerency following Mr. Cleveland's Venezuela Message was not western any more than eastern. Mr. Godkin's beloved President, of William Street, New York city, and that President's cabinet counsellor, the Secretary of State, of Boston, Massachusetts, issued the Venezuela Message. It was not issued by Mr. Altgeld or Mr. Pepper, or by Mr. Teller or Mr. Stewart. The newspapers of New York and Massachusetts were more nearly a unit in support of the Message than the newspapers of the West. I do not remember that any newspapers in New York withheld their support of the Monroe Doctrine as interpreted by the President, except Mr. Godkin's "Post" and Mr. Pulitzer's "World." For once I was in hearty accord



with both papers, so fatally inopportune did the Message seem, considering the financial situation.

I am sure that only the gimlet eye of Mr. Godkin could discover in the support of the Monroe Doctrine anything peculiarly western. That doctrine was not invented in the West, but more nearly in England; its maintenance is of less consequence to the West than to the East; the poll of the newspapers, the vote in Congress, the origin of the Message, and the direct importance of the non-enlargement of European possessions in America,—all combine to indicate far more interest in the subject among the dwellers of the Atlantic Coast than among the people of the interior. Those unfortunate investors who were hit by falling prices were the only people particularly disgruntled by the effects of the Message. So far as Mr. Godkin is concerned there is a painful suspicion abroad that if the Venezuela Message had not been objectionable to England it would not have been objectionable to Mr. Godkin.

Ignorance about foreigners and foreign relations cannot successfully be charged against the West, especially in view of the history of the western people. Chicago, Milwaukee, Cincinnati, New Orleans, St. Louis, Kansas City, Omaha, Minneapolis, Denver, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Portland—are all cities with very great foreign populations. All the States in which these and similar cities are located have large percentages of foreign-born citizens. The gold- and silver-producing States have from 25 to 50 per cent of foreign-born voters. Colorado has always been peculiarly in the hands of Englishmen. Most of the mines in all these States are owned in Europe. The markets chiefly relied on by all the great western producers are European markets. In the West, the producers of cotton, corn, wheat, cattle, and the manufactured products growing out of these primary products, such as dressed meats, flour, etc., all have their eyes fixed intently on the European markets. The eastern manufacturer is looking to the West, but the western producer is looking to the Far East. There, and there only, does he find the chief market for his own surplus.

The parts of the western population which can justly be charged with too great isolation and with an excessive ignorance of foreign affairs, are not the parts which are giving Mr. Godkin annoyance. Such people are inactive and ineffective in politics, and do not appear as framers and advocates of improper legislation. Such people find their counterpart in the East, and the one is at least an offset to the other. In fact the inferior parts of the population of New York and the other



great eastern cities, as also of certain mining and manufacturing regions, are much worse and more to be feared than the corresponding parts of the western population. It may be observed, also, that the most dangerous "isolation" is not so much geographical as intellectual. The worst form of isolation is isolation from the truth. It was isolation of this kind that caused Thomas Carlyle to take the wrong side of the American question at the time of the nation's peril. Other great men have gone wrong by the same path.

Of social dislike for the East there is practically not any. The average citizens of the East and the West are, for all political purposes, indistinguishable. Those more fortunate than the average are positively not distinguishable. In dress, manners, tastes, and opinions, the East and the West are, to the eye of the skilful observer, a unit. So rapid are the means of communication, and so constant is the mingling of eastern and western people, that no distinct line of cleavage between the two can be discovered. The eastern wholesale merchant cannot do otherwise than keep in tune with his western client. The eastern and western politicians must mix and co-operate. The great church organizations and the fraternities and the political parties bind the East and the West with bonds more enduring than steel, and utterly prevent the sectionalism which arrays brother against brother, and blood against blood. There is to-day more difference between the people of almost any two counties of England than between the people of any two general sections in the United States, excepting only the foreign quarters of the great cities and the few exclusive Indian, Mexican, and African communities.

It is undoubtedly true that the West is a debtor community, rather than a creditor community, but so is the United States. If the debtor class is bound to hate the creditor class, then the eastern part of the United States is bound to do more hating than the Western part, because statistics show that its debt is greater. The West knows that however much it may owe it expects to take in more than it pays out, and that therefore the better the money received the better its net income will be. It was this conviction that made Kansas Republicans send a delegation to St. Louis almost solid for the gold standard, there being but two or three exceptions. One of these exceptions was so amply exploited in the "Post" that the casual reader would never have gathered that any sentiment except the free-silver sentiment was at home among Kansas Republicans. Opinions as to the great fortunes owned in the East, and the honesty of their acquirement, are the



opinions of individuals, and not of regions or localities. The question of fortunes honestly or dishonestly acquired depends, in the West, as in the East, first, on what fortune one is talking about, and second, on what one calls honesty. I am sure I have heard more fault found about eastern fortunes by eastern than by western people. The western people have been thoroughly educated to a knowledge of what luck will do for a man wholly outside the question of honesty; during the last half century they have never been out of speaking distance with great wealth, made, to their certain knowledge, by fortune alone, and with which they could find no fault. Town building, railroad building, mining, real estate speculation—in thousands of ways the western man has learned that the pauper of to-day may be the millionaire of to-morrow. The settled conditions of the East, however, are such as to practically prevent one man from far outstripping his fellow men, except by some process of sharp practice. I am perfectly confident that there is more rebellious feeling in the East to-day, on account of the great fortunes of the East, than there is in the West. If Wall Street, Broadway, and Fifth Avenue are ever "bombarded," the Goths and Vandals who do it will not be from west of the Alleghanies, as Mr. Godkin seems to expect, but from the shores of Europe or the shores of Manhattan Island, Long Island, and Jersey. At that time the West will come over the Alleghanies to the rescue and charge nothing for the service.

But, assuming that the West is suspicious of the great eastern fortunes, this might easily be accounted for by the fact that the West reads the metropolitan press and remembers what it has to say of Wall Street and the money power of the East. Mr. Godkin's paper never fails to damn every successful manufacturer this side of England, and Mr. Pulitzer, in the "World," tried to demonstrate to all the country that Mr. Godkin's President and his Secretary of the Treasury and Mr. Godkin's fellow-citizen, Mr. Morgan, and his associates, were guilty of a wicked and unpatriotic job of financial surgery on an already suffering country. The West certainly has no hand in conducting either the "Evening Post" or the "World."

The cheap-money idea is by no means a western invention. As Mr. Godkin points out in his article, the debasement of the currency, or the inflation of it, has been a common trick in all ages. The founder of the Greenback party in this country was Mr. Peter Cooper of New York. Among its ablest advocates were Mr. Wendell Phillips and Mr. Benjamin F. Butler of Massachusetts. The ablest advocates



of the free coinage of silver at the ratio of 1873 are found in England, and the ablest in this country are found in the East, as, for example, Senator Don Cameron, of Pennsylvania, and William P. St. John, banker, of New York. The West has never voted for fiat money, and this would still be true if it had voted for free silver. For only gross unfairness can treat as identical the fiat-money doctrine of Peter Cooper and a belief in the practicability of maintaining the ratio between gold and silver which existed for many years prior to 1873. I am a firm believer that no such ratio can wisely be maintained under present conditions, but I am also a firm believer that no man is necessarily convicted of fiatism just because he believes that such ratio can be maintained. It is a complex and delicate question, and thousands of sincere and intelligent men honestly believe that the old ratio can be and should be restored.

The "Evening Post" of June 27 alludes to a recent letter by Mr. William C. Whitney, the high-priest of the Democratic party in the East, in the following language:—

"This passion for a promise of a conference [looking to the establishment of bimetallism by international agreement] keeps the ignorant masses of the South and West in constant expectation and constant irritation. . . . The latest contributor to this literature of mischief is Mr. W. C. Whitney. . . . As usual, he tells the silverites their cause is good and its triumph is coming. . . . This is the kind of talk which, coming from such quarters, keeps the silver movement alive in this country, and keeps or will keep us, for some time to come, in constant danger of its success."

From this it appears that the silver guilt is about equally divided between the ignorant West and the mischievous Mr. Whitney. Truly the editor of the "Post" is beset!

The West can see no reason why it should hesitate to admit its inferiority in many respects to the East. It is proud of what it has achieved in a few years, but it understands that it takes time for great oaks to grow from little acorns. Less than a century of victorious warfare against the wilderness has made the country West of the Alleghanies what it is, and any American who is not proud of that achievement is blind to the truth, and niggardly in patriotism. The West appreciates this, but it does not on that account shy at good clothes and sulk at aggregations of wealth and power which long life and great prosperity, built chiefly on the development of the West, enable the East to enjoy.



Speaking of power, I do not believe that the time has yet arrived when any part of this country comes anywhere near a proper appreciation of the power of our nation. If this power is comprehended anywhere, it is in the West, and not in the East. The whole East wholly underrates the resources and capabilities of the country. The peculiar power of the creditor countries, as exercised by Europe over America, is certainly to be watched and dreaded by those immediately engaged in the manipulation of evidences of debt; but outside the immediate circle in which such business is carried on, Europe should have no terrors for America; for we can do without Europe better than Europe can do without us. This is said in no braggart spirit. I do not wish to have America otherwise than intimate with Europe, and I hope always for the largest and fullest interchange of commodities, ideas, and affections. But the fact remains that we have on our continent all that we absolutely need to have. Europe, on the other hand, wants back the money she has loaned to us, and she needs also our gigantic annual crop of tourist money—say \$200,000,000—on which she so largely depends. She must have what we, and we alone, can give.

It is unquestionably true that the average stay-at-home citizen of the East has entirely failed to measure the muscle of the West—or better yet, the muscle of the country. We have all been recently amused by Mr. Depew's "discovery" of California. After a long life of activity, with countless trips to Europe and elsewhere, it is only within the last three or four years that he has penetrated farther west than Chicago, and only this year that he has ventured beyond Denver, which is itself but a trifle farther than half-way across the continent. Mr. Depew is an example of a large class. The East certainly does not appreciate what this country is able to do if necessity requires. It would not be the burden for us to maintain free coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1, regardless of the rest of the world, that it has been for France to take care of the debt saddled on her by the Franco-Prussian war, nor would it be half so difficult as it was to take care of our own debt after the civil war.

The article from the "Herald," to which reference has been made, is one of those dignified and cultured productions which seem to appear, with unaccountable frequency, in what is, in some respects, the world's greatest newspaper. After an allusion to one of the most dignified statesmen of the age as "Mr. Big Hat Harrison," it goes on to say:—



“We have great hopes that Mr. McKinley will be nominated, for then the Republican party will stand a good chance of being defeated on its merits, as it simply represents the provincial narrow-minded Jacobinism of the West, and that diseased part of a great nation. It is time that the United States of America should assert itself and get rid of its swaddling-clothes of buncombe and nonsense, and that men like the buncombe Senator from South Carolina who toady to, and encourage, the worst kind of western wildness should be turned down.”

The sublime stupidity of this paragraph itself furnishes the severest possible criticism. It leaves the “Herald” in this, as in many other lines, without a rival. It is impossible to see by what right Tillman is “pitch-forked” onto the West, especially since Mr. Godkin has located the West beyond the Alleghanies. The “Herald” must be congratulated on realizing the first part of its wish, but still it will be wondered which the “Herald” now prefers,—the platform and the candidates of the Republican party, or the platform and the candidates of its own party. Judging from the folly of the paragraph quoted, the “Herald” probably persists in adhering to the Chicago product of its own party. There is no accounting for tastes.

The West is ready to stand by the record it has made, and though it may be in a manner and to some degree ignorant, provincial, isolated, envious, and otherwise bad, it yet remembers that it has given to this country its Lincoln, its Grant, its Shermans, and thousands of others whose services to the country and to humanity have been beyond measure. It also remembers that it has borne the heat and the burden of the day, in peace and in war, in business and in politics—having always had a preponderance of power since the time when the centre of population moved down the western slope of the Alleghanies into the great valley. The record is a glorious one, and I am glad to feel certain that eastern people generally know it and appreciate it—a few of their editors to the contrary notwithstanding.

CHARLES S. GLEED.



## THE FINANCIAL BRONCO.

THE roots of the silver craze are below the reach of any possible chill from the next election, and, if a change of Administration fails to bring what the Far West calls "prosperity," the top will soon be green with more lusty life than ever. The ignorance of the West about the business methods of our country and of the world, full knowledge of which will alone settle the silver question in any sound mind, is equalled only by the ignorance of the East about the average western mind and the way to reach it.

With three classes all argument is useless:—the mine owners and all who profit by them,—who will always clamor for free silver (for, to hold his claim, the proprietor of a Rocky Mountain pocket borough has to be a zealot,—and a howling zealot); the Fiatists, whom no reasoning will ever touch; and the Populists, who are quite as firmly entrenched behind a general defiance of history and human nature.

A large majority of the more intelligent voters of the Far West are for sound money; but this is not because they generally understand the subject. It is mainly because they know that money bad at financial centres is very bad money in the backwoods. They do not believe that the climate, scenery, and expectations of the United States can—even with the aid of the cranks of the whole Union,—force a financial policy upon its men, money, and business. Nor do they think it necessarily patriotic to talk of being financially independent of England, and of making money to suit themselves instead of the Rothschilds. They have a suspicion that that may be Yankee conceit of the cheapest western type. On the question of patriotism they are quite willing to follow the lead of the great sections that poured out the men, money, and munitions of war that saved the Union, and to which we would have to look again in case of foreign war.

The great weakness of the country is in the medium or average intelligence of the West, and this spreads well toward the Alleghanies. A vast body of this thinks that silver is discriminated against, whereas it should be favored as a home product; and that if it had the same standing before the law as gold it would win on its merits. The



expectation of the votes of this class is the backbone of the silver cause, and without them there would be little left of the above three classes at any election. The East has wasted much of the reading matter sent West because it does not know the audience. Caustic editorials refusing "gold-bug literature" sent on free plates have been a common thing for two years past; many plates have been melted for their metal, and little of the printed matter would be read if published. Too much of it is as thousand-pound shot fired to breach a fog bank, when sunshine is needed; and much of it proceeds on the theory that the larger the game the more the need of a blunderbuss to cover the whole instead of a rifle to reach the vitals.

If ever an animal needed approaching on the blind side it is the "financial bronco" of the West; for the whole trouble is largely a development of the bronco disposition. Take the gentlest old nag that ever made one mile an hour with the village parson through New Jersey mud, and turn him out to grass where vast plains roll away toward great mountains,—where people begin to talk of climate and scenery, and especially of "the invigorating properties of our ozone,"—and in a few days he will be a far livelier and more vigorous animal. The effect on people is much the same, and one of its first results is a suspicion of anything from the East in the line of education on money.

Most of the arguments of the East assume a knowledge of trade that the West does not possess. Most western people suppose, when a cargo of tea is bought from China, or coffee from Brazil, that the payment is made in silver as a matter of course, because those are considered silver countries; and consequently that, if silver were coined at the ratio of 16 to 1 instead of 32 to 1, we could buy twice the amount of the product of those countries with the same amount of silver. So the reiterated talk about a fifty-cent dollar, so effective among those who know that money is but a conventional creature of confidence stamped to show that it has passed inspection for weight and fineness, is completely neutralized in the West by the question, "And who made it a fifty-cent dollar?" followed by the inevitable answer, "The United States." The argument must go back of that and show how the world, just as inexorably as the United States, will also make it a fifty-cent dollar in every country having its ports open.

The East seems unaware that one of the strongest pillars of the silver cause to-day is the alleged prosperity of Mexico; yet I have made at least fifty silver men admit that Mexico is on the same basis that we were on during the war—a gold basis with gold out of circulation.



For, if there is any sense in the words "basis" and "standard," they mean a regulator of values or measure of commodities. If Congress should make the copper cent the standard and give it full legal-tender powers, it would not change our situation in the slightest. If the face value of the circulation makes the basis, then we are on a paper basis; if the number of coins, then on a nickel or small-silver basis. In no way are we on a gold basis *except by being subject to its sway as the regulator of all prices*. Thus it regulates in Mexico the prices of all imported goods, all domestic goods of the same lines, by sympathy *all* goods of similar lines, to a less extent even goods that are not the subject of international trade, and also labor. The price of an article made in Mexico is the price of the foreign article in gold, plus the duty, plus the premium paid for insurance against fluctuations on exchange, minus just enough to catch the trade. The money one hears of being made in manufactures there is made in catching, in Mexican money, the difference between gold and silver values and the insurance against exchange fluctuations varying from 5 to 10 per cent. At Juarez almost everything in the stores is listed in "Moneda Americana," and along the whole border everything is measured by American money.

Any one of our dollars will in Mexico buy about twice as much, including labor, as one of its own. If our fiat can raise silver to 16 to 1, then we have either reduced by a half the purchasing power of our dollar in Mexico or doubled the value of the Mexican dollar. If the latter, then we have doubled the ability of Mexico to pay her national debt, and it would seem that we have done the same for China and other countries. Verily, there is something funny about this; but not half so funny as the East allowing the silverites to flaunt, as the proudest feather in their cap, the alleged prosperity of Mexico. How is Mexico prosperous? In a way that should shame Americans. We would know no depressions if we had the same proportion of people contented to live within their means, as few polite "dead-beats," and as many who will keep their word as do the poor peons of Mexico when they promise to work out a debt. And we can take lessons in national honor from a country that is paying *in gold* the interest on a debt more than seventy years old, triply compounded and with almost a total failure of consideration to start with.

Great and many are the dupes who believe in the efficacy of "legal tender." Before there was such a thing there was sound money, and business moved along as international business now does, without any legal tender. Money contracts were settled just like con-



tracts for goods, by the tender of a merchantable article. Any court would rule that bankable money discharged the contract, because it was presumptive evidence of merchantable money. In time it became convenient to make this presumption conclusive for such money as the Government coined, because the Government's certificate was the best proof of weight and fineness. Legal tender is rarely used except in cases of disputed account, where it merely discharges interest and costs. The tender must be kept good so that the money cannot be safely invested pending suit. Witnesses to the tender are necessary, with the risk of having them die or be absent when wanted. Several other technicalities must be observed, and a safe tender in gold cannot under the peculiar wording of the law be made with worn coin. Most of the States now allow offer of judgment on suit brought, which plaintiff must accept or pay costs. This is a matter of record, and is so much safer and even cheaper than producing witnesses in court that no attorney who understands his business will advise a formal legal tender in any suit of consequence. In some States, as in California, a written offer to perform the stipulations of the contract has the effect of a legal tender. The judgment is settled in any kind of money, attorneys and sheriffs being the last people to demand legal tender or to clamor for "primary money," or "money of ultimate redemption." I find that not one business man in ten has ever seen a legal tender made with anything; and after hundreds of enquiries I have found but one who ever saw a legal tender made in silver for any sum, and he said that he had once tendered one hundred and seventy-five dollars in silver just for spite.

The East understands all this so well that it assumes the West understands it also. On the contrary, the West is stark mad over the words "legal tender." The number of people—not Fiatists, but full believers in intrinsic values—who think that if a thing is not full legal tender it is not money, not a measure of value, and that all values are reduced in exact proportion to the scarcity of legal-tender money, is the most astounding fact in the whole controversy to-day, and the principal source of all the danger there is in it. This is why they claim that half the money is destroyed, all values cut in two and all debts doubled,—because silver is not full legal tender.

I have put to scores the following question: If, then, the legal-tender statute concerning gold were repealed would we have any money? About half answer with a flat No. The rest say it would serve the purposes of money, but would not be money. It is hardly



fair to call this a sample of western intellect; yet the intellect that says that a thing serving the purposes of money is not money is nevertheless a potent factor in the financial peace of this country.

Not one in ten of the silver men in the Far West knows that the silver dollar is to-day a full legal tender for all debts, public and private, except where otherwise expressly stipulated in the contract. One may assert it a thousand times and they will not notice it or believe it, because all the silver books, papers, and orators say it was made legal tender for only five dollars by the act of 1873. One must go beyond that mere assertion and show how it was reinstated by the act of 1878,—which was not changed in that respect by the Sherman act,—and that the repeal of the Sherman act repealed only its purchasing clause. Of the few who know this the majority say that the exception clause destroys it. They do not know that the Supreme Court of the United States more than thirty years ago decided that contracts for specific money are good.

This great class thinks the country is dying for want of legal tenders to enable debtors to get out of debt; and that these must be "primary money" or "money of ultimate redemption." Any money that is not "primary" is in no sense, it thinks, a basis of value; and all values except debts shrink in exact proportion to the scarcity of legal tender. All this nonsense is mainly due to want of thought. Ask these men when they ever heard any one demand "primary money," or refuse bankable funds, on a debt due and undisputed as to amount, and for the first time they begin to think. Ask when there has been a clamor for primary money since the bill-holders' run on the banks in 1857, and they do more thinking. Ask whether all the silver and the foreign gold taken so greedily by the bill-holders in that great run without a murmur was all "destroyed," not depreciated but "*destroyed*," by the acts of 1853 and 1857. Then ask what was the result when in 1878 a mighty debtor—the Government—offered "primary money" for its outstanding paper. How many wanted it? They will speedily admit that there is a great ado about nothing.

"As long as the United States had its mints open equally to gold and silver the commercial ratio was practically the same as the legal."

Here is financial barley good any day for a thousand-volt snort from the bronco of the West. It is the leading point in the letter of Governor Altgeld to Secretary Carlisle, and it is also the fundamental absurdity in that Bible of the silver saints,—"*Coin's Financial School*." In that book Harvey says the difference between 14.14 and 16.25 is



"only about two points." This is readily accepted as a trifle unworthy of consideration, and I have yet to find the silver man who has taken the trouble to discover by the very simple rule of three that "two points" mean about 15 per cent,—when 1 per cent is bad enough.

Harvey excels all other writers in laying down premises without knowing where they lead. On page fifty-three of his book is the key to the whole situation:—

"It is impossible to maintain two kinds of redemption money with one made from property having a commercial value of only one half or any noticeable per cent less than the other. When such is the case the lesser must lean on the greater, and to all intents and purposes becomes credit money, while the more valuable becomes the only redemption money."

He is so sound on the first part of this that no intelligent silver man will dispute it. He is equally sound in insisting on intrinsic values and repudiating all ideas of fiat money. It is an easy matter to make any one admit that the whole of the argument now turns on the meaning of the word "noticeable," or the phrase "practically the same," as Governor Altgeld puts it. If the legal and commercial values of gold and of silver are not "practically the same," there is then no bi-metallism. There is no trouble in getting this concession.

But if you scare your bronco with a lot of statistics you can never catch him, nearly as you have him. You may pat him gently with the idea that he still knows the old rule of three, but you will do better by asking if the difference between the ratios of 15 to 1 and 16 to 1, instead of being 1 per cent—as Harvey would apparently have us believe when he uses the word "point"—is not actually  $6\frac{2}{3}$  per cent; in other words, 1 in  $15\frac{1}{2}$ , 2 in 31, 4 in 62, and  $6\frac{2}{3}$  in 100. By the same process you soon make him see that the difference between the ratios of 16 to 1 and 15.85 to 1 is 1 per cent, as is also the difference between the ratios of 16 to 1 and 16.15 to 1. He is now sufficiently interested to wonder when the percentage of difference between ratios is *noticeable* within Harvey's meaning, and he soon concludes that it becomes so at the point where one coin is worth enough more as bullion than as coin to make a profit by turning it again into bullion. He quickly sees that this keeps the mints working at enormous cost turning out bullion that were better cast into bars at trifling cost, and that the derangement of the circulation *per capita* is so great that bi-metallism exists only in name.

Fortunately Harvey tells us about the percentage of difference that will destroy bi-metallism. On page ten of his book he says that France took away our silver on a difference of  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. Farther on he



gives the table of ratios from which one can readily see that, up to the time when England demonetized silver in 1816, there were very few years when there was not a high profit in melting one coin or the other. On the preceding page he gives the difference in percentage for nineteen years preceding 1873, apparently without the slightest idea of *how little is needed to do the mischief*. For about half those years it is enough over 1 per cent to destroy bimetallism. And now all that is left is to find from the daily reports of exchange the point above the par of exchange at which the importer finds it more profitable to ship gold than to buy exchange. That settles the amount for the risk, the handling, and the profit; and it is about three fifths of 1 per cent. Then how much more for silver? Only the additional sum for freight on account of greater bulk and weight, risk being the same. Allow the same as for wheat, and that is less than one sixteenth of 1 per cent. Add to it the three fifths; add two fifths more for error and additional profit; and the 1 per cent difference *in the ratio* becomes very *noticeable* and Harvey's rule applies. On a million of dollars this makes a profit of eight thousand without any risk, the risk being covered by the other two thousand. Now if we back over the tables of ratios for two hundred years given by Harvey we can see how often, according to the above computation, the legal and commercial values of gold and silver were "practically the same."

Harvey insists on intrinsic values and that the difference between the commercial and legal values of the two metals must not be noticeable, otherwise there is no bimetallism to prove the absolute necessity of creating an unlimited demand for silver by free coinage. For he tells us this unlimited demand is the only thing that will hold the two near enough together to keep one coin from being worth so much more for bullion than for coin that it is melted or shipped as fast as it falls from the mint. His illustration of the two reservoirs is wrong. They are made practically full by nature and two taps are drawing on them. If the draught were the same on both it might equalize the legal and commercial values. His tables show when the draught was as nearly equal as it has ever been, before any of the nations demonetized silver; yet there was no bimetallism then except with one coin short in weight so as to destroy the bullion value. Now, with the demand from the leading nations of the world cut off, he proposes that the United States alone shall make draught enough to equalize the two, with the world drawing on the gold tap with all its might, and less than half the world—less than a fourth measured by its business—drawing on the



silver tap. If this half the world fails to take all the supply, what is left over becomes pig metal and sets the commercial price of silver in spite of fate. But there is no pig gold.

I have talked with hundreds of this fourth class who believe that silver should be made full legal tender; and where they are real bimetalists, *i. e.*, where they want gold kept in circulation, instead of saying "Well, what of it?" as the other three classes do when asked if we will not lose all our gold, they are exceedingly easy to convince. When one of them examines the tables and the principles above given from Harvey, if he is a real hunter for truth and does not get scared like some bear hunters when the tracks grow too fresh, he will at least admit that where melting or shipping one kind of coin will pay a very slight profit over the risk (which is almost nothing), the difference is "noticeable," as Harvey says, and there is no bimetallism except by destroying the bullion value of one coin by making it short weight. This is what England first discovered, other nations later; the United States followed the lead with the minor silver coins in 1853, the silver dollar being considered as nothing, for none was ever in use more than a day or two. He will then concede that the short-weight coin, if in sufficient volume, will drive out the other unless the Government stands behind it and makes that shortage good; that, if so, the profit should belong to it and not to the owner of the bullion, and that, if it must make it good, it shall have the right to say how much of that business it will have to do,—which means that the coinage must be on Government account and cannot be free or unlimited. Research will then show him that this is the only bimetallism that the world has ever seen, and he will understand why Jefferson suspended the coinage of the silver dollar.

This fourth class is too powerful to laugh at; but the ponderous style of scholarly dissertation will never reach it. The blanker the piece of paper by the roadside, the more the bronco snorts and shies. There is a western style of quieting him, which some may call "flip-pant" or "lacking in literary dignity"; but simplicity and directness are at the bottom of it. There lies the secret of Harvey's strength. He knew his subject and how to avoid scaring him. For nowhere do the old lines better apply:—

" Men should be taught as if you taught them not,  
And things unknown proposed as things forgot."

LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA.

T. S. VAN DYKE.



## A FRENCH COLLEGE SIXTY YEARS AGO.

FOR three months in the year Parisians desert Paris to rejoice elsewhere in the air and the sunshine, but with the month of October they are at home again. A consolation awaits me upon my own return from the country, for I shall find my books once more—my dear and most cherished friends. During a protracted malady of the eyes, when for more than a year I was deprived of their use, I would from time to time take up a book which I could not even see, but which I recognized by the touch, to caress it sadly while I asked if this were to be indeed a final farewell.

My library is unpretentious, containing books which are for use and not for any outward show. They were acquired one by one. I have bound them, taken care of them, and changed their positions many times before determining their final resting-place. To-day, albeit there are close upon 25,000 volumes, I can go with eyes closed and find each one. This little book-case on the right contains one hundred small, well-thumbed volumes—the Tauchnitz collection of Greek classics. They are not faultless. They do not contain a single note, but give the text and no more. The print is rather small, and the paper is quite valueless. But I obtained this Plato, this Aristotle, this Xenophon, and this Plutarch for less than the Plato of Bekker would alone have cost me. For a long time these hundred books constituted my entire library. At that period I knew a little Greek and I relied upon the absence of any notes, translations, or summaries in order to become the more readily familiarized with the language; like a foreigner who, wishing to learn a language of which he is totally ignorant, engages board with natives who do not understand a word of his own idiom. Here, alongside the others, are the Alexandrines. But with Plotinus the learned editions begin. I now became rich enough to make the purchase of books. It was necessary to send abroad for them; for not a single French bookseller possessed a Plotinus or a Proclus. When the house of Didot published one of these rarities the



number was small and they were bought for public collections from a sense of duty, while private individuals bought none at all. Farther along are the volumes of the "*Revue des Deux Mondes*." I contribute to the "*Revue*," exerting myself to remain philosophical; but I become profane. Books of history and of literature make their appearance. A few years more and I shall be overwhelmed with books on jurisprudence and administration law. I even possess some shelves devoted to political economy and religious controversies.

While surveying my books in a certain fashion I review my life, for my library and I developed together. With these, I was a very youthful professor fresh from the *École Normale*; with those, I had become a professor at the Sorbonne. This pile of political works recalls my first election as deputy, some forty-eight years ago. I had just made my appearance in the Council of State, but I was well informed in pedagogical questions, to which I had applied myself long previous to my appointment as minister. Every now and then I discover with amazement numerous notes secreted among my books; a long-departed science which in other days gave me infinite trouble and of which no other trace is now left me but these yellow leaves that I shall never read again.

I was asked recently concerning the books or teachers whose influence upon my mind has been greatest. At first the question lacked interest for me, since I have trouble enough to support the present without an expenditure of time or strength in philosophizing upon my early life;—and of what import is it to others to learn the sources of the stream, since the stream has not become a river? Reflection shows me, however, that the date of my birth invests the question with peculiar interest.

I was not brought up under the Revolution, but during that uncertain period which was neither the past nor the future. In France, at least, the world was slowly recovering after the fearful convulsions which had destroyed so much. People began to reflect that search must be made amid the ruins in a common endeavor to revive men and things which were considered annihilated, but which experience showed to be indispensable. Napoleon was the first to conceive the grand possibility of an immediate revival of the vital forces of society by the adjustment of them to those changed conditions which the Revolution had produced and which in its turn the Revolution had evaded. The fusion thus effected between the old and the new order was not



without violence. It required all the force which lay in him and the supremacy of strength lent by the sanguinary memory of the Terror to give a semblance of reality to a mere comedy. His genius saved him: another Jacobin become king would have been nothing better than the king on a stage. The revulsion to the past, a masquerade under Napoleon, came to be a reality under Louis XVIII. The adherence to new ideas appeared, on the other hand, a masquerade to those who were unable to watch the forces fermenting behind the official world. Ultraists were spoken of at this time as being greater royalists than the king; it might be said, and with equal truth, that the royalists, restored to power after an eclipse of thirty years, were even greater royalists than their fathers had been. The dogma of royalty, as well as that of legitimacy, was more scientifically expounded and more implicitly applied than before the "disorders." As the Republic had not ceased to contend, Bonaparte had at hand a corps of officers which, if insufficient, could easily be recruited.

In the case of the public schools he was less fortunate, for here was a question of reform connected with that of the army; of brave fellows there was a sufficiency, but thoroughly-instructed officers had to be made. When he wrenched the government from the weak hands of the Directory the system of education, hitherto of a twofold character for the young,—*i. e.*, the universities and the religious corporations,—was still disorganized. The fate of the clergy and their congregations is well known. Primarily the civic oath had been forced upon the priests, and the refractory among them were dismissed, exiled, imprisoned, or massacred. Others, who had sworn allegiance to the constitution, suffered a similar fate speedily after. Europe was inundated with French priests reduced to the extremest destitution; in France such as had hitherto escaped death assumed a disguise and lived in daily dread of the guillotine. The universities, as well as the convents, were destroyed, and the majority of their members, who were priests, suffered a common fate with others of their profession. The colleges were without instructors and there would have been no pupils—for the colleges were closed by order and the faculties suppressed by law. Diplomas were forbidden to be given, since no one was to be privileged above another. The schools were closed or converted into hospitals or barracks. The larger number of the libraries were plundered or given over to the municipalities. The books, transferred from the university or the convent to the town hall, were packed in bales and lay there in the garret. I have myself seen similar bales—



containing perchance rare treasures—which had lain undisturbed since the Reign of Terror.

The Convention, true to its custom, thought to create new schools on the same day it did away with the universities and convents. This reform was effected by its usual procedure, and a great public function was created and placed in the hands of the state. There were no teachers: it was necessary to make them. The teachers, the methods of instruction, the curriculum of study,—all must be improvised. The idea was propounded to create at Paris a high-class institution, where the art of teaching should be imparted, to be called the “*École Normale*.” The instructors were to be men distinguished in letters, sciences, and art. Masters being thus found, it was necessary to procure pupils for them, and this became the task of the administrative departments. A certain number of pupils were sent from each department to the *École Normale* at Paris to remain six months, when, on returning home, they were to take a secondary normal course in imitation of the education received at Paris, or else were immediately to exercise the function of instructors. The plan appeared both good and simple. But the professors in the big school at Paris were selected because of their notoriety, and not because of special aptitude—a fact which precluded the possibility of harmonious combination. These lettered and learned men might make discoveries, and they knew how to write, but the majority of them could not teach. No special schedule was imposed upon them, but it was understood that pupils, issuing from their instruction, would be completely trained as teachers. Their very genius militated against them, since they were forced to stoop so far beneath their own merit. Again, on the other hand, it transpired that among them were several whose ability was inferior to that of their scholars. Studies were to assume the form of lectures, when the professors might be interrogated and criticised.

The criticism began on the first day, and in several sections was overwhelming. Scholars no longer took the trouble to attend the lectures of incompetent professors, and the professors, commanding neither respect nor attention, either no longer gave their lessons or made but an indifferent preparation. The normal schools, opened in the current of applause, disappeared several months later under a scornful indifference. The departments, stripped of every resource, pressed by the necessities of war, and a prey to the anguish engendered by the action of the Committee of Public Safety, lost their interest in the schools and would vote no more subsidies.



From the normal schools the First Consul took his idea of an instruction centralized at Paris, but which should be the same all over France. Far, however, from leaving the professors of this unique body their liberty of action, he looked upon the University as a regiment, enforcing its acceptance of a puissant hierarchy, a programme of studies, and a creed. Barely did he permit the schools created through private enterprise to vegetate alongside this powerful body, notwithstanding their submission to his control and the payment of revenue. He accorded his University many privileges, but he found the completion of his plans frustrated through the inadequacy of the staff.

The college at Vannes, where in 1827 I entered as a scholar in the third class, had, as instructor to the sixth class, an ancient deacon who had not assumed the orders of priesthood; he had been here in 1793 and he returned again in 1808. The professors to the third and sixth sections were priests too young to have filled chairs under the *ancien régime*, although the teacher of rhetoric, M. Jéhanno, occupied the same post in 1793. He could barely have been adolescent then; but it was not rare at that period to become a professor of philosophy on the same day one ceased to be a student of philosophy. Jéhanno resumed his post after the interval of a decade, and he continued to occupy it twenty years later during the Revolution of July. He combined the functions both of principal and teacher. He loved me, and I returned his affection. He was more than fifty years old when I knew him. A very small man with a round, pink face, always cheerful, a pedant to the tips of his fingers; a lover of children, who returned his affection, he was at once both venerated and feared by them. He possessed a collection of some twenty anecdotes which it was his habit to repeat with peals of laughter until we came to know them by heart and whose perpetual repetition afforded us supreme satisfaction. He had not taken priestly orders, nor had he married, although marriage would in nowise have altered his manner of living. He wore black woollen stockings drawn over the knees, black silk breeches, a black waistcoat with long skirts which fell about his legs, a cinnamon-colored coat cut *à la française*: such also was his dress in 1793. He wore the same wig, and lived in the same house as he did then; and he probably sallied forth to college at the same hours, carrying the same portfolio and the same copy of Virgil. I regret to be obliged to confess that he would occasionally read to us the more beautiful passages in the "Génie du Christianisme," his sole concession to modern authors. He never advanced beyond Bossuet, Bourdaloue, and Vertot; and he considered it



an indulgence of our youthfulness when he added a few pages of Fénelon.

Our professor of mathematics, well versed in arithmetic and geometry, obtained his licentiate's degree several years after the time when I left college.

In the first story of the college, full of mysterious objects which had been shut up there for twenty years, was a physical cabinet where no one ever entered and where everything was covered with the venerable dust of time. To utilize all these wonders the departmental council desired to procure the services of a professor. An annual stipend of four hundred francs was voted, and M. Jéhanno ran around to all the doctors in the town to propose this fine plan and to offer them this magnificent salary. It was refused by all. In conclusion, the invitation was extended to a justice, noted for the compliancy of his character and the feebleness of his mind. He alleged with hesitation that he knew nothing of physics, but M. Jéhanno replied triumphantly that he could learn it, and the board of education presented him with a copy of the "Elements of Physics," written in the preceding century by the Abbé Nollet. The fact that this amazing professor never had more than five or six auditors in a college where the other classes numbered from eighty to a hundred pupils, demonstrates the good sense of the people of Brittany.

Such being the condition of my college at Vannes when I entered in 1827, it may practically be said that my student years fell toward the middle of the seventeenth century. The character of this college admitted of no change; a century and more ago the methods and curriculum of study were identical. Latin was well taught; beyond Latin we learned nothing at all. Our professors consented indeed to read us portions from obscure historians who were brought to my remembrance at Rome before the inscription: "Here Romulus and Remus were suckled by the she-wolf." Of the study of physics and our cabinet I have just given an accurate description. Our professor of philosophy, who was looked upon as a great man and who afterward became a deputy, had in his possession three massive volumes, the "Philosophia Lugdunensis" ("Lyon's Philosophy"), the property of his predecessors and which he in turn was to transmit to his successors. In the first volume were treated the various forms of argumentation: syllogism, dilemma, etc. The second volume treated of metaphysics. I recall this definition of "idea": "I ask you, Monsieur, what is an idea?" And the pupil replies: "An idea is the clear representation of an



object really present before the mind." The third section of "Lyon's Philosophy" treated presumably of theology, but was in reality a development of the catechism. Our master knew that philosophy had become modified since the writing of his text-books. He had heard of Condillac, who applied the theory of the "idea" by the illustration of the cover of a pot filled with hot water; and of a young man, Cousin by name, who enjoyed a modicum of fame at Paris, and whose misfortune it was to talk much without saying anything. Following this declaration he would read aloud some pages from the "Philosophical Fragments" of which we did not understand a single word and which provoked us to Homeric bursts of laughter; then, inspired with renewed confidence, we would return to the ancient philosophy of our fathers.

This being the condition of the colleges previous to the Revolution it may well be asked whether their suppression was not justifiable, and their reestablishment a mere mockery. It should be remembered, however, that in education the choice of a teacher is of greater importance than the selection of method or programme. The Empire had taken what it could from the surviving members of the ancient faculty of instruction: the Restoration, coming after, had caused the elimination of Voltairism from the ranks, while the monks, preserved by their insignificance and the stupefaction of old age and long suffering, resumed their former vocation only with immense difficulty. The colleges, all-sufficient for the France of the *ancien régime*—and of which that at Vannes was a specimen, perhaps even a caricature—possessed eminent masters who reciprocated the affection of their pupils and won a wide respect by reason of an exemplary life and boundless devotion; men skilled in the ancient tongues and literatures, knowing only the greatness of our century, but knowing it thoroughly. With these qualifications they produced men, and here and there a scholar. At this period there was no question how to provide intellectual pastures for fifty thousand college students, nor for five hundred thousand pupils in the primary schools. For the minority of scholars who presented themselves many teachers were not required.

Unstinted praise has been showered upon Napoleon I as the founder of the University; and it is true that he thereby accomplished an immense service. There were in reality no schools; those established in 1795 were scattered sparsely over the land, empty for the most part, and providing inadequate instruction. The Emperor did all that force could do. He founded numerous colleges and schools, but even he was powerless to establish them everywhere. Nor could he have filled



them, for teachers were lacking. He reduced the number of pupils by incorporating into the army children who had not attained their growth. He insisted on a select number to fill elevated posts, since he wished to be well attended and was careless whether his soldiers could read or write. He had time to create and organize the University in every respect. His was the conception and his the frame; herein lay his strength. Time would have furnished the new creation both men and children. The Convention before him had conceived a unique system of instruction which, emanating from Paris, should permeate all France and even replace religion. It had, so to speak, cast this idea upon the breeze, but it did not germinate, since there was a lack of vitalization. He dreamt of a university which was to be also a clergy. Of his *grand maître* he made a sort of *chef d'ordre*. To him he gave a spiritual and moral authority over the faculty, armed him with all necessary power to govern, and to suppress, whenever necessary, the private schools existing independently of the state institutions. His admirers wish only to see the creation of a unique University for entire France; they have overlooked the suppression which went hand in hand with the creation. Simultaneously with the determination to establish a university he decided that there should be but one. The Church, chiefly concerned, was not deceived. She comprehended that in the end she would be deprived of her most valued privileges. The expectations of the University were not disguised. Bound to conform outwardly with reverence, so great was the haste to enjoy and use its triumph that it even encroached upon religious instruction; a catechism was prepared which it was hoped to see used exclusively in its schools and finally in the diocesan and parochial establishments. This was a blow directed against the liberty of religious propagandism, against religious freedom itself. It was also directed against liberty of thought; for if religious liberty and liberty of thought are in perpetual strife in our country the fault lies with both. There is but one sort of liberty, *i. e.*, *liberty*, and this liberty suffers beneath the blows dealt alternately by the blind partisans of free thought and religious freedom.

The Emperor understood the rights due to neither the one nor the other; he belonged to the school of Louis XIV, "I am the State." But, without a change of sense, he had changed the form. He said, "Liberty; it is I." Examine the metaphysical significance of his proclamations and declarations and it will be observed that throughout his career he considered that, having been elected by universal suffrage and regarded as the representative of the pleasure of the masses, every



increase of his dictatorial power was the emanation and accomplishment of the will of the people. It is the greatest sophism of which history preserves the remembrance. But beyond the injustice which, unobserved, the Emperor committed, the omnipotence with which he invested his University constituted the chief cause of its decline. In every case human activity requires competition for a proper development. Contest is a condition of life. Inoculated by its founder, the University for seventy years has suffered from this passion to stand alone; when competition fails, liberty recoils and its force is lessened. Deprived of the spring of activity, it becomes not only benumbed but fossilized; blood and muscle are lost. All things exist in this world by virtue of variety and for union. Variety standing alone is anarchy, and union if alone is atony. Anarchy is better than atony; fever is better than death. In education general liberty is to be preferred to a particular school. The latter would be of a religious nature, which is impossible. It is neither a religion nor a system of philosophy: it is nothing. It is not a religion, since it is a human institution; nor a philosophy, since it is enjoined upon all.

The founder of the University and his undiscerning admirers committed a mistake in recognizing only two forces, *i. e.*, the secular and the clerical. For, primarily, the secular power does not stretch beyond the sciences and literature, a dominion of sufficient extent without the addition of theology; while, in the second place, the clerical power, although strongly united by faith and a common hierarchy, secretes a potent element of variety,—the variety of method. Were I, for example, to regard purely objectively my ancient college at Vannes during eight working days, a knowledge of its origin would not be necessary for me to affirm that it had been founded by the Jesuits. A father, entering his son at an ecclesiastical college, already knows what his religious instruction will be, and is fully cognizant of the profound differences existing between the training of the Jesuits, the Oratorians, the Lazarites, and the Dominicans. Admitting the method of the University to be good (personally I believe it to be so), admitting it to be the best or even (which I am far from believing) the finest possible, I should still regret the fact that it stands alone, since it is able to adapt itself neither to a variety of aptitudes nor requirements. It would come to regard all innovations as a misfortune. The enforced unity of education is synonymous with a proscription of educational progress, or, still more absolutely, with the proscription of all progress. The defenders of unity have not failed to say that formerly in France the



custom was for people to reside in their proper town or province, whereas now-a-days it has become the custom to travel; that the requirements of life compel the father of a family to change his abode. To provide a material, without a moral, change to the environment of his sons is of immense advantage. He will find at Marseilles a professor of the third class who continues the lessons received from another teacher of the same section at Brest. There will be no difference between the lessons of to-day and those of yesterday. When a student presents himself for his baccalaureate the examiner cannot discern the college to which he belongs. The same method, programme, and doctrine prevail at Paris, Marseilles, and Brest. It is also the same graduate and almost the same man.

Do you perceive in all this a supreme advantage? O Humanity, thou resemblest a pendulum with incessant sway from right to left! Nothing perpetual hast thou except thy perpetual motion, subject ever to the same laws, to end ever with the same result! If, perchance, one of thy members escape from the inflexible law, thou criest out at eccentricity and thou execratest him; or at originality and thou exaltest him! What need to render originality so rare and so perilous, by warring forever against individuality? Individuality is an element of life: unity is the grandeur of it. But have a care, for absolute unity without variety is death!

In the college at Vannes there was no library. Over a door in the first story, alongside the physical cabinet, was inscribed the word "Library." The door of massive wood had felt the ravages of time. Broken away from the hinges, it stood ajar, the closed bolt no longer entering the staple. Here we made search for some volume to speak to us of long centuries past. But the shelves were empty and covered with dust. It was evident that long ago, probably in 1794 at the dispersion of the Jesuits, everything had been carried away. But to what spot had the spoilers taken their booty? It was neither in the town hall nor at the headquarters of the police. The theological works, not unlikely, had been disposed of at auction. Destutt de Tracy made the disdainful observation that humanity would be rendered a service were all the works on theology collected and burnt. "For," said he, "if sold at auction even as worthless paper these good-for-nothing rags might still be read by fools." Our disappointment was severe to find nothing now remaining upon the shelves that had formerly perhaps contained many a treasure.



We were saturated with the "*Philosophia Lugdunensis*." At this period there were no newspapers. A curate at the Cathedral, corresponding with the "Society of Good Books," occasionally received some edifying and some stupid volumes; none the less was it a sincere delight to me when I could procure some of them. These works were not of the highest order of merit, but still they were books. I had indeed my "*Euchologion*" wherein, beside the fine things, were numerous banalities; but I knew them all by heart. At this period I was the "king" of the college at Vannes, and I know not whether it was a matter for felicitation or for regret. In my heart I believe it would have been better for me simply to have been the first in my class; the situation was rendered absurd. Not for a moment did I regard these exaggerations seriously; but when two years later I entered the *École Normale* the difference between the superiority attributed to me and the humble position to which I had descended was sufficient utterly to discourage me, and nearly a year went by before I could recover from the shock.

At Vannes I passed from triumph to triumph. I was not allowed to compete for the prizes in philosophy; I was given a prize of honor superior to all the rest. But in the midst of these honors my life was one of difficulties. My family, completely ruined while I at the age of fourteen years was still at the high school at Lorient, and unable to defray the expenses of my education, had resolved to apprentice me to a watchmaker. Notwithstanding, an effort was made which enabled me to enter at Vannes, whither I went on foot, and where I passed through the third class as a boarder at reduced rates in a little seminary maintained by a Lazarite, Father Daudet. At the end of three months, when about to enter the second class, my father declared he could do no more, his last resource being exhausted. But in this excellent school there existed, among other relics of the past, a custom which saved me. The praiseworthy pupils of rhetoric in the second class gave lessons to their comrades in the fifth and sixth classes, at a most absurd charge it is true, but which none the less helped them to earn their daily bread. I told my story to the principal, requesting him to find me pupils. I was not fifteen years old, but I was the glory of the college. The principal, desirous to see me remain, with the greatest difficulty procured me six pupils whom I united in a small class. I devoted to them an hour in the morning and again an hour in the evening, receiving in payment from each boy the sum of three francs a month. The manager of the Shallette accepted me as a



boarder at eighteen francs a month. The college passed a resolution exempting me from payment for lessons: the board of education presented me with two hundred francs. In this way I was enabled to finish the two years' course of study.

Carrying a small lantern in my hand, I might be seen every morning at six o'clock passing down the Rue de Chanoines, dressed in an ordinary calico jacket under which I wore a woollen waistcoat. I may say that I was adopted by the entire town and that every one showed me the greatest kindness.

I once saw one of my old pupils again. His name was Du Pontavice. He died, as have most of my pupils, before me. At the time we met he was superintendent of schools at Blois, and I was then minister. The prefect presented the superintendent who, in tears, asked me if I had forgotten him. I embraced him very heartily; and in that instant I seemed to review my whole life which I thought then already finished, whereas in fact it had only begun.

JULES SIMON.



## THE NEXT AMERICAN UNIVERSITY.

OF the rapid developments in education which have taken place in the United States during the last twenty-five years, quite the most important has been the rise of universities. This movement has had two points of departure: on the one hand, a number of older institutions, much alike in their general conformity to a common, though not wholly definite, standard, have built upon the historic college a more or less extended superstructure of postgraduate departments and professional schools; while, on the other hand, large gifts of money have brought into existence several new institutions, in many respects better equipped even at the start than their older rivals. These new-comers, to be sure, have not always been heartily welcomed. From time to time there has been heard from one or another of the older universities a murmur of jealousy, protesting that it would have been better to strengthen existing endowments than to create new ones; but each of the new foundations has easily demonstrated its right to existence, and others have followed. There seems to be no sufficient reason for supposing that the founding of new universities in this country has ceased, or that all public-spirited individuals will henceforth be content merely to add somewhat to the effectiveness of institutions already established. The same causes which have produced the new universities of recent years—great and rapid accumulation of wealth, the philanthropic spirit, and the desire to perpetuate a name in worthy form—still operate, and make it entirely probable that the list which includes the Johns Hopkins, Clark, Leland Stanford, and Chicago universities will before many years be again added to.

This rapid development of universities, however, has given rise to not a few difficult and perplexing questions, to some of which no definite or well-accepted answers have yet been given. It can hardly be said that educational thought in the United States has yet evolved a clear and consistent theory of a university. The university occupies its present position partly by accident, partly as the result of conditions, either in its past or in its immediate environment, over which it has had but imperfect control, and partly because of certain ideas impressed



upon it by a few men who from time to time have been charged with its administration, rather than because there was a well-recognized place which it was, by a sort of general consent, expected to fill. In most matters of administrative organization, in the arrangement of courses of study, in the requirements for admission and for degrees, and in its relations with other similar institutions, each university is, to all intents and purposes, a law unto itself; and where practice does happen to coincide, it is more often from force of circumstances than as a result of deliberate agreement. Since the practice of each new institution serves to mark with somewhat of clearness the progress that has been made in the conception of the functions of a university, and to call attention also to the directions in which yet further advance, with possibly change of front, may be desirable, it will be interesting to examine three or four of the problems which the founders and directors of the next American university will be called upon to consider.

First of all be it said that the next American university ought to be a place of perfect intellectual freedom. In the long struggle against authority and tradition, against dogma and creed, the present century has witnessed some tremendous gains; but to suppose that there is no longer any trace of opposition to be guarded against would be a serious mistake. Perfect liberty of thought and inquiry have had to contend against the church, against the state, and against the individual whose position of authority carried with it no responsibility to any one except himself; and while these various enemies are happily much less in evidence than formerly, they have not yet been completely vanquished. In saying that a university should be entirely free from either direct or indirect sectarian control, it is quite unnecessary, as it certainly is not the intention, to disparage either religion or theology, or to ignore the indispensable and far-reaching usefulness of the church in stimulating and directing social life. But there is need to insist, even to strenuousness, that whatever the wealth of its material equipment—whether endowment, or buildings, or laboratories, or libraries—a university can give no sufficient reason for its existence unless the unfettered and unbiassed pursuit of truth is its chiefest and most constant care.

Notwithstanding all the progress that has been made in the direction of religious liberty and tolerance—a progress at no time more rapid than during the present generation—it may still be doubted whether “a first-rate love of truth in its simplicity” is even yet the pervading and dominant characteristic of most religious denomina-



tions. For the habit of mind, if one may so call it, of a sect is prone to be rather the opposite of the habit of mind of a scholar. The one almost inevitably approaches the world with certain restraining predispositions and assumptions, even if not with dogmas to be bolstered up and defended; the other comes with open mind, desirous of nothing so sincerely as that he may apprehend all the truth revealed by his investigations. Loyal members of a religious body, it has been said, are under a certain moral obligation to think "within limits"; yet it needs no argument to show that thinking "within limits" is a step in the direction of not thinking at all. A university actually dominated and controlled by a denomination would be expected to conform its methods and teachings to the general consensus of opinion, so far as that could be ascertained, in that denomination; if greater latitude be permitted, denominational control is to that extent relaxed. That, under existing conditions, such limitations would admit of scholarly work, of great or permanent value, in any department in which the church had declared its belief, is at least improbable. As a matter of fact, no religious denomination, acting *as a denomination*, has ever built up a great university in this country, though more than one denomination has sought to appropriate to itself the credit for a noble edifice in whose erection and enrichment it has had an almost infinitely small share. Perfect freedom of thought in matters of fact, and genuine submission to authority in matters of faith, are for most men inherently incompatible; and the intellectual life of a university must not be thus bound.

Scarcely less to be deplored would be political interference with the intellectual freedom of a university. The idea of a national university seems to have for many people a strong attraction, if one may judge by the persistency with which the scheme is kept before the public; and in some aspects there is something to be said for it. Undoubtedly a university supported by the National Government might easily excel all its competitors in its material resources and equipment, and might centralize and render more effective the scientific work now performed in a rather desultory fashion by various Government departments. But there seems exceedingly little justification for thinking that the Congress of the United States, under whose control a national university would be, has of late years shown such high appreciation of the nature and obligations of the intellectual life as to give assurance that it would administer wisely and impartially so great a trust. In the departments of history, law, economics, ethics, and theology, not to mention others,



there could scarcely be in a national university either freedom of thought or candid expression of opinion; and without such no university is worthy of the name. So long as large and influential portions of educated America look upon Congress as a sort of Nazareth out of which no good thing can come, it is impossible to feel any confidence that Congress would deal more efficiently with so difficult a matter as a national university than it does with the more practical matters of ordinary business concern. It certainly could not be expected to view with approval or even with indifference public expressions of opinion greatly at variance with the views of the party in power.

Of the open or concealed limitation of the intellectual freedom of universities by founders or benefactors we have happily had but few instances. There have been occasional disquieting rumors, but little real mischief. The same wisdom which has prompted the gifts of money, lands, or apparatus has usually also seen the propriety of sedulously refraining from all such pernicious interference.

First of all, then, there must be this assurance of entire intellectual liberty. How completely that has been attained will be shown in considerable measure by the way in which the next American university deals with a second important matter,—that of the admission of all qualified applicants irrespective of sex. It is no longer necessary to argue in favor of the higher education of women: its sound wisdom has been abundantly demonstrated by its results, and woman's right to learning may now be assumed as a matter of course. With some of the questions connected with the collegiate education of women—such as the effect of college training upon the family, the home, the wage-earning power, and the extension of the suffrage—the university is but indirectly concerned. Its students must be assumed to have very largely settled for themselves their intended spheres of social activity, and to have come to the university because by extended training and pronounced inclination they are fitted to take advantage of its facilities. With a body of students thus constituted, it does not seem possible that university education can logically make any distinction of sex. Whether in the long run it will appear that women are the equals of men in ability to acquire knowledge, in power of long and persistent application, and in capacity for constructive scholarship, is an interesting subject for speculation and prediction, but it is not a question to which the university must needs give answer.

There is, however, some reason for hoping that the American uni-



versity, by its voluntary and logical adherence to coeducation, will work for a more rational adjustment of sex relations in all departments of education, thereby contributing quite as effectively to the further "emancipation" of women as if its proceedings were many degrees more demonstrative. A university must take it for granted that its students have reached years of discretion, that they are not ignorant of elementary distinctions between right and wrong, and that they are in the habit of conforming to the generally accepted principles of morality and social propriety. It cannot undertake to regard women as weaker creatures, in need of special protection, or oversight, or consideration. The law of intellectual attainment is no respecter of persons: "one event happeneth to them all." Nor will the university show its distrust of the intelligence, morality, and dignity of educated women by prescribing the places in which they shall live, or the days and hours upon which they may receive their friends, or the times and seasons at which they shall go and come. This sort of anxious maternalism may be eminently fitting in the preparatory schools, and possibly in some colleges; but it is wholly out of place in a university. The coming American university will be coeducational because the advance of civilization has now put even the separate collegiate education of the sexes on the defensive; there remains the duty of admitting women in the university to the same privileges, and holding them to the same responsibilities, as is the case with men, and to none others.

For the university thus to offer instruction to men and women upon the same terms would only be to recognize one of the most obvious educational tendencies of the time: to limit its courses of study to graduate and professional students would be to take an advance step of the utmost significance. At the present time, all the leading universities in the United States, with a single exception, have their undergraduate departments, which commonly not only enrol the largest number and percentage of students, but also absorb the largest share of the income. That the combination of undergraduate, graduate, and professional work in one and the same institution has been in most cases historically necessary will readily be conceded, and it is not easy to see how in many instances the condition could even now be changed; at the same time, the maintenance of the undergraduate department in its present position of importance is to be defended rather upon grounds of temporary expediency than because of its perfect consonance with a sound theory of a university. No institution,



of course, can afford to break suddenly with its past; nor should it be forgotten that graduate instruction in its turn has often had to contend against strong opposition from faculties and governing boards. With a new university, however, the circumstances are more favorable; it has no past, but is free to take whatever form it will. It is very greatly to be desired that there should be built up in this country a great university, in all respects amply furnished, and devoted exclusively to graduate and professional training; for such is the proper sphere of the university. It ought not to be merely a greater college, either in number of students or in variety of courses of study; it ought rather to be a place of wider and deeper learning, for the pursuit of which the college is the indispensable preparation.

It seems probable, however, that such limitation of the sphere of the university could hardly fail to work a corresponding restriction of the sphere of the college. In particular, it would operate to discourage every kind of postgraduate work under college auspices. If it is illogical for a university to give undergraduate instruction, the attempt of a college to engage in graduate instruction is not easier to defend. In this matter of postgraduate work a large number of colleges attempt to compete with the universities by offering courses of study leading to the degree of Master of Arts. Formerly this much-abused degree was regularly conferred by the older colleges upon such of their graduates as had survived the undergraduate course a specified number of years, though sometimes with the added condition that the recipient should have been engaged during the interval in something that could be construed to be a "literary" pursuit. When, one after another, the better class of colleges ceased to bestow this honorary degree as a reward for existence, there grew up instead the custom of giving the degree to such graduates as should pursue for one or more years a course of so-called "advanced" work. When residence is not required, this "advanced" study very often amounts to nothing more than general reading under the irregular and perfunctory guidance of an already overworked instructor, and is almost wholly destitute of educational value. In the interest of sound learning and educational sincerity it is every way to be wished that this whole system of pseudo-graduate work under college sanction might speedily be swept away, and that the higher degrees might be conferred exclusively by the universities, which are alone capable of doing in a satisfactory manner the higher work.

The gain to higher education, could such a result be attained,



would be of the greatest value; on the other hand, it would only clear the way for the consideration of a still more serious problem, in some ways the most delicate and complex with which the university is now called upon to deal. That is the problem of estimating justly the value of college work as a preparation for admission to the university. The several hundred institutions in the United States that confer the degree of Bachelor of Arts present the greatest variety in standard, equipment, and attainment. In their requirements for admission, in the order of studies, in methods of instruction, and in the severity of examinations, as well as in their material facilities for doing what they profess to do, the colleges in this country differ quite beyond the possibility of adequate classification; but they all give the same degree. It is apparent that no university proposing to itself thorough instruction of a high order could afford to take the graduates of all these colleges at an equal rating; yet the problem of grading the institutions themselves is far from an easy one. Some of the leading universities adopt the policy of dealing with the case of each applicant on its merits, finding it necessary for their own protection to inquire into the grounds on which the bachelor's degree has been obtained; and this method, though involving great labor on the part of the university faculty, has brought some satisfactory results. As a final solution of the question, however, it is open to the objection of securing no uniformity of standard among the universities themselves, though aiming expressly to secure it among the colleges, and of exercising upon the colleges no very direct pressure; while on the other hand it opens the way for annoying charges of unfairness and favoritism, and offers to a small university a subtle temptation to lower its standard of admission.

Nevertheless, until some more systematic ordering of college work can be brought about, the work of universities must be carried on under rather marked disadvantages. The connection between the colleges and the national Bureau of Education seems too slight to warrant us in expecting, as has lately been suggested, much direct aid from that source; nor are the colleges on their own initiative likely either to improve their methods or to readjust their standards. Some sort of pressure from without needs to be brought to bear, and that pressure must come from the universities. It cannot be too often repeated that effective impulse to educational advancement comes always from the higher, never from the lower, institutions. It is the colleges that have urged on the preparatory schools; it is the universities that must be relied upon to bring about essential uniformity among the colleges.



Of course, there will be no end of objection and hostile criticism while the process is going on: a good many bubbles will be pricked, a good many pious frauds exposed, a good many fictitious values dissipated. But the outcome will be to make clear beyond peradventure that the seat of authority in education is with the university; for in education, as in other matters, the less is judged by the greater.

Finally, it will fall to the lot of the next American university to consider what the spirit of the university shall be. The zeal of American scholarship has already brought rich returns. Our university men are immensely industrious and immensely learned; they handle well the material forces of scholarship, and their standards of efficiency and attainment are high. The scientific method and the scientific spirit have become the common possession of students in all departments of knowledge, while the results of investigation in every field are wielded with an accuracy and a precision never before equalled. But it can hardly be denied that American university life has in the meantime lost somewhat in interest. The prodigious gains in knowledge and in intense love of acquisition have not been accompanied by equal gains in richness of spirit. University men to-day live in the midst of fierce and relentless competition. They work under ceaseless pressure. Their primary aim in life is to be learned, to accumulate a vast store of facts, to know all that there is to be known of some one matter. It is a very noble aim, worthy of all commendation and encouragement; but it is not the whole of life. In none of our great universities is the prevailing tone spontaneous, hearty, free. Scarce any young scholar whose reputation is in the making dare in these days "let himself go." The same scientific spirit, with its ardor for "research," which not many years since pointed the way to truth for all who would look upon it, has come to exercise over the intellectual life a sort of terrorism which has been not unfitly likened to that which in former days was exercised by religious "orthodoxy"; and under this tyranny of "science" the life of scholarship has very largely lost the quality of charm. It is not the men of the universities who in our time nourish the life of the spirit.

That such a condition should have come about is, indeed, to be regretted rather than wholly blamed; for it is the not entirely unnatural result of intense reaction against tradition, formalism, and unreality. But it cannot be out of place to insist that a university should stand for culture as well as for learning, for charm of manner as well as for accuracy of statement, for wealth of spirit as well as for



mastery of facts. Just at these points it is that our universities are now most deficient: their habit of thought tends to be feverish, critical, and small, rather than large, easy, and free. And the next American university must be prepared to meet this question with the rest. In all that is now commonly thought essential to success a new institution might from the first easily outstrip all its competitors; but to give to a dominant temper of its time a new bent is more difficult. Yet it may very well happen that upon its success in so doing will depend the ultimate position and influence of the new venture,—whether it shall be but one among many, a scrambler for students, money, and fame like them, or whether it shall open anew the way to richness of life, and to the ripeness of culture without which learning is only a deadening load.

Such are some of the standards by which it seems probable that the next American university must needs measure itself. Measure itself by them it will, in some sort, from the first; but upon its final conformity will depend something of the value of its work as an institution, and its distinctive contribution to our educational development.

WILLIAM MACDONALD.



## SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC INFLUENCE OF THE BICYCLE.

It is quite the custom to speak of bicycling as a "craze," and there has been much speculation as to whether it would prove permanent or would pass away like other "crazes" after a brief period of feverish popularity. It has been compared to the passion of a few years ago for roller-skating, and prophets have not been lacking who were confident that within five years it would run its course, leaving behind it the wrecks of innumerable bicycle factories and tons upon tons of unsalable machines. "Only wait," say these prophets, "and five years from now you can buy all the wheels you want, and of the best makes too, for five dollars; you may even get one with a pound of tea, or have it thrown in like a colored picture with a copy of a Sunday newspaper." The error in calculations of this kind lies in treating the matter as a "craze." It is something very different from that. The simple fact is that the human race has discovered a new power for its own use. From the earliest dawn of civilization man has been experimenting with the wheel which he invented to increase his powers of locomotion. He has pressed into this service the horse and various other animals, steam, electricity, and compressed air. Finally he has hit upon a device which makes his own body the source of power. He has placed wheels upon his feet, and as a result finds his powers of locomotion multiplied by five and even ten. Instead of walking five or ten miles with more or less effort and fatigue, he finds himself travelling ten, twenty, fifty, and even a hundred miles, according to his physical vigor and experience, with little perceptible fatigue and with a most delightful sense of animation. The winged sandals of Mercury are his henceforward. We have become a race of Mercurys, in fact, and the joy which is felt over the new power amounts to a passion.

Nobody realizes the force of this passion till he rides a wheel himself. Until he has felt the exhilarating effects of the exercise he is strongly of the opinion that its devotees are really a little crazy. He laughs first and then becomes very weary when they persist in telling him, each as if it were a new discovery, that "it is the next thing to



flying," and he is convinced, when he listens while they "swap stories" about the distances covered in incredibly short spaces of time, that it develops a practice which comes much nearer than the next thing to lying. But when he has learned to ride himself he sees what was the matter with them, for like them he has discovered the new power. He finds himself enjoying the beneficial results of vigorous exercise without the usual accompanying weariness, and in a condition of physical exaltation that he has rarely if ever known before. As his muscles get hardened, and he gains in exact knowledge of his vehicle and its powers, he finds that it becomes really a part of himself.

There has been much talk about the "bicycle face" and its causes, and the most common explanation has been that it is due to the rider's anxiety about maintaining his equilibrium. This explanation must have originated among persons who do not ride, for there is nothing which the novice acquires more readily than the ability to preserve his equilibrium. That soon becomes second nature to him. After he has ridden a short time he thinks no more about keeping his wheel upright than he thinks about keeping his body upright in walking. But what troubles him for a much longer period is the rate of speed at which he is moving. This is four or five times his usual walking gait, and he does not feel at ease till he becomes so thoroughly accustomed to it that he knows exactly at all times just what use he can make of his wheel in any given situation. This is the new power which has been attached to his feet, and anxiety lest it may get him into trouble gives him the "bicycle face," which remains with him until his wheel becomes part of himself and he moves about on it as automatically as he moves upon his feet. He has then become master of his new power,—the most valuable he has acquired since he learned to walk,—and it is henceforth a part of his equipment for his struggle with life.

Is it probable that having once become the possessor of a power like this the human race is going to abandon it? As well might we expect it to abandon railways, and gas, and electricity! It is because the bicycle has added so greatly to human powers that it is the most revolutionary social and economic force of recent times. It has entered into and changed the course of human affairs to a wider extent than any other influence. It is customary to treat it primarily as a means of pleasure and exercise, but in every community it is becoming more and more an article of daily use and necessity. Nothing is more certain than that its use will steadily increase. Competition and greater skill in manufacturing will inevitably force down the price.



Within a few years bicycles will be staple articles of commerce, sold as are carriages and other vehicles, the price being regulated by the grade of workmanship and finish, and they will be obtainable at prices which will bring them within reach of a hundred persons where now they are within the reach of one; and the time is not far distant when for all healthy persons the bicycle will become the universal method of locomotion. Special provisions for bicycles will have to be made in all our cities, as in fact they are being made now in many, and it is not at all improbable that within a few years we may see a large proportion of the persons engaged in business and professional life travelling to and fro between their houses and offices upon bicycles. Already there is serious talk in New York city of an elevated roadway for bicycles, and in all localities the demand for the improvement of roadways in order to better accommodate them is growing steadily in volume and force.

We must, therefore, look upon the bicycle as a permanent factor, and upon its sociological and economic effects not as temporary disturbances but as the manifestations of a new order of things. These effects are remarkable enough to justify the frequent assertion that as a sociological revolutionary force the bicycle is without an equal. It is the first force of the kind which has damaged simultaneously the church and the theatre. Both are complaining of its inroads upon their domain and are seeking ways by which to counteract them. The churches suffer most severely in the smaller cities and towns and villages. Attendance upon religious service in these places has been helped by the fact that there was little else to do on Sunday, and also by the fact that the church was really the social centre of the community. Now comes the bicycle with a proposal for a social ride into the country on Sunday, for a day spent in the open air, in rolling swiftly over smooth roadways, or through shady lanes, and past green and flowering meadows. It is not in human nature, and especially in young human nature, to resist a call like this. The departure once made is usually for all time. The churches are fast losing their young people, and efforts to call them back by appeals to their sense of Christian duty, and by offering them storage room for their bicycles in the basement in case they will ride upon them to the House of God rather than into open communion with nature, are likely to prove unavailing. They are deaf even to such appeals as that of the New Haven clergyman who drew a terrifying picture of long columns of Sunday bicycle riders rolling swiftly and helplessly—without brakes,



of course—down a glittering hill to a “place where there is no mud on the streets because of its high temperature.” The theatrical complaint is that the bicycle seriously injures the playhouse in winter, and ruins it outright in summer. In the cities during the evenings of autumn and winter, when the weather is not severe, the young people take rides upon their wheels rather than go to a theatre. When spring comes they ride on every matinee day and on every evening, leaving the theatre a desert. “We used to go to Baltimore, Washington, and Boston every summer and do a good business,” says a New York manager, “but it’s no use now. The theatrical season is dead everywhere as soon as the roads get good for bicycle-riding. It’s the same way in California. I tell you it’s the bicycle that is ruining the theatrical business.” One curious effect, which should afford some consolation to Sabbatarians, is that theatres in certain cities which were formerly open on Sundays have been closed permanently.

New social laws have been enacted to meet the requirements of the new order. Parents who will not allow their daughters to accompany young men to the theatre without chaperonage allow them to go bicycle-riding alone with young men. This is considered perfectly proper. It seems to be one phase of the good comradeship which is so strong a feature of the pastime, for there is no leveller like the wheel. Every rider feels at liberty to accost or converse with every other rider, not only bound but willing to give him aid in distress or accident, and in various ways to treat the bicycle as the badge of equality among all its possessors. Yet every man who has ridden much, either on Sundays, holidays, or other days, must have been struck with the uniformly quiet, orderly, and decorous conduct of the great army of wheelmen. They are seldom boisterous, and the rowdies are the great exceptions. Of no other form of popular exercise, or excursion, can it be said that it is so conducive to good manners, simple conduct, and kindly intercourse as bicycle-riding. It brings all classes together when all are in a condition of healthy enjoyment and physical content. The artisan, the millionaire, the professional man, the laborer, the rich merchant, the lady whose name appears in all the “society movements” of the day, the shop-girl, the banker and his clerk,—all roll along on equal terms, for a wheel of some kind is within every one’s reach and in outward appearance only the eye of an expert can detect any financial superiority of one over another. Certainly each feels fully the equal of every other, and the natural and inevitable effect is to incline each to so conduct himself as to



be worthy of the company he is in. Then, too, one great influence for sobriety and decorum is to be found in the family participation of the pastime. Fathers and sons, mothers and daughters, husbands and wives, whole families ride together, carrying with them wherever they go the spirit of the family circle. No other single social result of bicycling is comparable to this. Fathers are made the companions of their sons as they seldom or never were before, and the beneficial influence upon the character and habits of the latter, exerted, as it often is, at the formative period of the boys' lives, cannot be overestimated. Like tennis and golf, the bicycle supplies a form of popular exercise which is open to the members of both sexes equally. Husband and wife are able to enjoy this together, and the result is a new bond of union which brings back, after years of married life, the close companionship of its earlier days. The whole family is in fact made one as it perhaps never was before, the parents renewing their youth and joining with their children in a common pleasure which is also a well-spring of health to all of them.

Concerning the healthfulness of the exercise there is no longer serious question. A great deal of sensational rubbish, much of it characteristically vile, has been put forth in the recent past by quacks upon this subject, but little of it is heard now. Indulged in with intelligence and moderation, with due regard to the physical condition of each participant, bicycle-riding is unquestionably one of the most healthful forms of physical exercise ever invented. As an eminent medical authority has put it, "not in two hundred years has there been any one thing that has so benefited the human race." This is the judgment of all authorities who have studied the subject carefully with reference to its general effects, and not with reference to isolated and exceptional cases. Physicians are recommending it more and more to their patients, almost without regard to the limit of age, and are coming to the conclusion that it is practically a sovereign remedy for rheumatism, indigestion, dyspepsia, and other ills which are too frequently merely the result of a lifetime of little or no outdoor exercise. It is no answer to this view of the bicycle, as the missionary of a healthier and stronger human race, to say that excessive use of it does harm. Undoubtedly such use of it is harmful. Riding to "make a century," to cover a large number of miles, riding humpbacked with all the vital organs cramped and with the muscles of the body in an unnatural position,—these are the abuses of a healthy exercise, and are no legitimate part of it. They are diminishing rather than increasing. The



"scorcher" is much less common this year than he was last. Even he is finding out that the gentleman rides upright like a man, not bent like a monkey, and he is desirous of being classed with gentlemen. The great merit of bicycling is that it gets people out into the open air and sunshine for their exercise. It sets their hearts and lungs to working as they have never really worked before and under conditions that are the most favorable possible for their development and increased strength. When a bicyclist starts for a ride he seeks, as the most favorable field, the parks of a city or the open country. Never before in the history of man have the public parks of cities been so truly the breathing places of the people as they are now. A hundred persons use them where one did before the advent of the bicycle. It is said in many of our smaller cities that on half-holidays and other occasions upon which it is customary to have music in the public parks, there is now an attendance of hundreds of bicycle-riders, making crowds where formerly only a few people gathered. The roads in all suburban towns throng with the same visitors on Sundays and holidays, all rolling through enjoyment to better health, and unconsciously but surely bringing city and country into closer union and extending more widely the blessings of advancing civilization.

The economic effects of this new force in human affairs afford much material for curious and even amusing study. It is estimated that since the passion got under full headway, less than five years ago, fully \$100,000,000 have been spent in purchasing bicycles in this country alone. The output for this year is estimated at from 750,000 to 1,000,000 machines, at an average price of \$80 each. Of course a new branch of business of such dimensions as this must disturb more or less other kinds of business. A million people cannot buy bicycles at \$80 each and buy as many other things as they would otherwise have bought. Naturally the dealers in luxuries are the first to feel the effects. The loudest outcries come from the makers of watches and jewelry. Many of them have abandoned the business entirely and substituted for it bicycle-making. They say that formerly when a son came of age, or Christmas Day came around, a favorite family present was a watch; now it is a bicycle. The girls used to save their pin-money with which to buy ear-rings, or a breast-pin, or a locket; now they hoard it for a bicycle. Not only must the sons and daughters have them, but the parents as well, so that all the family savings go in one direction. The daughter who has been ambitious for a piano concludes that she will not wait longer but will get a bicycle instead, since it costs less.



The consequence is that the piano trade for the current year is said to have fallen off 50 per cent. Furniture dealers cite cases in which they have heard mothers say to their daughters that they could have their choice between new sets of parlor furniture and bicycles, and the choice has invariably been bicycles. Probably the worst sufferers of all are the horse and carriage trades, and the businesses connected with them. The practice of horseback-riding is nearly extinct and saddle-horses are a drug in the market. The livery-stable business has been cut down from a half to two thirds, and carriages are in such poor demand that several leading firms have gone to the wall. The saddle- and harness-makers are also complaining loudly and are turning their attention to the making of bicycle-saddles. Riding-academies have been turned into bicycle schools, and riding-masters have been forced to begin life over again in other occupations.

These are the direct effects of the bicycle passion. The indirect results are no less striking. It is stated by the journals of the tobacco trade that the consumption of cigars has fallen off during the present year at the rate of a million a day, and that the grand total of decrease since the "craze" really got underway is no less than 700,000,000. This may be an exaggerated statement; it has been questioned in some quarters of the trade; but there is no doubt that riding does interfere with the smoking habit and thus induces confirmed smokers to reduce their daily consumption. The tailors say their business has been damaged at least 25 per cent, because their customers do not wear out clothes so rapidly as formerly, spending much of their time in cheap bicycle suits which they buy ready-made. Shoemakers say they suffer severely because nobody walks much any longer, since persons who formerly got their exercise in that way have taken to the wheel, upon which they ride in low-priced shoes which are subject to very little wear.

The hatters say they are injured because bicyclists wear cheap caps and thus either save their more expensive ones or else get on without them. One irate member of the trade proposes that Congress be asked to pass a law compelling each bicycle-rider to purchase at least two felt hats a year. Railway and steamboat men say their excursion business has been diminished perceptibly by the tendency to go into the country and to the seashore on the bicycle rather than by rail or water. Trolley and other street-car lines from cities to their suburbs say their receipts have been cut down so heavily as to amount in some instances to the destruction of all profit. Dealers in dry-goods



say that the passion of young women for the wheel has reduced their sales of dress-goods and expensive costumes from 25 to 50 per cent, because so many girls prefer a ride in a bicycle costume in the evening to sitting at home in more elaborate apparel. Even the summer girl cuts down her outfit, for she finds she spends much of her time in bicycle garb.

Then come the booksellers with a complaint that much riding prevents much reading, and that their trade suffers in consequence. One great news-agency in New York city, which deals in books and periodicals of all kinds, says its total loss in trade this year from bicycle competition is no less than a million dollars. Saloon-keepers say that they suffer with the others, that their saloons are deserted on pleasant evenings, and that riders who visit them take only beer and "soft-drinks." There is undoubted truth in this complaint, for while the "bicycle thirst" is a formidable thing, it does not call for strong drink for its quenching, and habitual riders avoid all but the simplest and least "heady" beverages, not only because riding requires a steady head, but because the whole system is so exhilarated by exercise that it does not crave further stimulant. There are many other complaints of injury to trade which might be enumerated, but I must content myself with the mention of only one other which is, perhaps, the most moving of all. It was made by a barber in New York city. "There is nothing in my business any longer," he said, "the bicycle has ruined it. Before the bicycle craze struck us the men used to come in on Saturday afternoons and get a shave, and a haircut, and maybe a shampoo, in order to take their lady friends to the theatre, or go out somewhere else in the evening. Now they go off on a bicycle and do not care whether they are shaved or not. You see where it hurts our business is that when a man skips a shave to-day, we can't sell him two shaves to-morrow; that shave is gone forever."

While there are many just complaints of losses through the formidable advent of this new social and economic force, there is undoubtedly much exaggeration in some of the complaints and little or no foundation for others. We have been passing through a long period of "hard times" and every sufferer who is looking for a cause turns eagerly to the bicycle when he hears some other sufferer mention it. Much of the damage in certain lines of business is only temporary. As soon as the people get stocked with bicycles, and changes and improvements are not so important as to lead to the purchase of new ones year by year, money will begin to flow back again into some of its former channels.



People are not going to get on permanently without watches or pianos simply because they ride upon bicycles. At present they are willing to put the possession of a bicycle above everything else. A few months ago, there was an advertisement in the elevated trains of New York city which attracted attention by the delightful unexpectedness of its proposition. It read: "You do not use your piano often. Why not exchange it for a folding bed?" This advertisement was recalled to my mind recently by the sight of the following in a Buffalo newspaper: "Will exchange folding-bed, child's white crib, or writing-desk for lady's bicycle." An enemy of the wheel has cited this as certain proof of the existence of a bicycle "craze" since it discloses a "mother who appears willing to sleep on the floor or hang her baby on a hook in order to be in the charmed circle of cyclers." This is a forced interpretation. The mother might have had other sleeping accommodations both for herself and baby. What strikes me as more convincing proof of a "craze" was the action of a Plumbers' Union in Indianapolis, in adopting strong resolutions condemning the use of bicycles by plumbers on the ground that by so doing they were able to get through their "jobs" more quickly. Nothing but a "craze" would induce a plumber to ride to and fro between the shop and his "jobs" on a wheel. As everybody knows, the chief part of a plumber's business is sitting idle on the site of a "job" while his helper goes back to the shop for something. If there is to be a bicycle for the helper to ride on, then a staggering blow has been struck at the plumbing business, and the plumber who is so blind as not to see this must be the victim of a "craze." The union is quite justified in raising a cry of alarm.

But there are gains as well as losses. Capital has merely shifted its field of operation. If many lines of established business and industry have been injured, new lines have been opened which have given employment to an increased number of persons. Within five years the number of bicycle manufactories in this country has risen from one or two to several hundred. These give steady and well-paid employment to thousands of persons. Scattered over the country from New England to California are manufacturing towns which have sprung into new life and prosperity, after years of slow decay, through the advent of this young industry. Then, too, an enormous business in the making of bicycle sundries has grown up which does not require special talent or training and in which "plants" for other kinds of business and manufacturing can be used. It is a fact also that suburban real



estate has advanced perceptibly under the influence of the bicycle passion. There is a larger demand for country homes from families who wish to live where the children, as well as the parents, can ride with greater pleasure and freedom and with less risk of accident than in the cities. This is one of the most beneficial effects of the bicycle. It is developing a love for country life, and is thus counteracting that tendency of the population to concentrate in cities which has been so steadily on the increase in recent years. Suburban life with a bicycle loses much of its isolated character. It brings within the social circle of every family all other families within a radius of ten or even twenty miles. With good roads, the latter distance is no more formidable barrier to social intercourse than two or three miles were before the bicycle's advent. And the good roads are inevitable. They are coming in all directions, and they are coming because the bicycle is creating an irresistible demand for them. Putting all other social and economic effects of the bicycle aside, its influence as a missionary for scientific road-building is alone sufficient to entitle it to the lasting gratitude of the American people.



## ALTRUISM IN ECONOMICS.

IT is an observation which I have often made—but it is one which will bear repeating—that books which affect to be scientific deserve careful criticism not only in proportion to their intrinsic worth, but to the worth imputed to them by any considerable section of the public. A book has of late received wide attention in America, which illustrates this truth in a very signal way. I refer to Mr. Kidd's treatise on "Social Evolution," which has been hailed as being before all things an example—some writers have hailed it as being the first example—of true scientific methods applied to social affairs. In this article I propose to call the reader's attention to two of his propositions only, and, by comparing and contrasting them, to draw a moral which bears on a problem of great practical moment—the problem of socialized charity, or systematic help for the poor, on the mere ground of their poverty, as a class.

One of these propositions, to which I now refer, neither is, nor affects to be, original. It is simply a restatement of a generally admitted truth; and all that Mr. Kidd does is to emphasize its importance as bearing on his own argument. He writes:—

"The successful peoples have moved *westward* for *physical* reasons; the seat of power has moved continually *northwards* for reasons connected with *the evolution in character which the race is undergoing*. Man, originally a creature of a warm climate and still multiplying most easily and rapidly there, has not attained his highest development where the conditions of existence have been the easiest. Throughout history the centre of power has moved gradually but surely to the north, into those stern regions where men have been trained for the rivalry of life in the strenuous conflict with nature, in which they have acquired energy, courage, integrity, and those characteristic qualities which contribute to raise them to a high state of social efficiency. The shifting of power northwards has been a feature alike of modern and of ancient history. The peoples whose influence to-day reaches over the greater part of the world, both temperate and tropical, belong almost exclusively to races whose geographical home is north of the fortieth parallel of latitude."

Let us compare with this the other proposition—that the most important social change taking place now, and promising to become more



and more marked in the future, is, according to Mr. Kidd, the gradual surrender to the many of the main advantages which have hitherto been monopolized by the few. One of Mr. Kidd's points is that this surrender will not be extorted by the many; for the many, who are composed of the individually weaker members of the community, would never be able to extort it, were the few, with their superior faculties, organization, and position, seriously inclined to oppose them. The few will surrender their privileges voluntarily, although gradually, in deference to a growing belief in the equal rights of all, and a sympathetic desire that all should at least have equal chances. "It is the influence," says Mr. Kidd, in a sentence which he prints in italics, "*it is the influence of this fund of altruism in our civilization that has undermined the position of the power-holding class.*" I quote this sentence to show the reader the extraordinary emphasis with which Mr. Kidd asserts that the few will, no matter under what influence, divide their advantages with the many in such a way as to bring all members of the community, however weak, "into the rivalry of life on conditions of equality."

I propose to enquire, on some future occasion, how far Mr. Kidd has realized, with any scientific precision, what these "conditions of equality" or "equalities of opportunity" are: but it is enough here to observe that they will at all events involve some such process as this—the division amongst the weaker of certain accumulated external advantages which the weaker, in virtue of their weakness, have not been able to secure for themselves. Let us take a simple illustration. Let us suppose two youths equal in intellectual capacity, but very unequal in energy and strength of character. Both desire to succeed in a career for which a colloquial knowledge of foreign languages is necessary and, from the age of fifteen to that of twenty, both have equal opportunities of attending some school where French and German are taught. But during these five years one devotes his spare hours to earning money by some employment; the other has not the foresight or energy to do this. Accordingly by the time they both are twenty, the one has a sum of money which will enable him to live abroad for some years and perfect his knowledge both of foreign languages and foreign life. The other has no such fund, and is obliged to remain at home. The opportunities of both, which, when both were fifteen, were equal, now when they both are twenty exhibit an enormous inequality. Taking the stronger of these two youths as the type of the power-holding classes, Mr. Kidd's contention is that he is ready at the present



moment, and will hereafter become more ready, to share his savings with his less energetic friend, in order to enable him to go abroad also, and thus render him as formidable a competitor as possible; thereby annihilating on the one hand the external advantages which greater strength of character secures for itself, and softening on the other hand all those rigors of circumstance with which inferior energy, even more than inferior intellect, naturally surrounds itself, before life has advanced far.

The reader, perhaps, may at first be inclined to wonder what these two propositions, which I have thus set side by side, have to do with each other; but a very short explanation will show him that they are related intimately. Indeed they are related so intimately that the second is, as used in Mr. Kidd's argument, a categorical contradiction of the first. The ultimate gist of Mr. Kidd's argument is this,—that by the constant division amongst the weak of the acquired advantages of the strong, the rivalry of existence will be raised to its highest pitch of efficiency, and every member of the community, whether he is relatively a success or a failure, will at least do with his faculties the very utmost of which they render him capable. But let us compare this proposition with the preceding proposition about climate. A climate comparatively rigorous, according to Mr. Kidd's position, promotes, and is indeed essential to, progress, because it necessitates a constant struggle on the part of all—a struggle which tends to eliminate the weaker and leave the stronger as survivors; whilst a climate which renders life tolerable without many luxuries or even comforts, and yields a subsistence to the minimum of industry and effort, not only enables the least talented and strenuous to survive, but relaxes the springs of energy in many who would be otherwise energetic. This fact is admitted by social philosophers of all schools, and Mr. Kidd very properly states it as one which is beyond the reach of controversy; but he fails to see that if the energetic few were really to be always dividing their advantages with the less energetic many, they would be artificially creating social conditions, whose effects would be precisely similar to those ascribed by him so unhesitatingly to the climates in which life is easiest.

It forms no part of my purpose in this article to dwell on any personal aspect of Mr. Kidd's reasoning. I have quoted Mr. Kidd here not because his reasoning on this point is peculiar to himself; but because, on the contrary, he offers us in this respect nothing more than an exceptionally clear example of an inconsistency which, more



than anything else, distinguishes the great mass of the more emotional and least thoughtful of our contemporary social reformers. For, put into plain and homely English, what does Mr. Kidd's promised division amongst the many of the external advantages possessed by the power-holding classes amount to, but charity practised on a vastly extended scale? The very essence of what we mean by charity is the making over to a man of something, whether in the form of money or of some other possession, for which the man does not render an equivalent. So far as its effect upon the recipient is concerned, it makes no matter whether the gift comes to him from the state, as something to which he has a legal claim, or from a private individual, or a group of private individuals, who give it to him under the internal compulsion of what Mr. Kidd calls their "altruism"; and Mr. Kidd, in identifying progress with the extension of systematic charity, is merely giving expression to the commonest, but at the same time the most ill-digested, idea by which all the more excitable sections of contemporary reformers are united. If social change in the future is really to follow the lines which Mr. Kidd and these reformers alike suggest, and if the needs of the weak or the comparatively unsuccessful are to constitute a universal claim on the altruism of the successful and the strong, the result, let me repeat, will be to produce an artificial climate which will, to cite the limit mentioned by Mr. Kidd, make the regions which lie "north of the fortieth parallel of latitude" even more socially enervating than those which lie south of it. Altruism of this kind would do nothing but intensify the very evils which Mr. Kidd imagines that it would correct. Wills and motives that are at present weak would inevitably become weaker. Inefficiency and want would increase in proportion as their relief became certain. It may indeed be laid down as a cardinal maxim that to relieve all misery would be far more cruel than to relieve none.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The inability of charity, of altruism, or systematic surrender of their possessions on the part of the power-holding classes, to relieve distress on any extended scale, is no mere matter of theory: it has been continually illustrated by vast experiments. In *THE FORUM* for August, 1895, in dealing with the question of the Socialistic argument for an income-tax, I referred to the operation of the old poor-law in England, and the disastrous results of the attempt to relieve poverty by supplementing low wages by a grant out of the pockets of the state. But, without going back to the earlier years of the century, we have facts close at hand which teach us a similar lesson. Although, contrary to the favorite statement of the Socialists, the amount of distress in modern progressive countries is diminishing relatively to the population, the amount of it massed upon given areas, in our modern cities, is absolutely greater than anything which existed



This is a hard saying—hard in more senses than one—until it is examined carefully ; but when it is examined much of its hardness goes, though unfortunately not all. Something still remains which shocks our humanitarian sentiments. Let us consider what these sentiments, as entertained by sober-minded men, are. Mr. John Morley expresses them very clearly when he declares that the aim and object at the heart of modern democracy is to help and protect those who are least able to help and protect themselves, or, in other words, that it is the duty of the strong to help and protect the weak. To say this is to say something that appeals to everybody ; and, if it appeals to us when we consider the poorer classes generally, much more does it appeal to us when we consider those who, surrounded by the wealthy and the comfortable, are hardly able to supply themselves with daily bread. But these considerations are not restricted to the mere question of the necessities of existence. A certain class of sympathetic minds, in contemplating the immense variety of intellectual occupations, interests, pleasures, and forms of success, rendered possible by an advancing civilization, discerns a deeper tragedy than even the want of bread, in the fate which condemns multitudes to manual labor, who might otherwise, if they only had the chance, have worked with their brains and enjoyed the privilege of culture. Thoughts and feelings such as these are familiar enough to all of us. They constitute, in fact, what Mr. Kidd calls the “fund of modern altruism.”

It will be seen then that modern altruism or charity sets before itself two objects. One is to assist the weak, so that not even the weakest shall want the necessities and even the decencies of life ; the

during former periods. Indeed General Booth was probably virtually right when he described the distressed class as “the submerged tenth.” This calculation would give to London alone a distressed population of five hundred thousand persons. But now let us consider another fact, to which Mr. Kidd calls attention in the following emphatic words. “The annual revenue,” he writes, “of the private charities of London alone is close upon five million pounds sterling ; or equal to the entire public revenue of some of the smaller states.” This means that the charities of London would yield annually £10 per head to the entire distressed population ; or from £40 to £50 annually to each distressed family. If such a revenue is unable to extinguish distress now, does Mr. Kidd imagine that we should be able to extinguish it were this revenue doubled, and if every time the weaker members of the community wasted their opportunities or injured those of their children we were to set them on their legs again and deliver them from the consequences of their weakness ? There is not the smallest doubt that we should be increasing distress, not extinguishing it. We should be pouring oil on a conflagration.



other is so to assist all talents that no man capable of the higher kinds of activity shall be debarred from using his faculties for want of opportunity of developing them. I propose to consider Charity under each of the two aspects thus indicated. In each case there is involved a distinct set of considerations, which must be dealt with separately and I shall take the second case first.

Many people, who realize the disastrous results that would ensue were the state to aim at producing an absolute economic equality, who realize that in this way not only would idleness be encouraged but exceptional talent discouraged, imagine, as Mr. Kidd does, that they have found a way out of their difficulty by the celebrated modern doctrine of equality of opportunity. The idea expressed in this phrase is sometimes intended to include, and indeed primarily to mean, an equality of opportunity of performing some kind of labor, which will secure for a man his daily bread, and keep him from theft or begging: but it usually means something that is very much more limited, namely, an equality of opportunity of using not mere average faculties, but faculties which are above the average and which, if a fitting opportunity were given them, would enter the arena of life's larger prizes, and thus not only would secure a just reward for themselves, but for the community generally a higher standard of performance by increasing the intensity of competition in all the higher kinds of work. This is emphatically the view that is set forth by Mr. Kidd; and in this instance, as in so many others, he is merely expressing in somewhat novel language a view which has long been common to the whole body of our more sanguine and emotional reformers. The ideas of such persons contain a modicum of truth; but the truth, such as it is, is not only much exaggerated, but vitiated by certain definite fallacies which render it false and misleading.

The first of these fallacies is negative rather than positive, and consists in ignoring both a fundamental fact of human nature and a fundamental fact of economics. In the present state of the arts and sciences of production (and there is nothing to show that the situation could ever be more than slightly changed), the vast numerical majority of any community have necessarily to give their lives to the performance of manual tasks; and that these tasks should be the principal occupation of the persons who perform them is, in most cases, a necessary condition of their being performed well. They cannot be taken up, dropped, or exchanged for others. Tillage, for instance, and coal-mining would be more arduous as occasional, than they are as habitual,



occupations. This is one of the two facts to which I allude: and now we come to the other, which must be taken along with it. It is possible to educate almost any human being so that the larger part of the work which must be performed by the vast majority of any possible community shall be distasteful to him, and he shall naturally demand some position and occupation which can, from the very nature of things, be apportioned to the few only. An illustration taken from actual life is to be found in the fact that, in many country districts of England, the rising generation of laborers' sons are anxious, before all things, for employment as railway porters. For five vacant posts there are a hundred applicants. Similarly also the sons of the small farmer and shopkeeper desire to be commercial clerks: and such examples may be multiplied. Now when the desire to rise is the result of some talent above the average, it forms the most powerful of all motives to useful work, and is indeed the mainspring of national energy and progress; but the peculiar point to be observed here with regard to this desire is, that education as at present directed has the effect, and is designed to have it, of exciting the desire in all individuals alike, and producing, not only an approximation to equality of opportunity, but, as its counterpart, an equality of ambitions also. In fact this last is almost the only sort of equality that education does produce.

And now let us consider the results of educations thus directed, taking, first, the results anticipated by such advocates, for instance, as Mr. Kidd; and secondly, its actual results as experience has thus far exhibited them.

According to Mr. Kidd and the whole body of reformers whose opinions he represents, there is, as I have said already, a vast amount of superior talent, and even of genius, that remains latent and has never been able to exercise itself, simply because external opportunities have been distributed so unequally. Now that such a theory is applicable to certain exceptional cases may be quite true; but that it is not true to any important extent has been demonstrated in the most conclusive way by a series of historical experiments. Let us take the case of literature. Since the days of Shakespeare, the diffusion of wealth and education and the growth of an appreciative public have been continually increasing the opportunities and inducements for developing literary talent; and the result is that under Queen Victoria there is a larger percentage of persons capable of writing correct and readable English than there were under Queen Elizabeth. But though the literary output of a certain moderate quality has vastly increased in



quantity, the United Kingdom to-day, with its forty millions of inhabitants and its wide diffusion of opportunities, has not yielded more writers of the first order of merit, than the England of Shakespeare, of Bacon, of Milton, and of Dryden did, when a great proportion of the population was almost, if not quite, illiterate, and its number was vastly less than it is to-day. Or again, let us take the case of the French army, which is probably one of the completest experiments in equality of opportunity that can be found. It cannot be maintained that France, since the days of Napoleon, has produced a greater number of great military leaders, or even a body of more efficient officers, than has been produced by Germany or by England. If there were any truth in ideas such as those of Mr. Kidd, France should have a perennial supply, if not of First Napoleons, at all events of Marshal Neys, and of Louis Napoleons; while, as a matter of fact, the mountain has been in labor for a hundred years and has in our day brought forth nothing but General Boulanger. The truth of the matter is that the common and inferior kinds of intellectual accomplishments, and these only, can be largely increased or diminished by the enlargement or contraction of the circle of opportunity; but whether the increase of these accomplishments is beneficial or injurious to the community generally and the persons by whom they are acquired, depends altogether on the relation of the supply to the social demand. If the supply exceeds the demand, not only is the community in no way benefited, but the accomplished persons are the first and the keenest sufferers, as is shown to-day by the case of mercantile and other clerks, whose number has so increased that their salaries have, on the whole, sunk below the wages of skilled manual labor. On the other hand, superior talent—the talent that leads, and guides, and pushes the world forward—always as a rule, allowance being made for exceptions, creates its own opportunities, if circumstance have not supplied them ready-made. Talent that is fit to push the world forward is usually quite capable of pushing itself forward first, and strengthens and matures itself by this preliminary process. Multiplied facilities for writing and printing poetry have not called into glory many “mute inglorious Miltons”; nor has extended suffrage brought to light many Cromwells who would otherwise have remained obscure. Circumstance, at worst, is for most men merely a wicker cage; and if they are not strong enough to burst through the yielding bars, they will not be strong enough to do anything very remarkable.

But not only would the extension of equality of intellectual



opportunity entirely fail to produce the good results which are so inaccurately expected of it: it would produce certain positive evil results; indeed it has actually produced them already. I indicated them in passing; but I will now describe them more specifically. Not only does an undue extension fail to develop a corresponding increase of exceptionally efficient talent, but it multiplies discontent and failures far more than successes. The principle underlying it is neither more nor less than this—that all should aim at raising themselves above the necessity of that work to which the immense majority of mankind must always necessarily be devoted. If all the plowmen, masons, colliers, and fishermen, in the world, have been taught in youth to desire some position and occupation higher than plowing, building, hewing coal, or fishing, these humble but necessary callings will become marks of defeat and failure; those who pursue them will do so with a sense of discontent and bitterness; and a new curse, far harsher than the old, will have been pronounced upon ordinary labor. In other words, the development of equality of ambition (which, as I have said, is inseparable from what is called equality of opportunity) would discredit the larger part of the inevitable work of the world. It might relieve a few backs of their burdens; but it would make the backs of the majority, that must still bear them, sorer. The real condition of things at which reform should aim, is not the indiscriminate securing of equal opportunity for all, or the stimulation in all of an equal desire to rise; but the restriction of these opportunities and ambitions to those whose exceptional vigor of character or intellect will enable them to use the one and to fulfil the other.

So much then for the doctrine of equality of intellectual opportunity. It is not really the principal point to which I desire to address myself; but I have thought it necessary to dwell on it because, by reformers generally, it is confused with a doctrine of a much wider scope. My object has been to show that it is not, in any extended sense, a doctrine bearing on popular reform at all. It contains no message of hope to the great masses of the people. Its promised salvation is confined to a new species of middle class. Let us turn then to equality of opportunity, as understood in a wider sense—as understood to mean the opportunity of any man and every man to make a comfortable livelihood by some ordinary work. Within what limits is it right, and within what limits is it wrong, to aim at producing such an opportunity for those who happen to be without it? The answer to this question depends in the first instance on what kind of livelihood it is



in contemplation to provide. If nothing is contemplated beyond the bare means of subsistence, these are guaranteed already by the English workhouse system. But equality of opportunity to earn a living does not mean, in the mouths of any of those who talk about it, equality of opportunity to break stones in a workhouse yard, but to earn a living under circumstances not less favorable than those of the average thriving workman. It means that each man, *because he is a man*, and especially each father, *because he is a father*, has a moral claim on the community to the enjoyment of what is called a "living wage"; and it means in addition to this, that if a man finds himself, owing to circumstances, unable to earn such a wage under any private employer, this inability shall constitute a claim either on the state or some other organization to secure for him a similar wage by some artificial means, which wage is to be earned under conditions equally agreeable to him. In other words, to quote the favorite phrase of our reformers, the aim of social reform is, by means of organization of some kind, to create a machinery which "shall render poverty impossible."

In examining such views as these, there are two points to be considered. It is proposed to provide a certain "living wage" for all persons who cannot, under existing conditions, earn it; and to do this by providing them with some kind of work. Now, putting aside idlers and the disabled, people are out of work for one or other of two reasons—because they are below the average point of aptitude and efficiency, and thus cannot earn a wage which they could earn if their efficiency were greater; or because the conditions of industry at the time are such that, even supposing their efficiency to be up to the average standard, private employers are unable to find work for them which shall be worth the wages asked for it. Now do the most altruistic reformers maintain that, whether by state organization or by private organization, they will be able to devise means by which work shall have a value, when undertaken under their direction, which cannot be imparted to it by the direction of any private employer? Should such persons, under the stimulus of altruism, be always able to do this, and to develop such commercial and industrial talent as they could profitably employ when the private employer could not do so, the whole problem would be solved. But few reformers would seriously make such a claim for themselves; and certainly none of them has ever done anything to justify it. Such then being the case, all relief for the unemployed, the insufficiently paid, and indeed for the distressed classes generally, must necessarily take the form of giving more for their work than it is



worth. It must, either wholly or in part, be a free gift—a work of charity, though of charity so disguised that its recipients may not recognize it. Now is it the duty of the more prosperous classes of the community, or within what limits is it their duty, to bestow such charity on the less prosperous classes, whether by the agency of the state, or that of private organizations? Can it be said that, with the exception of criminals and confirmed loafers, the community is bound to supply “a living wage”—a wage which shall represent the average standard of comfort—to all persons who are unable to earn it in the ordinary market?

In answer to this, it must be said at once that even the right to live, which is recognized by existing poor-laws, is, *if it means a right to live in a certain county*, a right which can be recognized only with implied limitations; still less can there be any general right to live in some specified state of comfort. If the coal of the United Kingdom became exhausted, and its trade declined like that of Venice, it would be absurd to say that its existing population of forty millions had a right to live in a country which could not then support fifteen. The more energetic of the superfluous inhabitants would emigrate of their own accord; the less energetic would have to be deported somehow. We need not, however, dwell on this hypothetical case. We assume that the unemployed and distressed classes are not so numerous, that the prosperous part of the community could not, so far as the mere cost is concerned, manage to maintain them in a condition of average comfort. The question is, how far would the support thus given tend to fulfil the objects of the altruism by which it was inspired?

Let us begin by considering what, as an actual fact, is the cause of distress which altruism desires to remedy. Is it the inferiority of the distressed persons? Or is it those broad external circumstances which we call “bad times,” and which affect all classes simultaneously? Or again, is it the displacement of labor in certain trades by machinery, or by the fluctuations of fashion? According to the answer to these questions, the distressed persons to be assisted fall into two categories. If the cause of the distress is merely bad times, or sudden displacement of labor, the unemployed are suffering from no inferiority of their own, and nothing but circumstances entirely independent of themselves prevent them from doing as good work and earning as good wages as do their fellows who remain in employment still. Those whose want of employment, or of employment at a certain rate of wages, is due to some inferiority of their own, stand on a different footing. Now



official enquiries which have recently been made in England unmistakably show that, while there doubtless are considerable numbers who at any given time may be suffering, through no fault of their own, from some displacement of labor, or at certain periods from some general depression of trade, yet such persons are invariably a small minority. The Labor Commission reports that whatever may be true of numerous individual cases, yet if we take the distressed classes thousand by thousand, the bulk of each thousand will be found to consist of persons who for some reason or other are lowest in the scale of efficiency, and that their distress arises less from want of opportunity, than from want of capacity, to earn an average wage. We may conveniently describe these two classes of sufferers as the *unlucky workmen* and the *inferior workmen*. Both classes are suffering from the same misfortune, namely, the inability to earn a wage which shall keep them in some given state of comfort. What would be the result of doing what our altruistic reformers propose to do, and giving them arbitrarily, at the expense of the rest of the community, the incomes which they at present lack?

Let us take the case of the unlucky workman first. Both bad times, and the displacement of labor by machinery, are held by many to be the price which we pay for progress; and seeing that this progress benefits the community as a whole, the community as a whole ought to bear the expense of insuring those of its members who accidentally are sufferers from the process. Against this argument in the abstract there is, it seems to me, very little to be said. It embodies an idea of justice which at once appeals to all of us. But, as soon as we attempt to devise means for giving effect to it, all sorts of difficulties reveal themselves; for, if the proposals of our altruistic reformers were actually carried out, we should find them in practice embodying the following principle—namely, that if any competent workman who has been earning certain wages is discharged by any private employer, or, having left the service of one employer, fails to find employment under another, the state, or some other organization, is bound to employ him at similar wages, and under not less favorable conditions. That this, from the very nature of the case, would be a loss to the community generally, I have pointed out already; but I do not here insist upon it. I assume that this mere loss to itself is one which the community should bear. I am concerned now only with the effect of such an arrangement on the workman. The effect would certainly be this—if any competent workman, earning say six shillings a day under a



private employer, knew that the mere fact of his leaving his employer's service gave him a claim on the state for employment at similar wages, which would, moreover, be independent of the economic value of his work, then, under such circumstances, no private employer would have any guarantee whatever for the industry or the ordinary good conduct of any one of those employed by him. Not only would the community lose by the fact that wages paid by it through the state were greater than the work for which they were paid justified; not only would the workmen whom the state thus relieved be demoralized by the knowledge that useless work would be paid for at the same rate as useful; but the whole body of workers throughout the entire country would be demoralized by the knowledge that, if they failed to do their best for their present employers, they would receive the same wages from the state whether they did their best or worst.

And now let us turn to the case, not of the unlucky workmen, but of the inferior workmen, which supplies us after all with the main problem of poverty. Let us consider the position toward them taken up by our modern altruists. These reformers tell us that, owing to the constitution of human nature, some of our fellows are doubtless born weaker and more helpless than others; but they remind us at the same time that these unfortunates are our equals in many ways—in their needs, in their desire for happiness, and in their capacity for suffering. If, therefore, they cannot help themselves to an average share in the good things of life, their stronger brethren ought to come to their rescue and offer a helping hand to the feeble, the halt, and the blind. Indeed not only *ought* the stronger brethren to do this; but, so our altruists urge, they *are* daily becoming fuller of a keen desire to do so; and this desire is daily realizing itself in an increasing number of ways.

Now here again is a view of things which, if we take it in the abstract, appeals to the sympathies of all of us as at once humane and just. When, however, we come to consider the practical application of it, we find ourselves confronted with a truth which is as old as the earliest of civilizations—namely, that *human ideas are more perfect than human nature*; or, in other words, that *they are always apt to be formed in forgetfulness of the imperfections by which human nature is characterized*. For though the comparison of the unfortunate classes to cripples, or to other similar sufferers, is calculated to touch the heart, it ignores what is really the central fact of the situation, namely, that the main cause of inferiority amongst the least efficient classes is not a weakness of



muscle, but rather a weakness of will; and that this kind of weakness, though apparent only in some, is really latent in every human being and is liable under certain circumstances to spread itself like an epidemic. My meaning is very simple. It is conceded by thinkers and economists of all schools, that one of the governing laws of human action is that men will seek the satisfaction of their desires at the cost of the least possible effort. It is not meant that every man will work as few hours as possible; but that he will work as few hours as possible in proportion to the result aimed at. If he suddenly finds that he can make a thousand dollars an hour, he will work perhaps sixteen hours to-morrow, whereas he worked only ten yesterday: but he will not work two hours to make a thousand dollars, if he finds it possible to make a similar sum in one. In other words, there is a close and constant connection between will and motive—so much so, that if the wealth which men now work for were offered them by a magician as a gift, all wealth-production would cease and be turned into mere wealth-reception. No one has admitted this more strongly than the Socialists, who urge their followers to look forward to the glorious time when they will get all they want by laboring for two hours a day. Now there is, with certain few exceptions which are to be found in the arts and work allied to the arts, the same inclination to take the least possible *trouble* over work as there is to take the least possible *time*; and any workman, whatever his natural powers, works well only in proportion to his trouble in developing and exercising them. If, then, the relation between this trouble and its results should be systematically disturbed either by state or by private charity, so that the workman, whilst relaxing his trouble, loses nothing of his reward, his will to exert himself will of necessity become paralyzed and his quality as a workman will degenerate. And if this would happen amongst those whose wills are of normal strength, it would happen still more rapidly amongst those whose wills are weak now, who are unable to concentrate their faculties, or regulate their conduct, even under conditions which render the consequence of their remissness so disastrous to them, and who constitute the larger part of the distressed classes in the modern world. That is to say, were we really so to assist the economic cripples of contemporary civilization in such a way as to enable them to keep pace with the hale and stout, we should be, at once in most cases, increasing the weakness which we endeavored to assist, and also be infecting with it those who had till now been strong. In a word, if altruism should at any time lead the community to secure for



the inferior residuum of the moment a condition and means of life equal to those of any other section of the population who at that moment were earning superior wages, the result would inevitably be to reduce the efficacy of these superior workers to the level of the efficacy of the most demoralized and the most inferior.

To return then to the altruistic doctrine, as set forth by Mr. Kidd, who is only the mouthpiece in this respect of all our more emotional reformers:—what Mr. Kidd constantly speaks of as “the softening” in the character of “the power-holding classes,” which is leading them, he says, to share their advantages with the weaker and more incapable, would really be something more than he imagines. It would be the inevitable cause of a softening in the wills of those whom they sought to benefit. It would weaken those who are already weak; it would make those weak who are already strong; nor is there any sign that by the *largesse* of equal intellectual opportunities there would be any increase in the stock of talent of the first class. There would be merely, at best, an increase in the lower kinds of accomplishments beyond any use that the community would be able to make of them, and ruinous before all things to their discontented and disappointed possessors. That altruism or charity within limits is at once a human impulse as real as it is self-seeking, and absolutely necessary to any well-ordered community, is no doubt a truth which it is not possible to exaggerate. But it is equally true that in carrying this impulse into practice in such a way as to enable it to accomplish and not defeat its objects, it must be guarded and hedged in by a variety of complicated restrictions. What these restrictions are it is no part of my purpose to discuss here. All that I have insisted on in this paper is, that these necessary restrictions are precisely those which the altruism of modern reformers tends most pointedly to neglect; and that by endeavoring to erect distress and weakness, as such, into a claim on the systematic help of the state or any other organization, these reformers are going ever farther and farther away from the true and difficult solution of that most complicated of all problems—how to help human distress and weakness, without increasing it where it exists, and at the same time developing it where it does not.

W. H. MALLOCK.



## THE FREE-COINAGE EPIDEMIC.

THERE can be no doubt that had our country been shielded by a sound protective tariff during the hopeless years of the present Democratic Administration, much of the business distress and woe of unemployed labor might have been averted; but another adverse and sore bewitchery of all business affairs in the United States, hardly less potent than a free-trade tariff, has been the unceasing agitation of the free coinage of silver at a ratio that would not fail to reduce the standard value of our money, as well as the whole fabric of public and private credit, to one half its present value. Parties most respectable in numbers and ability, as well as parties with that reputation yet to win, have together made what they call "demonetized silver" their snarling and woful Jeremiad, and to them might justly be imputed the fatherhood of much of the unrest and distrust in many industries which now becloud even Republican institutions. They have disclosed the fact that the people of several States are not unwilling to pay debts in cheaper money than what they borrowed, nor to obtain wealth by compelling the Government to take their silver bullion at twice its value. The extreme positions thus proclaimed have jostled and prodded all American securities abroad, insomuch that their easily frightened holders have been sending them home on a canter.

There is a lofty, imperial assumption among its 16-to-1-standard advocates that silver has a miraculous dignity of character as one of the elect money metals, and that it must not be wickedly degraded by having its value subjected to criticism or to the vulgar test of a commercial market. Therefore any inquiry into the present standing and character of the white metal, even if not so white as it should be, is to be regarded as worthy only of wicked Pharisees and unscrupulous "gold bugs."

The droll and weak-backed contention appears to be, if the United States should alone open its mints to the free and unlimited coinage of silver, that it would at once be hoisted to its ancient full-coinage value, and would not only increase the value of the silver actually coined in the United States, but would increase the value of silver in all the



markets of the world. It is also preposterously claimed by the supporters of the silver 16-to-1 standard that its consumption in the arts or in whatever manner, however large, except that of free coinage as standard money, will debase and not increase its value, and that even the purchase and coinage of silver is not an equivalent of bimetallism. Nothing less than the perpetual free coinage of silver until the crack of doom, and giving to the owners all the difference between its nominal and its real value, with no charge of seigniorage, it is seriously urged, will prove a wholesome tonic and restore silver to its former prestige and standard value. According to this hysterical theory the United States may thus indefinitely inflate our currency with silver dollars; but, should their coinage at our mints ever cease or be suspended, the Treasury and our people would find these dollars had suddenly tumbled from their fiat value to that of the paralytic class of 50-cent dollars.

The increase of the annual silver product of the world since 1873 has been very great, that of the United States alone being, in 1894, in coinage value, \$77,575,757, or almost as much as the \$81,800,000 of the whole world in 1873. Our present stock of silver (\$624,000,000), now mainly in the Treasury, and a drug wherever pushed as circulation, is excessive and far beyond any legitimate demand. If, therefore, it is now a task of some difficulty to sustain our silver and silver certificates on a parity with gold, obviously an unlimited increase of such currency would be perilous.

If the Government has been sadly overreached financially by taking at a cost much too dear from the mine owners several hundred million ounces of silver, for which its obligations were exchanged, to circulate as money, it appears to have only prompted the mine owners, after silver has had a further and profounder slump, to saddle a bigger job upon the Government and people, and the demand now made is for the free and unlimited coinage of all the silver bullion, domestic or foreign, which may be brought to our mints. For all this our paper obligations, in the shape of silver certificates, are to be exchanged, to circulate as the chief part of our paper money, and be receivable for customs, taxes, and all public dues at the rate of \$1 for 371½ grains of silver, or at nearly twice the present value. The Government can never recoup its loss of more than \$150,000,000 on its recently acquired stock of silver, as that loss, like the depreciated silver itself, came to stay; but the loss may be indefinitely expanded if the silver autocrats now succeed in their world-wide 16-to-1 free-coinage



plot. In spite of all past experience, we are asked to stubbornly embark alone in the knight-errantry of a world-bounded coinage of silver dollars, having the very significant legend "In God we Trust" prayerfully stamped upon their face, but dollars only in circumference and number of pennyweights, not in real value, and with the honorable pledge of the United States to preserve their parity with gold carefully, silently, and wholly omitted. If it was a great crime in the sixth, fourteenth, and sixteenth centuries for the rulers of nations to grossly debase their silver coins for their own profit and to defraud their subjects by injecting such coins into circulation as standard money, a similar act to-day of defrauding the people cannot be sweetened by the denial of any depreciation of the metal or made innocuous by providing that the profit of coining depreciated silver shall accrue to, and be pocketed wholly by, the owners of silver mines.

Hamilton and Jefferson are entitled to the credit of establishing the ratio of our gold and silver coins, and their labor then was what it would be were they here to-day—to fix the ratio precisely in proportion to the intrinsic value of gold and silver. In 1805, under Jefferson's Administration, the coinage of silver dollars was wholly suspended and not resumed for more than thirty years. Jefferson then furnished the precedent for what is now denounced as the "demonetization of silver," "the great crime of 1873," and yet the learned and alert Senator from Nevada, Mr. Stewart, has neither denounced the thirty years of silver demonetization nor the great crime of Jefferson in 1805.

Even at the present reduced value of silver bullion, its pursuit is indisputably more remunerative than that of agriculture or manufactures, and this fact appears to be confirmed by a distinguished Senator from one of the silver fertilized States who, with pardonable exultation, has told us that the wealth of his people is two dollars to one compared with that of the more populous eastern States of Massachusetts and Pennsylvania; and yet all the Senators from the States now enriched or pregnant with silver rigorously demand about 100 per cent additional profit on their silver bullion, through its coinage by the Government, although that profit must come out of the more limited earnings of those whose wealth, after two hundred years of hard labor, by themselves or their ancestors, is only one dollar to two, compared with that in some of these young and more wealthy silver States.

We are often sympathetically informed by silver-tongued orators that Japan manufactures numerous articles—bicycles especially—far cheaper than they can be made in the United States, and that it is the



silver currency of the Oriental people which confers upon them this mastery by the cheaper payment of their wage-earners, who are now receiving less than one third of what is paid in the United States, and are paid in silver, as they were before its great superabundance had so largely depreciated its value throughout the world. The patent and only remedy of the United States, as we are pitifully told, is to crush this all-conquering Japanese competition by equalizing our exchanges; that is to say, by pushing our silver coinage to the front, leaving gold behind as a commodity to be bought and sold at a premium, and thus to obtain the supremacy of cheap silver with which to pay all American wage-earners. To thus equalize exchanges would not relieve us of the competition unless it brought down American wages, as would be the manifest tendency, to the level of wages in Japan, or brought up Japanese wages to the level of wages in America. For, beyond all controversy, wherever the silver standard of money alone practically prevails, the lowest and poorest standard of wages prevails. The wages of the progressive Japanese, however, within the last ten years have been much increased, and their workmen are likely to demand American wages long before Americans will stoop to accepting wages now current in Japan. Free coinage of silver as a remedy against Japanese or any cheap foreign labor would prove very much like taking refuge in a pest-house to avoid the plague.

Bimetallism is nothing more than two-metallism, though sometimes industriously and artfully used to mean the unlimited free coinage of gold and silver. The term was first used by Cernuschi, a distinguished Frenchman, soon after Germany and the Latin nations had lost confidence in the stability of silver money. When this prominent leader of bimetallism visited this country some years later, he was invited by me to a dinner party, and his advice then was against the free coinage of silver without the cooperation of other leading nations, as no nation was competent alone to handle so large a question. M. Cernuschi reiterated that opinion several times afterward. If the United States start in this desperate silver risk alone, of course we shall be defeated, and silver will be further humbled and take a lower position in the estimation of all commercial nations.

Certainly an invitation from commercial nations to join in a co-operative agreement for a larger money use of silver would be accepted by a Republican Administration, though it would be more desirable that the United States should receive rather than offer the invitation, as the American production of silver is so large that any initiatory step



on our part might subject us to the charge of being inspired by the thrifty purpose of securing a better market for our product. But, were it as certain, as some extreme silver advocates represent, that no cooperative agreement among leading nations for a larger use of silver can be obtained, that fact alone would be a cogent and sufficient reason why the United States should decline to embark single-handed in an experiment so reckless and so distrusted as to be shunned and coldly rejected by the statesmen of every enlightened nation.

Our southern States are for the most part far less densely populated than their sister States of equal age, and the acreage of their uncultivated land is enormously greater. The unused water power of their numerous rivers, and their inexhaustible iron ores and coal-fields would seem to invite an unlimited expansion of diversified industries as well as a large increase of population. Their material prosperity and advance in the value of their estates in land must be, for generations to come, wholly based upon inspiring confidence in the owners of capital and in many people to move there with the view of finding a safe and conservative home for both labor and property. Instead of this the silver heresy, threatening the stability of all values, rages like an epidemic in the South, where it may be supposed that some advantage will be derived by cheap money in payment of cheap labor, and where, I fear, they are about to show their willingness to bid adieu to any large additional Anglo-Saxon growth. Now the highest ambition of all the enterprising people of our new States must be to attract large accessions of an industrious and intelligent class of citizens to their respective States. But will this be accomplished where one industry alone is made dominant, and where all other occupations, if not deemed intrusive, are held as subordinate, or where there is the same dictator in politics as in business? Our southern States also want to attract capital to make great and permanent investments within their magnificent boundaries; but, as an attractive sign to tempt either domestic or foreign capital and labor to go west of the Mississippi to build up safe and happy homes, will it be wise to advertise and tolerate no other financial flag but the silver standard at 16 to 1?

If the silver States want tariff on silver as a raw material in which they are largely interested, they may feel sure that Republicans will make no opposition to the imposition of such a tariff; but, if it is only an attempt to unload the depreciated white metal upon the people of the United States by demanding its unlimited coinage as the standard money of final redemption, then it must be discussed upon its present



intrinsic or commercial merits, and the ratio of 16 to 1 of gold must now be dismissed as a stupendous fraud upon the pockets of the people, as well as an imputation upon their business capacity.

The free coinage of silver is treated by most of its advocates, not as a great national question touching many large commercial nations, and challenging all their financial resources, but merely as a local affair to be exclusively handled here by bluffing the whole world with a standing offer by statute law to receive at our mints and coin the present surplus and all the world's product of silver which may be annually presented. For all this, with no charge of seigniorage, the United States is to exchange silver certificates, to go into circulation as money at double the value of the silver received, and then it is claimed, with smooth-faced solemnity, that silver will at once spontaneously jump up to the same value where it stood years ago when the annual product was comparatively small and when its coinage had not ceased, as it has now ceased altogether among the largest commercial nations. There are some persons who accept with reluctance the miracles of the Bible but who eagerly accept in advance the miracle thus prophesied by stump orators concerning the resurrection of silver by the magic wand of the United States.

The attitude of William McKinley on the loudly-heralded silver problem was only questioned by partisan opponents, or by those who feared his Republican nomination for the Presidency. His friends knew long ago that his record, often repeated, was satisfactory, as was shown June 25, 1890, when he declared in the House of Representatives that, "Whatever dollars we have must all be equal dollars, equal in purchasing power, whether they be paper dollars, or gold dollars, or silver or Treasury notes." Our standard money has never been less than that of our own standard gold coins, and was in no more danger of depreciation from the nomination of McKinley than it would have been from the nomination of any other of the favorite sons of competing States. The X rays, though handled by expert opponents, have disclosed no unsoundness in any of them, as all, with the Republican party, have been pledged, ever since the resumption of specie payments in 1879, to make every dollar of legal-tender money in circulation, whether metallic or paper, as good as gold. Unlike some Democratic candidates, a Republican will not accept a nomination and then repudiate the platform.

The lone silver-keyed Republican delegates at St. Louis, having their foretops erect and bristling with their preordained bolting crisis,



became polemical, in order to be consistent, and waged war against nine tenths of their previous associates, because the latter would not alone consent to the free coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1. At no time has the Republican party ever favored the free coinage of silver without the cooperation of other leading nations, and the party stands fast there to-day, neither more nor less, but maintaining all the time practical bimetallism, with more of silver coins in circulation on a parity with gold, as a part of our currency, than any other commercial nation. The bolters doubtless expected in a new political world to be embraced and veneered with greater honor at the Iroquois wigwam of the Democratic National Convention. But they would seem to have been unmindful of the sad fate of such eminent and conspicuous Republican deserters as Trumbull, Doolittle, Schurz, and Curtin, who, though at first profusely flattered and lightly fed with small sugar plums, were statesmen soon out of any job, save that of periodically bespattering and defaming the abandoned party to which they were indebted for their chief distinction. Of course there is pathos in "old men's tears for their own declensions," but it was unfortunate, just at the time when these later veterans were on tip-toe to woo favor from a Democratic National Convention, to blubber it out that their hearts had long had lodgings elsewhere. It was not an inviting attraction to Democratic fraternity, although a nomination may sometimes be more easily won than an election. The experience of Democrats makes them reluctant lovers of, or voters for, those whose hearts have had lodgings elsewhere, and Jacksonian sound-money Democrats are really not apt to suddenly swear eternal friendship to political philistines.

It has been said that "Anarcharsis criticised the constitution of Athens, because the Athenians had wise men to debate and fools to decide." But no such commentary ever has been or will be made upon the United States, where universal education is broadly established, and where, after an experience of a century, so few great political questions have been wrongly decided by universal suffrage. A majority of our citizens, with all the common sense of their Anglo-Saxon race, practically understand enough of political economy to know quite as quickly, and as profoundly, as some learned professor, whether free trade or protection brings forth the largest measure of prosperity for the great and industrious American people. Sink or swim, our own plain people are ever more in touch with the conditions of the public welfare which confront them than with dogmatic theories.



Few or none can doubt that the Republican party will give the country, as its great cardinal measure, a sound protective tariff that will furnish adequate revenue, preserve a good share of the American market for Americans, and will not be wildly yoked to a lame and vacillating silver legal-tender dollar when worth no more than fifty Bungtown coppers. It is true that during the war of the rebellion we only had a paper currency, and that woefully depreciated by the protracted contest; but our protective tariff upon foreign imports was then collected wholly in gold, and this kept all home industries humming with prosperity. The greater portion of those in the United States who claim to be bimetallists, in the sense of maintaining a currency of both gold and silver coins, knock out the underpinning on which their claim rests by daily clapperclawing and swearing at all measures of protection suggested against silver monometallism, or against measures known to be indispensable for the procurement, retention, and circulation of any gold as money. They scout the idea of obtaining gold by duties on imports of foreign merchandise, and to borrow it on bonds afflicts them with incurable madness. Their imbecile promise of a circulation of both gold and silver coins on a parity, at the ratio of 16 to 1, is as worthless as would be their promise to supply a world-wide demand for both geese and ostrich feathers while declining to maintain ostriches or anything beyond one great goose. The insincerity of these one-legged bimetallists is quite as palpable as loud professions of stalwart faith paraded without works. A McKinley Administration at Washington will open new books. The public expenditures will not be suffered to exceed the public income at the rate of twenty million dollars per annum, nor will an increase of the public debt in time of peace be regarded as anything less than a blunder.

American wage-earners alone are sufficiently numerous and wide-awake to determine rightly the pending financial problems, and there are none of these in any branch of industry who will be so dull as not to detect and expose the epidemical delusion of fifty cents' worth of silver when strutting as a dollar. The theory of the American Constitution—trust in the people—will not be, as it never has been, impeached, and the public credit will be heroically sustained, though assailed by a minority formidable by its proposal to establish a cheap foreign silver standard of money on the ruins of wrecked and discarded gold, and dangerous by the extent of the selfish legions summoned or impressed for its support.

JUSTIN S. MORRILL.



## BLUNDERS OF A DEMOCRATIC ADMINISTRATION: THE REMEDY.

THE subject which THE FORUM asks me to discuss has the advantage of definiteness of time. It leads back to and forbids our going back of June 21, 1892, when the National Convention of the Democratic party met in Chicago; and it extends to the National Convention of the Democratic party, called to meet in Chicago, July 7, 1896. The first important event of this four-year period was the adoption of a platform. A platform is a chart, by which the party to be entrusted with the legislation and administration of public affairs solemnly agrees to be guided. The distinctive features of the Democratic platform of June, 1892, were:—

1. The substitution of free trade for protection.
2. The substitution of State banks for National banks.
3. A coinage declaration which could be interpreted as for all-gold or all-silver, according as the political exigencies or expediencies of a locality or section might suggest.

It was well-known at the time that Mr. Cleveland was thoroughly and heartily opposed to the doctrine of protection. His defeat in 1888 was quite generally attributed, both in his party and out of it, to his Annual Message, as President, in 1887, which, departing from the usual custom of discussing the various affairs of the nation, was an elaborate argument against the protection of American industries, and in favor of free trade. This was not a new doctrine, nor was there anything fresh or original in the argument itself; but there was a boldness about it which fully justified the claim that Mr. Cleveland had the courage of his convictions. His defeat in 1888 did not, in 1892, dismay him or discourage his party. In 1884, it had been said of Mr. Cleveland by one of his admirers, "We love him for the enemies he has made",—referring to a factional quarrel in his own State. But, in 1892, the National Convention of his party said the same thing of him, but with special reference to the well-known protective policy of the Republican party.

There was considerable controversy in the National Democratic



Convention of 1892 over the phraseology of the tariff plank of the platform. However, the object common to all seemed to be to make the declaration on that point perfectly distinct and unmistakable. A previous National Democratic Convention—that of 1848—had pointed to the tariff of 1846, and declared it, in so many words, to be a triumph for free trade, and gloried in it; but even that convention did not go to the extent of declaring that a tariff for protection was unconstitutional, as did the National Democratic Convention of 1892. The two parties were never so thoroughly committed as they were then, and as they are to-day, to their respective doctrines on the tariff question.

The McKinley Act of 1890 was framed on protective lines with a consistency unknown to any previous legislation on this subject. Its relegation of sugar and many other imports to the free list, and its inauguration of the attempt (since proved to be a great success) to establish the tin industry, were in full accord with the general character of the Act. Thus both parties went into the campaign of 1892 true to the logic of their respective positions on the then great question of the day. Of course, both could not be right. It is only fair to assume that both Mr. Cleveland and his party honestly believed that it was for the best interests of this country that the McKinley Act should be repealed, and the tariff readjusted on the lines of "for revenue only." It is inconceivable that a party or its candidates should deliberately set to work to wreck the industries of the country; but that such was the effect is one of the facts which admit of no discussion.

Jefferson Davis and his supporters of 1861 committed a crime. Mr. Cleveland and his party in 1892 committed a blunder. That blunder—or, to be more exact, that one of the three which we are now considering,—began to bear fruit so soon as it was known that the Democratic party had not only elected a President, as in 1884, but also had control, as it did not have in 1884 and never before since the war, of both Houses of Congress. If Mr. Cleveland had been elected, and had there been a Democratic House of Representatives alone, or a Democratic Senate alone, there would have been no uneasiness throughout the country. The country generally had no solicitude about Mr. Cleveland as a strictly administrative officer. As he and his party were unable, during his first term as President, to substitute for the tariff of 1883 either the "Horizontal Bill" of Mr. Morrison or the Mills Bill, so it would have been impossible to disturb the McKinley Act had either branch of Congress remained Republican. And, as a matter of fact, the capture of the United States Senate by the Democratic party was not only



a surprise but an afterthought as well. With the machinery of legislation under Democratic control, the country expected, quite as a matter of course, a new tariff act in accordance with the National Democratic platform of 1892. This expectation was realized, not certainly as fully as Mr. Cleveland and the majority of his party had desired; but fully enough to produce, in its actual operations, the evil effects predicted by the Republicans during the campaign of the previous year.

It is impossible here to discuss exhaustively the effects of the reversal of this tariff policy; some of its general results only may be alluded to.

One of its marked effects has been to increase the goods and merchandise imported from abroad, and, at the same time, to decrease the quantity produced here and exported to foreign countries. To state this in another way: we have bought more and sold less. The figures showing this are readily obtainable, and present a striking refutation of the propriety of abandoning protection. For example: In the fiscal year ending June 30, 1895, we imported \$93,000,000 worth more of foreign goods than we did in the year ending June 30, 1894. Our import account leaped in that one year from \$275,000,000 to \$368,000,000. This immense balance of \$93,000,000 would not have been so significant had our exports of domestic products increased in like proportion. But they did not. On the contrary, they decreased almost as much as our imports increased. We exported of agricultural products alone \$75,000,000 less than in the previous year. In 1894 we were under the full operation of the Gorman-Wilson tariff, which was the first legislative revenue act under the present Administration, and which turned the tide of progress into a flood of adversity. It does not require a vast deal of deep thinking to figure that, if one year we pay out \$93,000,000 more for foreign products than we paid out the previous year, and during the same period receive \$75,000,000 less for what we have sold abroad, we must be out of money on that account by the amount of these two items. Taking our imports and our agricultural exports alone, we change our balance to the wrong side of the ledger to the amount of \$168,000,000. Money has by this policy been sent out of the country, to say nothing of the losses in other directions chargeable to its distress account. No country can prosper which burns its candle at both ends.

The Democratic party and Administration proclaimed the doctrine of a tariff "for revenue only," and finally passed a tariff act which has



not yielded a sufficient revenue by many millions. The Republican party has not only maintained a consistent policy of protection toward all the varied industries of the United States ; but it has proved, by the actual operation of that policy, intelligently applied, that it is the true policy of the Republic.

The second feature of the National Democratic platform of 1892—the substitution of State banks for National banks—was discussed quite freely during that campaign by the Republicans, who tried by all legitimate means to draw out their opponents on this subject, but with very little success. Nor did Mr. Cleveland in his letter of acceptance say anything definite about it. The plank itself, which was quite definite, was as follows :—

“ We recommend that the prohibitory ten-per-cent tax on State Bank issues be repealed.”

Numerous bills had, prior to that time, been introduced in Congress for such repeal, but they had never reached any definite vote. No bill of that kind ever had the slightest chance of passing either branch of Congress. However, early in Mr. Cleveland's Administration, the Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Carlisle, made a recommendation to Congress, which admitted of no other interpretation than this : If the free-silver people of the South will cease their demand for free silver, the Administration will help them to restore the State banking system, under certain governmental restrictions.

It is undoubtedly true that much of the free-silver sentiment of the South—and perhaps of the West, except in strictly mining States—is directly due to an eagerness to increase the volume of money, silver or paper. But it was very soon evident that this suggestion of Secretary Carlisle's was not favorably received ; in fact it was speedily dropped, and has not since been renewed. Judging from the indications on the eve of the assembling of the National Democratic Convention of 1896, there will be no repetition of that particular plank of the platform of 1892 ; at least, there is no discussion which would suggest anything of that kind ;—nor, for that matter, was there any in 1892. It came into the platform as noiselessly as the gliding of a serpent. It is only fair to say, that that blunder, egregious as it was, proved harmless. Had it actually been carried out, the effect would have been appalling, as every thoughtful person must know who can recall the effect of the “ wild-cat ” money, which was due to the blunder of the same party made long before the war for the Union, and which



survived until it was destroyed, root and branch, by that Republican "prohibitory ten-per-cent tax."

The third blunder of Democracy, which, as the modern phrase goes, was a "straddle," has served to breed bitter discord within the party itself. From a political point of view, it was thought at the time to be very sagacious. Hardly, however, had the party "come into its kingdom," when a factional animosity sprang up, which, in its virulence, recalled the famous faction fights during the Buchanan Administration. No sooner had the distribution of national patronage in its early stages been accomplished than this internal struggle in the Democratic party began; and it has been growing more and more intense ever since. It may well be doubted if any of those who were responsible for that "straddle" now think it was a wise political measure. In the political history of the United States it has already been written down as one of the greatest blunders. Almost from the assembling of the Fifty-third Congress down to the adjournment of the first session of the Fifty-fourth Congress, the Democratic party was, on this question, a conspicuous illustration of "a house divided against itself." But that blunder, while similar to the second one, produced no legislation; unlike that one, it provoked an agitation which added incalculably to the distress of the country. The spectacle presented challenged the attention of the entire financial world. All Europe, as well as our own country, saw the President of the United States in a hand-to-hand battle with a large majority of the party which elected him to prevent the debasement of our money. In this contest of the coins, the Republican party had to come to the rescue. It was upon the Republican party, supported by a small contingent of Democrats from the seaboard States north of the Potomac, that devolved the responsibility of maintaining the present gold standard. Sound money triumphed over Democracy. It is true that in this great struggle the Democratic majority had the alliance of the few Populists in Congress and a very small number of Republicans, mostly from States directly interested in silver as a product. The great body of the silver faction, however, was drawn directly from the Democratic party; and it requires no gift of prophecy to foretell that if the free and unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1 should triumph this year at the polls, with its consequences too appalling to contemplate, the responsibility therefor will be upon the Democratic party.

But the great blunders foreshadowed in the platform on which Mr. Cleveland was elected in 1892 do not by any means exhaust the



list of the blunders of the Democratic party and of the present Administration. Indeed, the very first blunder, in point of time, was not in any way suggested by the party platform; and it is only just to the Democratic party to state that the responsibility for it is purely personal. For reasons of his own, without party consultation, and through the agency of "Paramount" Blount, Mr. Cleveland saw fit to undertake the restoration of Queen Liliuokalani. The United States flag, raised by a liberty-loving American was ordered to be hauled down by Mr. Cleveland's commissioner. The disgraceful spectacle was seen by the civilized world of a representative, moral, humane, progressive, Republican Government seeking to reestablish a monarch, whose conduct had been so notorious as to forfeit her rights to the throne, and had compelled an outraged people to depose her. There was pending in the United States Senate, at the time of Mr. Cleveland's inauguration, a treaty of annexation, negotiated between the United States of America and the Hawaiian Republic. Almost the first official act of Mr. Cleveland was to recall this treaty. This course did not of itself excite public apprehension, or call for criticism. It was felt at the time that, while it might have been more expedient for Mr. Cleveland to allow the negotiations, then nearly completed, to proceed without the assumption of the responsibility on his part, yet, if he desired to examine its provisions more carefully, it was his privilege to do so. His real object was not suspected until later. For nearly a year there was more or less public fear, bordering on certainty, that it was Mr. Cleveland's purpose to restore to power a corrupt monarchy, and by so doing forcibly to destroy a constitutional government modelled upon our own. Happily this blunder, which would have been nothing short of a crime, was prevented, although Secretary Gresham reported, November 10, 1893, directly in favor of restoring the fallen monarchy.

Mr. Cleveland's Hawaiian policy was in direct violation of the spirit of the Monroe Doctrine; for, instead of aiding and protecting Hawaii and its Republican constitution, he proposed to abandon both to the evils of the notorious representative of a debased monarchy. The doctrine of protection held by the Republican party extends to the industries of the United States, and to the entire Western Hemisphere with respect to the struggles of its peoples for self-government. That is the essential spirit of the Monroe Doctrine, to which the Republican party has always been true, and which the President, in that instance, violated. We protect our territorial autonomy by decreeing that no European power shall extend its sovereignty on American soil.



If ever it happens that the era of oppression and bloodshed shall cease in Cuba, and that the United States shall possess, either peaceably or otherwise, that rich gem of the West Indies which pays its millions annually in tribute to Spain, it will be because we are bound to protect the interests of the United States by Ocean and Gulf wherever those interests develop themselves. We absorbed the Louisiana Territory, Florida, and California to prevent their occupation by other nations, and thus build up our defences and protect ourselves. Slavery was abolished, and the civil war was fought, not for conquest, but in defence of the Great Republic of the United States in its adherence to the principles of liberty and humanity.

The Republican party believes in protection, because it brings to and secures to the common people larger prosperity and increased happiness. Under that policy we have grown rich and powerful, and have become the most prosperous people on earth.

The present Chief Executive, more notably probably than any other President this country has ever known, has been consistently opposed to the idea of a protective tariff. Hence it is that the question of protection has for the past two campaigns been more generally and thoroughly discussed than ever before in our history. Such discussion, with the object-lesson in view which the people have so severely paid for in the panic which followed the accession of Mr. Cleveland and his party to power, and the hard times and distress which have continued ever since, have, to a large extent, settled the tariff question. We shall hear no more denunciation in National Democratic platforms of a protective tariff as "unconstitutional," a "robbery," and so on.

If President Cleveland, as the trustee of a high estate, were to be called upon to give an account of his stewardship and that of his associates during the past three years, what could he truthfully report? He certainly would be compelled to say that he found that the business of the country had been excellent during the administration of his predecessor, President Harrison; that Mr. Harrison had paid out of the revenues of the Government about \$250,000,000 upon the public debt during his four-years' conduct of affairs, and had, upon retiring, left in the United States Treasury a large surplus of cash, in addition to \$100,000,000 of gold reserve. Mr. Cleveland would be compelled to answer further, that the tariff law of 1890, popularly known as the McKinley Act, had greatly aided in producing prosperity in all branches of industry and commerce in the United States, and in giving steady work and good wages to the American laborer. In jus-



tice to truth, however, he would feel compelled to say that our large prosperity in America had materially interfered with our friends in Great Britain and elsewhere. He would be forced to admit that our tariff act of 1890 had brought serious injury to the trade of Birmingham, Leeds, and Liverpool. But he would be so impressed by his fixed notion against a tariff law framed on protection lines that he would not willingly consent that such law should remain upon our statute books.

Mr. Cleveland, if asked what he had done to change this condition, would have to reply that he had urged the legislative branch of the Government to return to the doctrine of free trade or a tariff for "revenue only," and that this had been done in part, though not in a manner nor to an extent that was satisfactory to him; but that it was the best [or the worst?] that could be done. He would have to confess that the United States Treasury had been empty since the legislation on the line of his theories and the Administration following that legislation. He could not say that our people had done so much or so profitable business as when Mr. Harrison was President. And he would in truth have to state that, to meet the changed conditions, his Administration had found it desirable to float a few hundred millions of bonds, which he had arranged might be sold for gold as soon as possible. The result of this new bond issue, he would be compelled to say, had been that the national indebtedness of the United States had increased more than two hundred millions. Mr. Cleveland would, no doubt, admit that he had consented to award suitable commissions to the patriotic men who had saved the United States Treasury from bankruptcy—such commissions not having amounted to more, perhaps, than \$10,000,000. It is likely that the same persons would again aid Mr. Cleveland's Administration upon similar easy terms in maintaining the national credit.

I have had several opportunities of becoming acquainted with the services of Governor McKinley, both as a public official and as a private citizen. Without pretending to express more than my own personal views regarding his thorough training in Congress, his experience as a national legislator, his familiarity with the leading questions of the day, and his notably winning personality, I have great faith that, as the Chief Executive, he will prove himself to be eminently worthy and well qualified to discharge his onerous duties.

Governor McKinley, if elected President,—and I confidently believe he will be,—should be cordially supported by a Congress committed



to a protective policy and in favor of sound money. Under such auspices there can be no doubt as to the speedy and substantial revival of the general business of the country. Trade and commerce would at once recuperate. Even the Republican National nomination at St. Louis has already been in a measure productive of the restoration of public confidence in several sections of the United States; and it is highly probable that, when our national industrial conditions are reestablished, we shall go forward without interruption or change in any material respect for many years to come.

The people of the United States, more than any other people in the world, have grown into the idea of government by discussion. Constitutional government is the outgrowth of thought and discussion. Our country has furnished the ideal habitat for the growth and development of Republicanism. The first trial of Republican government was made here in 1776. Its continuance until 1789 was tentative and experimental. The Confederation was but a trial. A better system was needed, and was soon established, by the framing of the National Constitution,—the embodiment of wisdom and patriotism, our guide in all trials and struggles past, present, and to come, and the sure haven of shelter and safety in every storm, and certain defence in every danger.

Fidelity to the Constitution, to liberty, to the national honor, to honest money, to the great doctrine of protection—union, liberty, national honor, home industry, a circulating medium for all the people, equal to the best in the world,—these are the watchwords of the Republicans, the embodiment of the party's faith, and the foundation of our national growth and prosperity. The struggle for the Union and liberty has passed into history. Our national honor has been painfully involved and frightfully jeopardized during the present Administration. Home industry has been paralyzed, idleness enforced, and the Treasury bankrupted by the folly of misguided Democracy since the party last came into power. The remedy lies in the people again entrusting the conduct of affairs to the control of the Republican party, upon a platform of sound money and reasonable protection to American industries and labor,—when prosperity will return.

S. M. CULLOM.



## WHAT THE REPUBLICAN PARTY STANDS FOR.

THE national political campaign which is about to open will be unique in the history of party contests, and will differ essentially from any of the campaigns which have been participated in by the present generation. Heretofore voters have acted with a particular party because they have been brought up from childhood in the particular political faith which it professes, have long been in the habit of giving it their allegiance, and have been actuated largely by their pride in securing a party triumph. Or, where there have been great national patriotic questions confronting the people, as in the case of a foreign war, a domestic insurrection, or an effort to destroy the institution of slavery, the people have been led to act with the party which seemed to be manifesting the most patriotic spirit.

But the case is different now. At present there are no great questions of emotional patriotism at issue, and the people will vote with the party which they believe will confer the greatest benefits upon their own material interests. It will be essentially a business campaign. Americans, with the experiences they have gone through recently, are not likely to be deceived by the illogical and pernicious reasoning of demagogues whose only chance of success is to play upon popular ignorance. The great majority of the voters will enter the contest with the object of redeeming the nation from the humiliating condition into which it has been plunged by the lack of statesmanship which has been manifested in the national councils during the last three years and a half. Four years ago our credit was above reproach, our factories were running full time, nearly all our wage-earners had employment, wages were remunerative, farm products brought good prices; and the country could pride itself upon a firm foreign policy, conducted by statesmen who could not be overreached by the trained diplomatists of Europe. A sense of peace, happiness, and prosperity almost without parallel in American history pervaded the land. It seemed like the realization of the promises made by the protectionists in the Henry Clay campaign, "Two dollars a day and roast beef."



But the masses of the people have now waked up to the fact that four years ago they followed blind guides. They were led astray by false signals which were as fatal as the wreckers' lights hoisted on a storm-beaten coast to lure innocent mariners to certain destruction. The promises given them by irresponsible politicians were made to the ear only to be broken to the hope. Panic has followed prosperity; the nation has been changed from a debt-paying to a debt-making country; 64 per cent of our skilled mechanics, as nearly as can be ascertained, have been thrown out of employment; calamity has rested upon the land until patience has been exhausted, courage has failed, and the financial and industrial elements despair of relief, unless it come from a radical change in our national policy to be brought about by an Administration opposite in character to that under which the present burdens have been accumulating until they are intolerable.

Popular feeling has become intensified by reason of the fact that a change in the Executive department of the Government can be effected only once in four years. In this respect our Government differs widely from the republics and limited monarchies of Europe. With them a complete change in the ministry can be brought about at any time by a vote of want of confidence in the popular branch of the national legislative body. In this country, no matter to what extent the Administration opposes the popular sentiment, there is no means of effecting a change in the Executive branch of the Government before legal expiry of time except by the one extreme and unusual measure of the removal of the President by impeachment. The people, therefore, fully realize that their votes now are going to decide future methods of national policy which will have an immensely important bearing upon their business interests during the entire four years which are to follow.

The leaders of the Republican party are fully aware that the highest achievement of statesmanship is to afford the people the means of employment. When this is accomplished all other benefits follow: there are then ample sources of revenue, the wealth of the country steadily increases, the public credit is beyond attack, the people are happy and contented, the masses are not brooding over their misfortunes, and there is a reign of prosperity which is always the best cure for financial heresies and Utopian schemes born of suffering and discontent. Idleness creates more trouble in this country than any other evil; for here labor is dignified and occupation is a badge of manhood, while idleness breeds discontent and degrades the individual even in his own estimation. When one inquires into a man's status in Amer-



ica one does not ask *who* he is, but *what* he is. The very question presupposes that he, as an American citizen, performs labor, whether it be with the hand or with the brain. Here we want no drones in the hive, for Americans recognize that all wealth is the product of toil, that civilization itself is the crown of labor, that happiness comes solely from work, and that only the busy have no time for tears.

The Republican party makes an irresistible appeal to the voters in this campaign by its adoption of a platform which aims to increase the means of employment. It does not propose to intensify the paternal character of the Government, or to project public works merely for the purpose of employing labor and converting the country into an eleemosynary institution; but it aims to carry out a national policy founded upon many years of experience,—a policy which will increase the means of helping the people to help themselves. The Republican party proposes to enact a tariff law which will not only secure the great desideratum of sufficient revenue to the Government, but will afford ample protection to American industries and prevent an attempt to subject our wage-earners to disastrous competition with the pauper labor of Europe. In increasing the purchasing power of the masses of our people, by securing for them steady employment and fair wages, an ample home market will be secured for the products of the soil and of the factory. By reenacting reciprocity measures it is believed that trade with other nations will be so stimulated that our foreign market will also be largely increased.

The great masses of the people have been studying these economic questions more intelligently than ever before, and have in most cases reached a practical understanding of them. When told that under free trade they can purchase some articles of consumption cheaper, the prompt answer is that it matters very little how cheap an article may be if they cannot find work to make any money with which to purchase it at any price. If they are told that the financial question is the most important, they will reply that they want, of course, a dollar of the highest value possible, but that their first object is to get an opportunity to earn a dollar, and they will take their chances as to its value if they can once get it in their pockets.

All our voters realize that revenue must be raised for diverse and necessary purposes,—for paying current expenses, defending our unprotected seacoast, completing our projected navy, and aiding in the very important national work of constructing an interoceanic canal. We can raise this revenue only by means of annoying and unequal stamp



duties, by taxing the poor man's beer, by levying a direct tax upon the individual and pursuing him with an expensive army of tax-gatherers ; or by means of a properly-adjusted tariff collected through our custom-houses. These custom-houses are already built and manned, and it costs but little more to collect one hundred million than fifty million dollars. The system bears so lightly upon the public convenience, and the duties are collected so easily, that the masses of the people scarcely stop to ask how it is done. At the same time it brings about that protection to American industries which the Republican party believes is absolutely essential to the prosperity of the nation. The result of the approaching election will affect so directly the material interests of every citizen, that it seems certain this year that party uniforms will be worn lightly and that party lines will be largely obliterated. It will be a year in which the Republican party may expect to lose few deserters and gain many recruits. While Democrats are always strong in their party allegiance, it must be remembered that among them there is a very large class of patriotic and public-spirited men whose pride in the honor and prosperity of the country rises above all partisanship. These may follow their party to the verge of the precipice, but they will refuse to leap with it into the chasm below. All signs point to the belief that in this era of independent voting this class of Democrats will be found ranged on the side of sustaining the national credit, by casting their ballots against the free and unlimited coinage of silver and in support of an honest gold standard ; while they will also support such tariff measures as may be reasonable and just, and so framed that the specific may be substituted for the *ad valorem* duties. When this substitution is effected, duties may be collected with certainty, and the pernicious practice of undervaluing goods—which puts a premium on commercial rascality—may be corrected.

Such indications lead to the belief that, with the large class of voters who are wage-earners, the tariff will be deemed more important than the financial question, though the question of honest money of full value will make a powerful appeal to every working man. When he studies the subject he will not favor a system which would give him for his work a silver dollar worth only fifty cents,—while his active competitor, the British workman, is paid in a dollar worth one hundred cents,—particularly when it is coupled with a policy which will enable the articles made by his British competitor to be sent here for sale, and necessitate the exporting of American gold to pay for them.



Of course the immense importance of the financial question cannot be overlooked by any one. The financial plank of the Republican party will commend itself favorably to business men, professional men, cultivators of the soil, salaried employees, and wage-earners alike, because it will prevent us from falling to the condition of the second-class powers which are now on a silver basis, make this country the equal of the leading commercial nations of the world, raise the credit of the Government, inspire investors with increased confidence in our securities, and attract foreign capital for the use of our people at low rates of interest. The doubts entertained as to the decision of the people of the United States regarding the money standard have already wrought us incalculable injury. Nothing has reflected greater credit upon the Republican party during the present financial crisis than its unequivocal and almost unanimous declaration, in its national convention, for an honest gold standard. Josh Billings once said, "If you are right you cannot be too radical; if you are wrong you cannot be too conservative." The Republican party has been strong enough in its conviction of right this year to afford to be decidedly radical.

The Democratic party platform has declared in favor of the free and unlimited coinage of silver, and for a tariff so low that it will afford no protection to American industries, but will, like the existing tariff law of that party, be even insufficient to meet the expenses of the Government. The two platforms present a striking difference. They are as opposite as the poles, as wide apart as the antipodes. On the one side are free coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1, free trade, and a probable deficit; on the other, an honest gold standard,—with a determination to keep all silver and paper currency upon a parity with gold,—ample protection to American industries, and sufficient revenue. The case will be fully argued during the campaign and submitted in November for decision to the highest tribunal known to us—the American people. They are always to be trusted when the case is placed fairly before them, and there is a general belief that their verdict will be in favor of upholding the credit, the prosperity, and the honor of the country.

HORACE PORTER.



## HARRIET BEECHER STOWE.

THE child of genius comes unheralded, but when recognition is won, his ancestry, his environment, and all that helped to make him are studied to see what went to the shaping of his destiny. When Harriet Beecher Stowe had burst upon the world as the author of "Uncle Tom's Cabin," it seemed as if she had come out of the unknown, but to-day in tracing her parentage and her surroundings one finds that her personality and power were the fruit of rare conditions. It is said that seven generations of Puritan clergymen contributed to the making of Emerson, and it was to the same number of Puritan ancestors that Mrs. Stowe owed the forces that entered into her life. Born in 1811 in a secluded New England county seat, the daughter of one of the most virile and independent of the Puritan clergy, the child of a mother who had the sensitiveness and the religious spirit of an unusual womanhood, she grew up under influences that nurtured all her gifts. Inheriting from both parents the qualities in which each was strongest, growing up in a home where an independent and free intellectual and religious atmosphere was encouraged and in a village where the best social and educational life was maintained, she drank in to the full the influences which shaped and controlled her life. Such was the force of her environment that at the age of twelve she had written a school composition on "The Immortality of the Soul," unknown to her father, who eagerly inquired who wrote it, after it was read in public. What a training school was that in which Edward, Henry Ward, Charles, and Catherine Beecher were pitted against Dr. Lyman Beecher in daily discussions that took up any subject in the wide universe! A little later this sensitive girl was transferred to Hartford to be both teacher and pupil in a school which Catherine had started for the education of young women. The fame of that school went far and wide, and it was one of the first efforts to give girls the higher education in New England. No pupil was more apt or got more out of it than Harriet Beecher, and no teacher superior to Catherine could then have been found. It was long before Mary Lyon had begun her work at South Hadley, and



when the great women of New England stood apart and alone. As an educator Catherine Beecher was a pioneer of her time.

Under a home and school like these Harriet Beecher grew to womanhood, gathering into her life the best that the country and the city could give: but another element entered into her life. She had the free range in her girlhood of the homes of New England people, and, quick to note everything that went on and able to remember what was said, she caught the vernacular and made it her own, thus storing away in her memory unconsciously the materials which could be used in later years. All this time her mind and heart were reaching out freely into our New England life and learning how to use what they came in contact with. It was simply the following of a natural growth, but it was a training which was destined to bear the largest fruit in the near future. Poverty also came to her aid. She had a natural gift for writing, and it was to increase her resources that she began to contribute to the annuals and magazines of the day. Too young to enter upon any large work, she began to make sketches of what she had seen, and it was by the aid of these that she became known as one of the younger writers of the day. It was her struggle with poverty, a condition not improved by her marriage to Prof. Stowe, that developed the impulse to write until it grew to be a passion and a source of power. It was also due to this fact that she began to work out toward larger things. In 1832 Dr. Beecher became President of the Lane Theological Seminary in Cincinnati and took his family to that place. This was their first actual meeting with American slavery. Harriet had only to cross the river into Kentucky to come into personal contact with the negroes of the South. As early as 1833, there began in the North the stir of an effort for the freedom of the slave, and here on the border-land between the North and the South she was trained for the next seventeen years to know and to feel what the institution meant. Long before the Fugitive-Slave Law was enacted, she had assisted in the "underground" railroad by which slaves were helped to their freedom, and in the school which her sister and she herself had established she had colored children as pupils. All the years of her earlier womanhood were spent in an atmosphere that was bristling with opposition to slavery and yet constantly permeated with its influence. No training school could have been devised in which a sensitive and religious mind could have been better educated for a great achievement.

In 1836 Harriet Beecher was married, and for the next dozen years,



in trying to drive poverty out of her own home and in meeting an evil that was growing larger and larger, she found herself pondering through her religious nature the problem of slavery. It was a time when throughout the North the clergy and the people never prayed but they petitioned for the freedom of the slave, and that moral sentiment which refused to be put down was growing stronger day by day. Garrison, Phillips, Whittier, Parker, Horace Mann, and countless others were arousing public feeling against slavery, and Webster, the pride of New England, was endeavoring to hold the Union together by conciliating the slave power. On each side the temper was up, and yet it seemed as if nothing could be done. It was as when a storm is brewing, and the silence is profound. The lives of people were surcharged with feeling, and yet no one spoke. Into the very soul of a sensitive woman in Cincinnati had entered the sword of this conflict. She knew more at that moment about slavery than any other American. Her brother Edward wrote to her later, "Now, Hattie, if I could use a pen as you can, I would write something that would make this whole nation feel what an accursed thing slavery is." At this time the Stowes had removed to Brunswick, in Maine, and when Mrs. Stowe had read these words, she rose from her chair crushing the letter in her hand and, with an expression on her face that stamped itself on the mind of her child, said: "I will write something. I will if I live." This was the origin of "Uncle Tom's Cabin," but it was not the writing of the work. This was a task imposed by a sense of duty upon a woman who was struggling to help her husband to make both ends meet, and who without assistance was trying to earn something with her pen and to take care of a family of young children. The duties of home were great, but the duty of the hour was supreme. She rose to the demands made upon her, and with sobs and convulsions, moved by an irresistible power, wrote the sketch of the death of *Uncle Tom*. It was read to her little boys to test its merit. They wept aloud, and Mrs. Stowe never failed from June, 1851, till April, 1852, the time when she was writing this story, to read the chapters to her family before they were sent off. At odd moments, in the kitchen, in the hours of the night, whenever she could escape from other duties, she put on paper what was going on in her mind, and the work grew as if it were written by an invisible power. She could not stop as it went on, and it mastered her so completely that she had strength for it when she could do nothing else. All the culture of her earlier years went into it, but was kept under by the terrible tragedy which she was unfolding.



All great works have been written under the dominant sense of a higher power. The writer has been impelled to go forward, and the natural powers have been lifted to an unwonted plane. They have been the fruit of those who have lived out of themselves, and who amid sorrow and trial have seen Him who is invisible. It was so with Mrs. Stowe. Self had been so put down and the cause she had at heart was so supreme that when the story was completed and she returned to her former self, she was despondent and could find no rest. It was a bold step in 1852 to publish such a story. Less than two years before, Daniel Webster had in his famous 7th of March Speech attempted a compromise, and the slave power was triumphant. Her publisher had the courage of youth behind him, and the work was brought out with no idea of its success. What it did is known to all men. It was the parting of the ways between the North and the South. It revealed for the first time to the American people what slavery was, and its fairness to the South gained it a reading on the other side; but this was local influence. It went beyond us, beyond the English race, wherever people read and think, and it caused the whole world to demand that the American slave should be free. It was like the appearance of the hand of God in the writing on the wall at Belshazzar's feast. Men saw that the end had come, and though it was a dozen years before Lincoln penned his famous document of Emancipation, the potency of that event was in "Uncle Tom's Cabin."

To Mrs. Stowe the interest raised by this work was a surprise, and yet it was but the outcome of such a consecration of herself that no other result could have been anticipated. Its pathos, its wit, its humor, and its terrible fidelity to truth were an inspiration and an argument that no one could resist, and from the Queen of England who read it aloud to the royal family to the humblest youth in an American village the book made but one appeal. During the civil war Queen Victoria never consented to the recognition of the South, and, though she liked "Dred" as a story better than "Uncle Tom's Cabin," the royal mind was set like a flint against American slavery. While no one should underestimate the great services of men like Garrison and Phillips and Parker and Sumner, who cast their fortunes into the effort to free the slave, it is the truth to say that all their efforts were but a drop in the bucket compared with the stir and power that were in "Uncle Tom's Cabin." Never in human history has a work devoted to a great cause had such an instantaneous effect. Byron came down to breakfast one morning and found himself famous, and Mrs. Stowe,



hoping that the sale of her story might relieve her poverty, found herself in receipt of \$10,000 within four months from the time of its publication, and the most famous woman living. It was enough to turn the head of any one to meet with this success, but it had been written in her heart's blood, and she felt, as Prof. Morse felt when he had discovered the telegraph, that she was an instrument in the hands of God. It was here that the greatness of the woman was to be seen. It made no difference with her that royalty sat at her feet or that the men and women of letters everywhere paid her attention. In all, she received for "Uncle Tom's Cabin" about \$40,000, and had she been able to avail herself of English and foreign copyrights she might have been one of the richest women living. The right of dramatization would alone have brought her a fortune, to say nothing of what the story itself would have done; but this was not to be, and it is a painful fact that she leaves her family to-day in comparative poverty.

The success of "Uncle Tom's Cabin" was largely due to the time and occasion of its publication, but read to-day when it has done its work it loses none of its power over the mind and heart. "Dred," which was its complement, never had the same success, though by many it was thought to be the superior work. When the "Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin" was published, it confirmed what was evident enough before, that the story was not the fruit of the author's imagination but the result of a passionate brooding over facts until they had been baptized with power. "Uncle Tom's Cabin" is a work less of the imagination than of the mind and heart and memory fused into one, but the effect was the same as if it were the fruit of the imagination alone, and the moral power which went into that work and lifted it to the highest plane was immense. In the character of *Uncle Tom*, and wherever it was possible, Mrs. Stowe brought the truth home to the reader with wonderful effect. The deacons in the New England churches, who read this story by stealth, were compelled to give it to their sons and daughters, and for the time the whole world was convulsed. It was its moral power enforced by a brilliant imagination that did it, and if Mrs. Stowe never again reached the same height in her writing, it was because she had never afterward the same moral force behind her.

It was inevitable after this unparalleled success that she should be a woman of letters, but she had exhausted the field in which she had triumphed. She had to feel her way in another direction, and a province was untouched which she could occupy. From her earliest



childhood she had taken into her sensitive being the atmosphere of New England, its theology, its traditions, its romance, its poetry, its unique development of character, and its noble ideas, and though Hawthorne and Whittier and Sylvester Judd had occupied the field before her, she soon made it her own. The first effort was "The Minister's Wooing," in which she undertook to portray New England life at the beginning of this century, taking the New England theology for her text and applying it with wonderful force to the details of common life. Even here a moral purpose was behind her writing, and she sought to show how the light of the Christian faith could be thrown upon a statement of belief which held that the impenitent were totally lost. She was the first to break the spell of a theology which had wrought terrible mischief with sensitive minds and which is to-day responsible for the indifference of multitudes. Written at Andover, "The Minister's Wooing" contained the keynote of the later Andover movement and led the way to the larger hope. If this is the significance of this book to-day, it is to be valued also as a delineation of New England society at the beginning of this century. It is refreshing to read it in comparison with the highly-seasoned fiction of the hour. It holds and entertains the reader by its truth to life, and yet the sensational features of the modern story are entirely wanting. In the character of *Candace* Mrs. Stowe gives her solution of a religious problem, and in the person of *Mrs. Marvyn* one sees what the effect of the teaching of eternal punishment was upon a sensitive and devout mind. This novel shows a conscious effort on the part of Mrs. Stowe to write up to the level of her great reputation. She would have been more than human had she not betrayed this weakness, and it is the only one of her later writings in which it appears.

In "Oldtown Folks," which was her next most popular work, she broke away from the consciousness of authorship and allowed her natural genius to have control. Here she was at home and on familiar ground, and in an old Massachusetts town she found all the material of human life with which she could deal. South Natick had been the home of her husband, and in making the stories of *Sam Lawson* her own, and imparting to them her own wit and power, she reached the happiest and freest expression of her genius. Without trammels, without a distinct moral purpose, but simply keeping to the truth of things and using her inimitable knowledge of the country dialect, she created a conception of New England life which had never been touched by any other writer. Hawthorne had imparted to an earlier period the



severity and the power of his own genius, and Rose Terry Cooke and Sarah Orne Jewett have through their short stories presented some of the homelier characteristics of New England; but Mrs. Stowe entered the field with a mastery of every detail, and the fact that "Oldtown Folks" is in its fortieth edition shows that the people have accepted this work as the best study of Puritan character that has ever been made. What "George Eliot" attempted in "Adam Bede," "The Mill on the Floss," and "Silas Marner," Mrs. Stowe accomplished in "Oldtown Folks," "Fireside Stories," and "The Pearl of Orr's Island." The same close study of local character, the same recognition of the influence of the religious life, and the same play of mother wit are found in both writers, and while "Middlemarch" is the greater achievement of the one and "Uncle Tom's Cabin" is the best work of the other, the almost universal verdict is that "George Eliot" never surpassed "Adam Bede" and that Harriet Beecher Stowe never did anything better than "Oldtown Folks."

There is a vast difference between what Mrs. Stowe wrote concerning slavery and what she did for New England. The one work was undertaken at the call of duty and was completed under a sense of sealed orders; the other was the turning to a field where the mind and heart were free in their movement and there was no restraint. The artistic sense in both directions was never wanting, but Mrs. Stowe wrote "Uncle Tom's Cabin" because she had to, and her sketches of New England life were enjoyed as a recreation: she was a natural story-teller. The service which she rendered to freedom was a great episode in her career, but when she was delineating New England character she was on her native heath and felt that the kingdom was her own. In "Uncle Tom's Cabin" she is nerved up to a point where all her powers are held in submission to a great purpose, but in dealing with New England life she forgot herself in the enjoyment of her work, and this is why it has held the interest of readers. No one has caught to the same degree the religious atmosphere of the older days or done ampler justice to the men and women who felt its influence, but upon occasion the homely wit and shrewd native sense of the people are brought out with a keen relish, and the author basks in the sunshine of her work. Here her personality found expression, and here she came as near to the people, though in a different sense, as she did when she presented the lights and shadows of slavery.

Much of Mrs. Stowe's later work was written at the call of others and has in it entertainment but not power. To this criticism her



"Religious Poems" are an exception. They are the highest expression of her spiritual life, and there are no writings of our generation that so nearly convey the same spirit as is found in the higher range of Whittier's work. The same mystical outreach of faith, the same wonderful grasp of unspoken truth, the same feeling after God if haply one may find Him, is found in both these writers, and Mrs. Stowe's hymn entitled "The Other World" was sung at her funeral service as the truest expression of her highest life. She had, perhaps more than any other member of her gifted family, the compulsions of a religious nature. Her brother Edward could enter into the "Conflict of Ages," Henry Ward could sparkle in brief fragments of beautiful thought, Charles has ventured into fresh lines of spiritual teaching, Thomas has been a centre of spiritual power, Catherine was a pioneer in the higher education of women, and Isabella Beecher Hooker is one of our leaders in social reform; but Mrs. Stowe, without being the leader in any great movement, entered into a field where she had the mastery of moral forces, and in her work for the slave and for her forefathers she has left the marks of her power.

In this analysis of what went to the making of this great writer, attention has been drawn to what she inherited from her parents, what entered into her education, what she drew from the life around her, and what worked itself out through her mind and heart. In few instances have personal and social forces wrought with equal power and harmony in the making of a strong and noble life. Mrs. Stowe had within her reach every means that could impart strength and character to her mind and soul, and the discipline of poverty and sorrow, both of which she knew to the dregs of the cup, was no small part in the making of her. With all her achievements for humanity and for our New England life, from which I would detract nothing, there is in the total impression of her life a completeness of womanhood, a filling out of the wholeness of one's being, which is more than her fame, more than her genius, and which is at the end of life her chief distinction. Without exemption from the common weaknesses of our nature, she forgot herself in her work and in her last years grew in beauty of character to the very end. Perhaps her chief distinction may be said to be in the consecration of her gifts to the very highest things and in the effort which ran through her whole life to be a true disciple of Jesus Christ. *Requiescat in pace!*

JULIUS H. WARD.



## MODERN ARCHÆOLOGY: RECENT EXCAVATIONS IN GREECE.—II.

IN a first article on this subject, which appeared in these pages last May, after some preliminary remarks on the progress of the science of archæology during recent times, the training and the qualifications necessary for the exploration of ancient sites were discussed; and, finally, the excavations carried on in Greece proper were considered, beginning with those researches which led to the discovery, on the rocky eminences of Mycenæ and Tiryns, of evidence pointing to the existence of a civilization much earlier than any of which Greek history speaks.

Between the remains of that civilization and the later classic art of Greece a connecting epoch of gradual development was assumed to have intervened; but of its precise character and tendency there existed but meagre testimony: this more especially as regards the steps by which Attic art attained to its full expansion—to that exuberance of perfection and beauty which transfixes us in wonderment and admiration. Of the early efforts of this school much less was revealed to us—either by ancient authors or through extant remains—than of the development of art in those centres which were subsequently overshadowed by the glories of Athens. Lucian, in his “Rhetorical Precepts,” alludes to early Attic sculpture as rigid, labored, and sharply outlined; and the name of Endoeus occurs in the middle of the sixth century as that of a pupil of the mythical Dædalus. Beyond such indications, however, little was positively known of the growth of Athenian art.

This missing link also was destined to be discovered by the pickaxe of the excavator, and that on another Acropolis—on the immortal rock to which this generic name is specially applied, as to the most renowned of the several fortified eminences rising sentinel-like over many an ancient site in Greece. The Acropolis of Athens symbolizes in itself the history not only of that city but of the whole of Greece; and the successive transformations of its ground plan and outward aspect are but a record of the vicissitudes which the country experi-



enced. It served from time immemorial both as a citadel and a sanctuary, and in its double capacity had to submit to successive assaults of racial enmity and religious fanaticism. Time and the elements proved less inclement than the devastations wrought by man. Of these the most memorable are the first one which history records, and a later one—that which is most deplored by humanity at large. When the Persians overran Attica (B. C. 480) previous to their discomfiture at Salamis, they sacked, burnt, and razed to the ground everything which then stood upon the Acropolis; only portions of its Pelasgic outer walls remained, and survive to this day from prehistoric times. The Periclean reconstruction of the great sanctuary proved as remarkable for its solidity as it was unequalled in beauty. The Parthenon stood to all intents and purposes perfect and entire up to the year 1687, when the Venetians, who under Count Königsmark besieged the Acropolis, deliberately bombarded the temple, knowing it then to have served as a powder magazine to the Turkish garrison. The explosion which occurred on the evening of September 26 is justly regarded as the greatest calamity that has ever befallen the interests of art; and the devastation of the noble ruin was consummated when Lord Elgin carried away, with other remains, the sculptures of Phidias.

But what had been the fate of the earlier buildings ravaged by the Persians? Ancient writers are silent on this point; and no one in modern times so much as assumed to seek their traces on a site so completely possessed and swayed by the brilliancy of its later glories. These absorbed the thoughts of the scholar and claimed the undivided attention of the artist. The remnants of all other times were deemed a desecration of the hallowed spot. It was reserved for the perseverance and zeal of the excavator to add to the value of Phidian art by bringing to light its own parent stock. All through the Roman, Byzantine, Frank, and Turkish times the Acropolis served as a citadel, while the Parthenon itself had been converted first into a church and then into a mosque. The Erechtheion, the Pinakotheka, the Propylæa, were all transformed into dwelling-houses, the first of these buildings having been occupied at one time by the harem of a pasha. A whole quarter of nondescript structures, built on the Acropolis partly out of various ancient fragments and partly with lath and plaster, housed, prior to the war of independence, the entire official Turkish population of Athens. It was only when the country was freed from the Turks that the sacred hill recovered its dignity as the shrine of art and



archæology. The ancient temples were gradually freed from the interpolations which disfigured them, and the Turkish hovels and shanties were swept away. The last of these still served, in the early 'sixties, as a storehouse for such ancient fragments as have since found a permanent home in the special museum built on the lower ground of the rocky plateau.

The first clearing rendered possible an accurate study of the topography of the Acropolis and its temples; and this pursuit absorbed for a long time the attention of archæologists as well as the funds which the Greek government could devote to the work. In 1853, M. Beulé, a member of the French school at Athens, discovered under the Turkish bastions the gate to the Propylæa which bears his name; and since then every nook and corner of the sacred enclosure has been explored, measured, and surveyed. Even mediæval and later structures have been demolished in quest of ancient fragments. But no one had yet thought of excavating the very soil of the Acropolis. The works, however, which had been carried on during many years in connection with the exploration of its surface, brought to light, by a mere chance, certain pieces of sculpture of a remarkable type. In 1863 the removal of some débris around the foundations of the northern wall of the Erechtheion, revealed a headless, seated statue of Athena; and in the following year the truncated statue of a man bearing a calf on his shoulders (now known as the Moschophoros) was unearthed in an opposite portion of the plateau. These and some other fragments, which successively cropped up in similar circumstances, were of a type so distinct from the sculpture generally associated with the Acropolis that they pointed to the existence of an earlier school and at the same time indicated the probability of a rich store of like objects being hid underneath. It thus became a matter of the highest importance to dig down to the very rock and overturn every foot of earth in the walled enclosure. This important work was inaugurated in 1882, when the embankment, some thirty-five feet deep, which covers the eastern foundation wall of the Parthenon, was excavated and soon yielded a most important clue both to the nature of the sculptures which adorned the earlier buildings on the Acropolis, and to the successive changes which had preceded its condition during classic times. Some fragments of the head of the seated statue of Athena found in 1863 at the other end of the enclosure were recovered here, and showed the goddess as engaged in a contest; while other pieces of sculpture of the same primitive workmanship revealed, when pieced together, one group



representing the contest of the gods against the giants, and another group, that of Hercules against the Lernæan hydra. The rough state of the back of these sculptures indicated that they had originally stood in the pediments of some temple more ancient than those now existing on the Acropolis; while there were traces of a vivid coloring, of the reliefs against a dark-blue background, which was evidently intended to give boldness to the as yet feeble technique of the sculpture.

After a lapse of two years the excavations, having been resumed in the winter of 1885, resulted, during the first days of the following February, in the most wonderful find which the Acropolis had yet yielded. The space between the Erechtheion and the northern wall, which had revealed the first archaic sculpture in 1863, was now attacked, and was found to consist of a bewildering mass of architectural fragments, hewn and rough stones, broken inscriptions, sculptures and pedestals, débris of all kinds, earth and rubbish, heaped together and evidently thrown in to fill up and bring to a level the hollow formed by the underlying rock dipping toward the outer wall. Here, at a depth of twelve to fourteen feet below the surface, fourteen female statues in marble were found lying prostrate, of which eight were in an almost perfect condition, the heads being uninjured. Traces of fire were noticeable on most of them, but all were marked by vivid coloring, the eyes, hair, face, the ornaments, and raiment being picked out in brilliant and varied tints. The most striking characteristic, however, of these remarkable statues consisted in their almost unvarying similarity of trait, posture, and drapery. They are all of the stiff, conventional archaic form, with narrow oblique eyes, the lips drawn into a smile, half awkward, half proud, the left arm falling rigidly by the side, while the right, formed of a separate piece of marble fitted into a socket, is extended forward and holds an apple or pomegranate. The coiffure is of an especially elaborate and elegant treatment, and the drapery clings closely to the body in rather heavy folds, of a formal and stiff pattern. So close is the similarity of characteristics running through them all that at first sight they seem to represent one and the same personality; and for this reason they were at the outset supposed to be so many presentments of Athena. For various conclusive reasons this supposition has been abandoned, and the most likely, though still problematic, explanation seems to be that they were votive offerings of individual female devotees who desired thus to place themselves under the constant protection and the auspicious recollection of the goddess, near whose temple the



statues must have stood ranged. Or, again, they may have been the statues of Athenian maidens devoted to the service of the goddess.

In spite of these doubts, and notwithstanding their conventionality and stiffness, these early specimens of Athenian art possess a strange and indescribable charm. They bear the impress of a deep religious feeling and are the outcome of an artistic effort which has just begun to feel emancipated by a freer inspiration, but has not yet succeeded in detaching itself from a preconceived and rigid type. They mark the period of evolution in Attic art which set in early in the sixth century, but which is not yet observable in the Hercules groups to which we have alluded, and which are of an even earlier date. Thus this marvellous discovery brought us, by one bound, into immediate contact with an epoch hitherto vaguely surmised; it also lent fresh interest to a search already exciting and productive. The Greek government was encouraged to prosecute the excavations uninterruptedly for three more years up to January, 1889, by which time the whole of the area of the Acropolis was thoroughly explored, every inch of earth down to the underlying rock having been raked up and minutely examined. The result was perhaps the most important archæological campaign yet undertaken. The counterpart of the group of Hercules and the Hydra, worked in the same material—a calcareous poros-stone, a grayish tufa—and colored with even greater brilliancy, was discovered much shattered and mutilated, but still susceptible of reconstruction. When put together in the Acropolis Museum it showed the struggles of Hercules with the Triton and the Typhon, the head of the latter, more especially, being of extraordinary power and full of expression. Excellent colored reproductions of the fragments as well as of the fourteen female statues are given in the “*Antike Denkmaeler*” of the German Archæological Institute of Athens.

Many other sculptures, some in bronze, inscriptions of great historical and linguistic interest, fragments of pottery, and a multiplicity of other objects, all of the same epoch and style, were also recovered. But perhaps the most important result of these excavations is the elucidation of the hitherto unknown topography of the sacred hill. In the beginning of the fifth century the Acropolis was already occupied by a large number of buildings, the most important of which was always the temple of Athena. The site of this early shrine (which was later considerably enlarged and ornamented by Peisistratus), as well as its dimensions and general character, have now



been absolutely authenticated. It was situated to the east of the Periclean Parthenon, in close proximity to the Erechtheion and not far from the large mass of débris already alluded to. The foundations have been traced of a royal palace, also, which, at a still earlier period, stood on the Acropolis of Athens, as was the case with those of Mycenæ and Tiryns. Furthermore the line of the Pelasgic walls, which originally enclosed but a restricted area on the rocky plateau, has been identified.

These indications, and what was already known of the Persian invasion of the Acropolis, helped to determine the character of the other finds. When after the battle of Salamis the Athenians returned to their homes they found their sanctuaries wrecked so completely as to admit of no repair; they could only be reconstructed. Elated by their victories, proud of their newly-acquired prestige, and disposing of the rich booty they had captured, the people of Athens determined to do honor to their protecting divinity in a manner worthy of the city, by rebuilding the shrines on the Acropolis on a scale of great magnificence and in accordance with the gigantic advancing strides which, under the pervading glorious inspirations, art had made in Athens. The remnants of the old temples and their maimed and shattered statues were deemed not worth preserving; their sanctity had abandoned them. The poros-stone of which the earlier structures were built was now good enough only for the new walls with which Cimon commenced to enclose a far more extensive portion of the plateau. And to this day the triglyphs, columns, and other fragments of the old temple may be seen imbedded in the northern wall. But this enlargement of the enclosed area comprised deep hollows at the outskirts; and in raising these to a level with the central portion of the plateau, the discarded and despised remnants of a less glorious past were there buried, to be resuscitated after a lapse of twenty-four centuries. Thus have they now been made to speak to us in unmistakable language, and to interpret the growth of that later art whose superhuman splendor had silenced its predecessors, as it now overshadows all that has since followed.

Such, in brief, is the wondrous tale of the discovery of an earlier Athenian Acropolis which the liberality of the Greek government and the skill and enthusiasm of Greek scholars have brought to light. Great credit is due to Dr. Cavvadias, the Ephor of Antiquities, for the admirable manner in which he conducted these memorable excavations; thus proving himself a worthy successor of the venerable Prof. Stephanos Koumanoudes, the first and foremost of Greek archaeologists



whose sacred zeal breathed new life into many an ancient monument, and whose life-long labors are in themselves a monument worthy the emulation of younger men. Nothing can be more hopeful for the future than this zeal and devotion of the Greeks to the imperishable legacy of their ancestors. The Greek public and the Greek legislature have never stinted the funds required of them for the excavation and preservation of the antiquities of the country. In proportion to her limited resources and to the magnitude of the work before her, no country has done so much as Greece in this connection. Of late years more especially the activity of Greek archæologists has been very remarkable. It is impossible in the restricted limits of this article to give anything like an adequate account of the results achieved on the various sites lately explored. They can only be briefly enumerated here.

The Greek Archæological Society, which had already in 1876-77 excavated the Athenian Asklepieion, on the southern declivity of the rock of the Acropolis, during the years 1881-95 prosecuted its researches of the greater and even more famous sanctuary of Æsculapius at Epidauros, again under the direction of Dr. Cavvadias. The whole of the vast precinct, sacred to the god, has been laid bare, bringing to light, besides the principal temple, the Stadion, the Gymnasium, the Propylæa, the Porticos, the superb theatre,—one of the largest in Greece and almost perfect in preservation,—a number of other buildings, several important pieces of sculpture, and, above all, an unrivalled series of inscriptions which thoroughly elucidate a cultus hitherto imperfectly understood, fully explain the healing processes practised by the Greeks, and shed, in many respects, a humorous light on the inner and familiar aspects of Greek life. The clearing of the Stadion and the theatre still continues, with results of the highest archæological interest, elucidating many contested points as to the athletics of the Greeks. The sanctuary of Demeter at Eleusis had been, from time immemorial, not only one of the most sacred spots in Greece, but one whose mystic interest had never been clearly determined. The precise nature of the Eleusinian mysteries remains to this day an unsolved secret. The details of the site itself were up to a comparatively recent time but vaguely known. In 1815 the Society of Dilettanti made an imperfect attempt to explore it. The French savant, Lenormant, went a little farther during his researches in 1860-61. But the honor of its entire and thorough exploration belongs to the Greek Archæological Society, which, assisted financially by the Greek gov-



ernment, carried on systematic and exhaustive excavations from 1882 to 1890 under the direction of Dr. Philios. The situation and character of the entire group of buildings which constituted the sanctuary have been determined, very important pieces of sculpture have been recovered, and the large number of inscriptions found there has furnished a lucid account of the sacerdotal and administrative organization of the sanctuary. These excavations have since been continued, the outlying portions of the site being now gradually cleared. Among the quite recent finds is a beautiful red-figured terra-cotta plaque, the representation on which has some as yet undefined connection with the mysteries. Besides these principal achievements, the Archæological Society has been occupied during the last few years with several other less prominent but not less important undertakings in various parts of Greece, notably in the Necropolis of Tanagra, near Thebes, where a rich mine of the now famous statuettes, which go by that name, had unfortunately been already encroached upon by bands of poachers and illicit traders.

But the field of research in Greece is so vast—it may be said to be practically inexhaustible—that no one body of men, no one government, can hope to explore it alone. And in this respect the Greeks have given proof of no envious or grasping and narrow mind. With a large and liberal spirit, worthy of the cause of science, but rarely met with in other quarters under precisely similar circumstances, the Greek government admitted foreign societies and states to share in a work which enlists more and more the eager emulation of learned men, since it confers signal distinction upon those worthy to participate in it. The most noteworthy instance of this kind is the exploration of Olympia, not only on account of the celebrity of the spot, but because of the unprecedented richness of the harvest it yielded, as well as the august auspices under which the work was completed. The fame of the Olympic games, which had endured for twelve consecutive centuries, as well as the enchanting description, left to us by Pausanias, of the site in Elis, “the fairest spot in Greece,” as Lysias calls it, diminutive in extent but unequalled in the splendor and unsurpassed in the richness of its temples, sanctuaries, and public buildings, adorned with no less than three thousand statues, a veritable museum of Greek art, and the shrine of the devotion of an entire race—all this was calculated, even at the dawn of the science of archæology, to arouse a longing in the breasts of learned men for a search after the lost glories of Olympia.

In a letter to Cardinal Quizini, Bishop of Corfu, in 1723.



Montfaucon expressed the conviction that the earth of Elis still enshrined innumerable remains of its past greatness. Fifty years later Winckelmann wrote: "I am convinced that a great harvest is to be reaped in Elis which would surpass all expectations, and that a thorough exploration of that spot will shed much light on the history of art." And his ardor in this cause was such that it was humorously said of him that he could even become a Mussulman if only he were allowed to explore Olympia. To his dying day, in 1786, Winckelmann, with the Teutonic perseverance, repeated: "That which one desires in earnest always becomes possible: I have this matter as much at heart as my history of art." The Society of Dilettanti deputed Richard Chandler to visit the site in 1766. Chandler was followed by Fauvel, the French consul at Athens, and by John Hawkins, an English traveler, toward the close of the century; by Colonel W. M. Leake in 1805; by Gell and Dodwell in 1806; and by Cockerell in 1811. In 1814 Quatremère de Quincey published his great work "*Le Jupiter Olympien, ou l'Art de la Sculpture Antique*," and in 1824 Lord John Spencer Stanhope issued his description of the plain of Olympia. Finally in 1829, when, after the battle of Navarino, Charles X sent to the Peloponnesus a corps of occupation under Marshal Maison, the "*Expédition Scientifique de la Morée*," which accompanied the French army, attempted some researches on the site of the great temple of the Olympian Zeus. These perfunctory excavations, however, resulted only in the recovery of a few pieces of sculpture, which are now preserved in the Louvre.

But the complete exploration of the site, which was thus first conceived by a Frenchman, earnestly advocated by a German, and practically initiated by a French expedition, is mainly due to the venerable Prof. Ernst Curtius, whose attempts date from 1852. He conceived and directed this vast undertaking, and it was through his influence that the late Emperor Frederic was induced to lend his patronage and to obtain from the Imperial Diet the necessary funds, which ultimately amounted to no less than \$200,000. Excavations, carried on under a formal convention with the Greek government, were begun in 1875, and were continued during six consecutive winter campaigns on a thoroughly scientific and prearranged plan. Beyond some traces of the researches of 1829, and a few vestiges of walls, there remained above ground but few indications of the glories of Olympia. The games were celebrated for the last time in 393 A.D., and in the following year they were prohibited by a decree of the



Emperor Theodosius I. In 425 Theodosius II, in his iconoclastic zeal, ordered the very buildings to be burnt. They had already been denuded of their most precious objects by the repeated plundering of Roman and Byzantine emperors. The invasion of Greece by the Goths under Alaric, and, later, by the Slavs, carried havoc through what remained of Olympia. The temple of Zeus was then transformed into a fortress and surrounded by a massive wall built of the fragments of other monuments. Two terrible earthquakes, in 522 and 551, levelled to the ground both that temple and whatever else was still standing ; and the subsequent abandonment of the site by the inhabitants, who sought safety on higher ground, left the forces of nature to preserve from further devastation what the fury of man had spared. The two rivers within which the Altis, the sacred precinct, was confined,—the Alpheus and the Cladeus,—in course of time changed their channels, and by repeated inundations deposited layers of alluvial soil, from fifteen to twenty feet deep, over the whole extent of the enclosure ; while, on the other hand, rains and landslips carried down the slopes of Mount Cronion, which shelters the Altis to the north, enormous masses of earth, thus helping to give a restful burial to the much shattered and devastated remains of what was once the “ fairest spot in Greece.” To remove this huge earthen shroud, to examine every stone, to mark every vestige that came to light, was the heroic task through which the German mission resolutely labored in their search after the hallowed relics of Olympia. And their devotion and perseverance were richly rewarded. “ One hundred and thirty marble statues and reliefs, thirteen thousand bronze objects, six thousand coins, four hundred inscriptions, a thousand objects in terra-cotta, forty buildings : such was the wonderful booty won by the explorers.”<sup>1</sup>

Yet the recovery of the famous Hermes of Praxiteles alone would have been deemed ample reward for their toil and expense. These treasures now fill an entire museum built near the spot through the liberality of M. Syngros, a Greek banker. And such is the flood of light they have shed on the particular branch of Hellenic life which was connected with Olympia, that we can now read Pindar with as intimate a knowledge of the details to which his odes refer, as if we had been eye-witnesses of the very events. It is perhaps not unwarrantable to add that to this resuscitation of the fame of Olympia we may trace, in no small degree, the enthusiasm which attended the recent revival of the Olympic games at Athens.

<sup>1</sup> Laloux et Monceaux, “ *La Restauration de l'Olympie.*”



Not the least important result of this scientific triumph of the Germans was the emulation it excited among French scholars—an emulation far more honorable and beneficial than the competition in armaments. The French, who were the first to establish a permanent school of archæology at Athens, had already signalized their presence in Greece by various minor explorations, the best known of which was Beulé's discovery of the Propylæa gate. But the impression which the Olympian excavations created in the world of letters urged them to look around for an undertaking of comparable importance. The island of Delos, now uninhabited, but in the palmy days of Greece one of the most flourishing and lovely of the Cyclades,—the birthplace and revered shrine of Apollo, teeming with the wealth of pious offerings of the Hellenic world, studded with sanctuaries and temples, planted with a forest of statues and altars, the envied goal of sacred embassies, but now abandoned, bereft of vegetation, almost forgotten, and rarely visited but by ships under quarantine,—Delos had attracted the attention of French archæologists as early as 1873. The first desultory researches of M. Lebègue, however, did not result in much of interest. The Greek Archæological Society, which, after him, took up the work, was more successful. But the French school at Athens claimed the right of reversion, and instituted serious excavations in 1877, under MM. Dumont and Homolles.

The distinguishing and, for the French savants, creditable feature of these excavations consists in the fact that, beyond the ancient fame of the Delian sanctuary, no precise indications were available as guides to its exploration. Delos was one of the few important centres in Greece which Pausanias did not visit; while all the other ancient accounts of it which we know to have been written have been lost. Moreover, Delos, after suffering repeated spoliations, was plundered and completely devastated by one of Mithridates's generals in 87 B. C., and from that devastation it does not seem to have recovered. What we know of its subsequent fate is, that the Knights of St. John used the ruins of its temples and public buildings as material for their churches and fortresses in the adjacent islands, and the godless pillage of marble ready-hewn went on until quite recent times. Hence there was hardly any landmark left as a guide to the sites of the principal structures and especially to that of the great temple of Apollo. In spite of these disadvantages M. Homolles's work, which was carried on from 1877 to 1880 and was then continued by other members of the French school up to 1890, succeeded beyond expecta-



tion. The inroads above referred to despoiled Delos almost completely of architectural and artistic remains. But the topography of the small island, which was but an extensive sanctuary, has been determined; while the harvest of inscriptions, dating from the seventh century B. C. to the early years of our era, is so rich and valuable that it constitutes in itself a new and important source of Greek history. Contemporaneously with the work carried on at Delos, another member of the French school, M. Maurice Holleaux, undertook the exploration of another sanctuary of Apollo, situated at the foot of Mount Ptoïon, to the east of the plain which formed, until lately, Lake Copais, in Boeotia. The temple of Apollo Ptoïos was celebrated as an ancient oracle of the god; and M. Holleaux's researches have resulted not only in defining the position and structure of the temple itself, but in establishing its great antiquity by a number of very important inscriptions and by a series of archaic statues in marble and bronze, the comparison of which latter with the like sculptures unearthed on the Acropolis as well as in Eleusis and Delos, elucidates the development of early Greek art.

The French were apparently minded or destined by circumstances to bring to light the various ancient abodes of the sun-god in Greece. Their latest and greatest undertaking has been the excavation of the celebrated Delphic shrine of Apollo. The importance of this work, which is still in progress, is so exceptional, and the interest which attaches to the subject so absorbing, that it must be reserved for a separate and concluding article. That article will include a survey of the archæological researches of the American school at Athens, which are already such as to do much credit to American scholarship.

J. GENNADIUS.



## THE MATRIMONIAL MARKET.

THE economists tell us that it is the price of the surplus of any product placed on a foreign market that determines the price of the entire mass produced. The farmer in Minnesota whose wheat is sold, ground, and eaten in the next town gets no higher price for it—so long as the whole country raises more wheat than the people of the country can eat—than will yield a profit if it be sent five thousand miles to Liverpool. Clearly then it is to the advantage of the wheat growers all over the land that the population should increase and multiply and wax fat on wheaten bread—that the demand for what can be raised should keep pace with the supply, or, as the acute French put it much more simply and completely, with the offer. This may seem a crude, even rude, law to cite as underlying the marriage customs of the Republic and closely and directly affecting the happiness of millions of women and men and their offspring. But such a law there is, and, on the whole, I am enough of an optimist to believe that it works steadily for the bettering of the condition of the race.

Whatever else marriage may or ought to be, and however the fact may be concealed or modified by associations—religious, social, literary,—there can be no doubt that it is, for a very large part of the women of the country, a means of livelihood. No one knows what the proportion is, but no one will deny that a very large number of girls regard a husband as the only sure source of such means as are required for their support, and that this view is frequently correct. Of course other conditions are involved and often are controlling; some more refined and pleasant, some perhaps decidedly less so, but for a very considerable number it remains true that they expect to be supported through marriage and know of no other way. I do not now argue for or against the desirability of such a state of things; I do not assert or deny that it is a law of nature, or of human society, or of Providence: I simply cite the fact and venture to point out some of its results, and the bearing on them of the simple economic law that governs the disposition of marriageable women as it does of Minnesota wheat.

To begin with, in all thickly populated and settled communities the



number of women born tends slightly to exceed the number of men. Here, then, is produced continuously and without chance for evasion or hope of any facile change, a slight but appreciable surplus of women. So far as their destination is marriage, and supposing the tendency to marriage equally strong in both sexes, and the Christian institution of monogamy to prevail, there must be an offer (an offer, in the strictly economic sense only) somewhat greater than the demand. This discrepancy, slight in itself, is liable to be increased in the ratio that men may be unwilling or unable to take unto themselves wives; and thus the intensity of the desire, the need even, of marriage among women, other things being equal, tends to become greater. The only way in which it can be—I will not say corrected, for some of my readers doubtless think it a divinely ordained force in the regulation of human progress,—but let me say that the only way in which it can be reduced, is by reducing the necessity to women of marriage as a means of securing a living. This, I think, is precisely what has happened, and in increasing ratio within the last half or even quarter of a century. Of course the process has been going on more or less regularly since the dawn of historic civilization. But it has been more rapid and general and therefore more obvious, especially in America, within the period mentioned.

Within the memory of any of us who has passed middle age, a woman in America who did not marry and had to support herself, generally and almost exclusively did so by domestic service or sewing or some form of teaching. The woman, whatever her class, who remained what was then far more ungraciously than now termed an “old maid,” and who gained her own living, did so in one or other of these pursuits. It is very different now, and in two ways. First, in the old callings there is far more scope and an increased demand, which is, I think, out of proportion to the increase of population. More servants are employed, their duties are more varied, more skill and intelligence are required, the pay is better, the average standard of comfort is higher, and a number of peculiar services has been added in which women can engage with a standing greatly improved and less undesirable to those who formerly shunned all service as “menial.” Very probably many of the women under whose eyes these remarks are likely to fall will still see in any form of service a means of livelihood to be accepted only as the last desperate resource, and some of them perhaps will think that the changes I have noted ought not to be considered for a moment in comparison with the advantages of marriage,



as they know it or imagine it. But I am speaking not of their class, which in mere point of numbers is not overwhelmingly important, but of the great body of women who must live and may have to marry,—in short of the marriageable product.

On that the increased desirability or scope of any employment yielding a living may have some influence. As to the occupation of what was formerly the sewing woman, it has developed widely in many directions. Far greater numbers of women are employed in the simpler processes, and even in these the statistics show that there has been an advance in money wages which has been enhanced in practical value by the decline in the cost of nearly all the necessities of life except rent. Passing from these processes to those that require something more than patient industry, that require dexterity, ingenuity, taste, we find a very pronounced advance in the number of things that women can do in the way of "sewing," and get wages for doing which, either in actual amount or in what they will purchase, are far beyond what could be earned say in the 'fifties. Closely allied to these employments and growing out of them are those connected with the higher branches of the business of providing women's apparel or the materials for it. There are numerous business houses in the United States to-day who pay to women in certain positions connected with the manufacture and sale of clothing a salary that forty years since would have supported at least a score of sewing women. It is hardly necessary to point out the very great demand for women as teachers, chiefly in the public schools, which is unquestionably greater than the mere growth of the population requires, and which, as in the other occupations, has developed more exacting and better paid positions.

Here, then, is one of the two modes in which the situation is changed. The old employments afford more and more satisfactory chances of livelihood. The second mode is, perhaps, more important and is certainly more striking. It consists in the rapid development of entirely new employments.

This change has been more recent, more rapid and extensive than the other. The most important, so far as numbers are concerned, is in the employment of women in shops, at the sales counters, or as cashiers and bookkeepers, and as stenographers and typewriters in general business and the professions. Statistics are not needed to establish the immense progress in this direction. Any one who goes up and down in the land, and especially in the towns and cities, can see or learn it for himself. In the city of New York, for instance, in what may be



called the office-building district below Chambers Street, where the population of a good-sized town is gathered tier on tier within the ground area of a common city lot, young women swarm. Morning and evening the streets are crowded with them. Farther uptown, for at least a couple of miles; at the same hours a large proportion of the crowds that stream along the streets are young women also, these mostly of what is known as the shop-girl class. These are now common sights of city life, but a man need not be very old—at least I hope not—to remember when the sight of a half dozen young women in the neighborhood of Wall Street was a novel and exciting event, and when, in the uptown stores, even in those devoted to the sale of the most esoteric constituents of women's attire, women were found as customers only, and were waited upon, more or less skilfully, by persons of the superior sex.

Statistics, as I have said, are not required to prove the change. They are, however, useful to measure its extent. Take the figures of the census of 1890 with reference to the number of those engaged in what are classed as gainful occupations. The total is 22,735,661; it was 17,392,099 in 1880,—an advance of 30.72 per cent. The increase in the number of males engaged in gainful occupations was 27.64 per cent; but the increase in the number of females was 47.68 per cent. As the increase in total population for the same period was a trifle under 25 per cent, it will be seen how very marked was the influx of women in the income-earning occupations. If now we turn to the employments as classified in the census reports, we find the following ratio of increase prevail: professional services, men 48.53 per cent, women 75.84 per cent; domestic and personal service, men 15.97 per cent, women 41.15 per cent; manufacturing and mechanical industries, men 46.01 per cent, women 62.87 per cent; trade and transportation, men 71.75 per cent, women 263.25 per cent. These percentages would, of course, be misleading if the totals were disregarded, but they indicate clearly enough the direction in which the change has been going on, and the lines on which it has been most marked, while the totals show that women are now a little more than 17 per cent of those engaged in gainful occupations, whereas in 1880 they were a little less than 15 per cent.

The advance is still more strikingly indicated in the statistics of special employments. On the following page is a table the chief significance of which any one can take in at a glance. It shows the number of men and the number of women engaged in each occupation according to the census of 1880 and that of 1890:



MEN AND WOMEN ENGAGED IN GAINFUL OCCUPATIONS.	Census of 1880.	Census of 1890.
Artists and teachers of art, men.....	7,043	11,676
women.....	2,061	10,810
Authors, men.....	811	3,989
women.....	320	2,725
Musicians and teachers of music, men.....	17,295	27,636
women.....	13,182	34,519
Teachers, men.....	73,335	96,581
women.....	154,375	245,230
Nurses and midwives, men.....	1,189	6,688
women.....	14,422	51,402
Sales, men.....	24,535	205,931
women.....	7,744	58,449
Bookkeepers and accountants, men.....	57,425	131,602
women.....	2,365	27,772
Clerks and copyists, men.....	23,820	492,852
women.....	1,647	64,048
Stenographers and typewriters, men.....		12,148
women.....		21,185

The classification of the census of 1880 does not include stenographers and typewriters. The census states that among bookkeepers and accountants women counted 2,365, and among clerks and copyists 1,647,—in all, 4,012. The total number of women in these classes and of stenographers and typewriters in 1890 was 113,005. The number of women in all the occupations in the above table was in 1880 196,106; in 1890 it was 516,140. Speaking broadly five women were engaged in these occupations in 1890 as against two in 1880. In certain occupations the change in the relative number of the men and women is very noteworthy. In 1880 the women were less than a fourth of the artists and teachers of art, in 1890 they were nearly one half. Of musicians and teachers of music in 1880 there were only about two women to three men, in 1890 there were nearly four women to three men. It is to be borne in mind, however, that these changes are exceptional. In the occupations which women have "invaded" in the largest numbers, those of teachers, salesmen, bookkeepers, stenographers, typewriters, etc., the ratio of increase has been about the same with the two sexes. As I have already pointed out, taking all the gainful occupations, although the ratio of increase for women is 47.88



per cent, and for men only 27.64 per cent, yet the women are in 1890 but 17 per cent of the total as against 15 per cent in 1880. It is a fair conclusion that while many more women earned their own living in 1890 than in 1880, they had over the whole field to a very slight extent only displaced the men.

The change in the proportion of women who now earn an income, and presumably a living, is the important point. About one in three of the total population are engaged in "gainful occupation," and only one in about twenty of the female population. The proportion to females of marriageable age is, of course, much larger, and it is this percentage that produces the effect I have noted as to the necessity of marriage to women as a means of support. What the effect is upon society, I do not now propose to discuss. It is much too large and complex a question to be stated even with any fulness in a single article. Whether a smaller proportion of women will marry, whether they will marry at a later age, whether fewer children will be born, whether the average of happiness in wedded life will be greater, whether the offspring will be better cared for,—are the subordinate or associated questions as to which there is room for much honest difference of opinion and for endless discussion. The facts I have noted, the statistics I have cited—and they would undoubtedly be much more striking were they brought down five years later,—show that it is becoming clearly easier for the average woman in the United States to earn her livelihood without marriage—if she so choose.

EDWARD CARY.



## SIGNIFICANCE OF THE CANADIAN ELECTIONS.

THE result of the Canadian elections has aroused a great deal of attention on two continents, and in the United States peculiar interest has been evoked by the fact that the bone of contention resembled very closely the one which caused the American civil war,—namely, States' rights. Since 1878 the Conservatives of Canada have held power, and always by large majorities. To the surprise of everybody, on June 23 last, however, the tables were turned, and the Liberals swept the country, the province of Quebec, especially, swelling the victory by an overwhelming vote, her country parishes, where the church is supreme, vying with the cities in the overthrow. The Government counted on Quebec for its principal support, and only a few days before the election the French leader telegraphed the premier to be hopeful, as he would guarantee him a majority in his own province of at least twenty. Had that prediction been verified, Canada would still be Conservative in politics, and the old fiscal policy would not be disturbed. But the Liberals won nearly every seat, and on the night of the battle the three French ministers were defeated, and fell with their comrades. One statesman, however, who after twenty-three years' hard service had been deposed by his successors, succeeded in carrying his constituency, and by the irony of fate becomes leader of the French opposition in the House of Commons.

There were two important issues before the people, though the Conservative platform embraced no fewer than ten planks. The Manitoba Schools Question was one of them; the other was the tariff. As the reader will probably remember, Manitoba entered the Union in 1870, and in the following year established, after the manner of the older provinces, a system of schools for Protestants and Catholics under the supervision of a joint school board, each managing its own schools. As time wore on, and the Protestant population materially increased, it was deemed advisable by the majority to change the system, and, accordingly, in 1890, public schools were established. Against the new plan the Roman Catholics interposed a strong protest. They appealed to the Governor-General in coun-



cil for relief, demanded their share of the public money allotted for education, and insisted on having the old system restored. The agitation was vigorously opposed by the stronger party, and much ill-feeling was engendered. After passing various steps, the appeal finally reached the Privy Council of Great Britain, and judgment, in 1895, was given in favor of the Roman Catholics. The Canadian Government prepared a remedial order restoring to the Catholics their right to a share of the legislative school grant. It had little effect, however, on the Manitoba majority, and that legislature refused to entertain it. A commission went to Winnipeg and tried the policy of conciliation. It fared no better, and then a bill was introduced into the House of Commons to compel the Manitoba government to yield. In the meantime, general elections were held in the prairie province, and the ministry came back more popular than ever.

The remedial bill was killed in committee by the vigorous obstruction of a dissatisfied wing of the Conservatives, aided by some of the Liberals. Parliament expired by the effluxion of time on April 23, the Cabinet was reconstructed, and Sir Charles Tupper took his place at the head of the Government, and began a seven weeks' campaign among the electorate. His opponent was Mr. Wilfrid Laurier, a Roman Catholic gentleman of high character, who had failed, however, to gain the ear of his church. The mandements of the hierarchy played an important part in the great contest. The bishops of Ontario and the maritime provinces did not go as far as their lordships of Quebec. The latter went very far indeed. They maintained that to the ecclesiastical power belonged the right to judge whether the interference should take place in the form of command or of counsel, and when that interference took the imperative form only one thing remained to be done by the faithful, and that was to obey. The interests of the church rose superior to *all* rights, all considerations, and all political aspirations. Before the electors, in the churches and elsewhere, the priests were very outspoken. Some of them went beyond the mandement, and made their own comments on it. The editors of French newspapers on the Liberal side were denounced, and threatened with excommunication and the index. It was the first time in very many years that the church had come out so openly in favor of one political party, and religious excitement, naturally, ran high. Parkman writes:—

“The peace of Paris gave civil liberty to the people of Quebec, but the conqueror left their religious system untouched, and through it they have imposed



upon themselves a weight of ecclesiastical tutelage that finds few equals in the most Catholic countries of Europe. Such guardianship is not without certain advantages. For when faithfully exercised it aids to uphold some of the tamer virtues, if that can be called a virtue which needs the constant presence of a sentinel to keep it from escaping ; but it is fatal to mental robustness and moral courage ; and if French-Canada would fulfil its aspirations it must cease to be one of the most priest-ridden communities of the modern world."

After such an exhibition, the dictum that the church thoroughly understands her people, and thinks for them must be revised. Her own safety, hereafter, will, more likely, be her first thought. To her the spectacle could not be edifying, of thousands of her sons marching to the polls, and voting for candidates whom she had unsparingly condemned. Recovery from such a shock will be slow.

The heads of the church in Canada have always opposed annexation to the United States, and the maintenance of British connection is their first thought. In 1812, and again in 1837, they were on England's side. They won. The reason, perhaps, is not far to seek. They dislike change ; they move with deliberation. Britain left with them the laws, language, institutions, and the religion which they had enjoyed before the conquest of 1759, unimpaired and complete. They are not so sure that the church would retain its hold on the people by a political change and by the severance of old ties. The *curés* think that in the Republic their flocks would be exposed to temptations which do not exist in their own villages. It must be confessed, exiles lose, in time, many of their primitive characteristics. They live under less restraint, and while they attend faithfully to their religious duties, and are good citizens, generally, the fact cannot be disguised that the church has not the same grasp in the new home that it had in the old one on the banks of the St. Lawrence and the interior of Quebec. This the Canadian clergy understand very well, and it pains them to learn that the American disregard of the cloth sometimes makes headway among the younger exiles, and that the soutane is rarely seen in American streets. To keep the power they have over their people is their first idea ; but their failure, the other day, to dominate the voters of their respective flocks, prompts one to believe that a great upheaval is about to take place, and I notice, already, that in some quarters in the American Union the hope is expressed that the French are not averse to changing their allegiance. Indeed, much is made of their disobedience to clerical dictation, but, from the American standpoint, the failure of the priests disposes of one of the chief objections to union or annexation. It will be found, however, that though annexation is still far off, emigration



will continue to flow extensively into the United States from Quebec, even should a change of flags not ensue. Repatriation has been tried by the Quebec legislature, but no appreciable result has followed the hundreds of thousands of dollars spent on the experiment.

During the campaign, Mr. Laurier was styled by a bishop of prominence, "a rationalistic Liberal." He resented this, and the voters, following suit, voted for his candidates. The cry was raised against him that he was not a good Catholic, but it lost him no support among the members of his creed, and many Conservative Protestants went to his side out of sympathy for him, and as a rebuke to the priesthood whose domination they considered ought to be opposed. For the first time in the history of Canada, a French-Canadian was put up as Premier. The opportunity was too good to be lost, and many ballots were cast for him on that score alone.

The other issue upon which the election turned was tariff reform. It was known that Mr. Laurier and Sir Richard Cartwright differed on that question on several essential points. At heart the leader is a free trader, and his views on reciprocity with the United States are exceedingly liberal and broad. On the other hand, his lieutenant favors commercial union, or unrestricted reciprocity. In the beginning of the campaign, these friendly rivals were not publicly *en évidence* together, and, for a time, the prospective Finance Minister confined himself to a limited area and talked little of the policy which, if returned to power, the Liberals would introduce. Free trade as it exists in the British Isles is, of course, impossible in a country like Canada, which is territorially great, but sparse in population, and where the public debt is high. The most was made, during the elections, of Mr. Laurier's known views, and it was urged strongly that unless he were defeated the Dominion would relapse into a slaughter market for the United States; her workshops and factories would close down, and her artisans would find themselves on the very brink of ruin and starvation. That these statements were believed, the returns from the polling booths of Ontario and other manufacturing districts will supply the proof. All is fair, doubtless, in love, war, and politics, and so the Liberal leader found himself confronted, at the outset, by a formidable charge. This he hastened to disprove. It has been given out that there is to be no immediate tinkering with the tariff,—that no radical change will take place in the duties until notice is given far in advance, so that no interests can suffer by a sudden or violent attack upon them. A tariff for revenue the country must have; it is an absolute necessity; but



haste will be made slowly in the direction of reducing the present protective tariff. In all his speeches, Mr. Laurier has spoken of gradual reduction, and not an immediate resort to the pruning knife. As many manufacturers are Liberals, it is clear that few of their votes would have gone to the Liberal leader unless he had assured them of the course he intended to pursue. A lightning change would be bad for the country at large, even if the Dominion could afford it, and afford it she cannot, at present, owing to her financial position, and the obligations which must be met. The public will welcome free-trade relations with Great Britain and the United States. It is not impossible to have a new treaty with the latter country, based on grounds of common advantage, and Mr. Laurier and his friends are warmly in favor of making another attempt to bring it about. There is every reason to expect that a fair compact can be brought about by the statesmen of both countries who desire to see every avenue of trade and commerce opened up. Joseph Howe was of that opinion as far back as July, 1865, when he made his powerful address at the great international commercial convention in Detroit, where he spoke for Canada to five thousand business men, in the vain attempt to stay the repeal of the Act of 1854. He said:—

“We are here to determine how best we can draw together, in the bonds of peace, friendship, and commercial prosperity, the three great branches of the British family. In the presence of this great theme all petty interests should stand rebuked—we are not dealing with the concerns of a city, a province, or a state, but with the future of our race in all time to come. Some reference has been made to ‘elevators’ in your discussions. What we want is an elevator to lift our souls to the height of this great argument. Why should not these three great branches of the family flourish, under different systems of government, it may be, but forming one grand whole, proud of a common origin, and of their advanced civilization?”

One of the first acts, it is believed, that the Liberal Government will do, will be to send a deputation to Washington, headed by Sir Richard Cartwright, to negotiate a treaty of reciprocity with the United States. Both countries are old enough now to understand one another's needs perfectly. It is not to be supposed—nor would the idea be entertained for a moment in Canada—that the terms to be agreed upon would be favorable to only one of the parties to the bargain. There must, in all matters of this kind, be some give and take. The United States, several years ago, distinctly made overtures to Canada, and more recently to the West Indies, offering special privileges on condition that they would have an interchange of commodities,



but not allowing British manufactures in on the same terms. This, of course, was not entertained by the Conservative Government then in power at Ottawa, nor would it be entertained to-day by the Liberal administration sitting in the same place. It is not likely that the Imperial Government would sanction any such arrangement, were it resolved upon by the United States and Canada. The discrimination against British goods would be a serious matter, and the Colonial Office would not hear of it, it is safe to say. Indeed, a ruling has been had upon the subject already. Lord Ripon, Secretary of State for the Colonies in the Earl of Rosebery's Cabinet, is the author of the following despatch, which was made public only a short time ago. It describes the policy to which Liberals and Conservatives alike, in England, are fully committed:—

“ If a colony were to grant preferential treatment to the produce of a foreign country, and were to refuse to extend the benefit of that treatment to the mother country, and the other colonies, or some of them, such a step could not fail to isolate and alienate that country from the rest of the empire, and attract it politically as well as commercially toward the favored power. Her Majesty's Government are convinced that the colonies will agree that such a result would be fraught with danger to the interests of the empire as a whole, and that they will also agree that it would be impossible for Her Majesty's Government to assent to any such arrangement.”

The present Colonial Secretary, Mr. Chamberlain, holds the same views. His Zollverein scheme, however, which provides for closer trade relations between the mother country and her colonies, and their attitude, on a common understanding with each other, in dealing with foreign countries, and more particularly with the United States, does not appear to be making great headway. England would never consent to place a tax on breadstuffs or food supplies. That is a self-evident fact. If the main principles embodied in his scheme, however, had been adopted some years ago, beyond doubt by this time England and Canada, and the other colonies, would have had fair reciprocal trade relations established, not only with the United States, but with other foreign countries as well. Just now the United States enjoys the great advantage of having the markets of Australia, the Cape, and the West Indies as free to her as to any of the sister colonies, or even Great Britain herself. Figures are accessible showing her increased trade with the colonies and dependencies of the empire, and also the increased exports that she is sending to Great Britain and her possessions, and the gradual decrease of her imports, rendering her every day more and more independent. The promoters of the movement think that



the time is very opportune for urging some definite action on the part of Great Britain toward a united empire, with the closest possible trade-relations between the various component parts, and operating together if any foreign countries refuse reciprocal rights. On this subject, the Liberals of Canada have taken, thus far, no firm stand. The Conservatives have looked into it, and it has enthusiastic and sanguine supporters. If Sir Charles Tupper had been retained, his Government might have dealt with it, or, at all events, tried to do so. Mr. Laurier, however, may be open to overtures. In the meantime, the latter strongly favors reciprocity with the United States, and he will make every effort in his power to get it. It formed a plank in his platform, and his party made the most of it in the manifesto issued to the electors from the Liberal headquarters. Thousands of them voted for it, as they did at previous elections; for reciprocity has been part of their policy for very many years. It will be interesting to note the future history of this question, and to inquire into the causes of past failures, should success crown the efforts of the Liberals.

The stagnation of trade, the general business depression, and the shrinkages in values, creating a strong feeling of unrest and distrust everywhere, contributed also their quota to the fall of the Government. The high tariff in but few instances afforded any relief for the decline in affairs. The people, eager for a change, and in a spirit almost of desperation, welcomed a platform which, at least, was different from the one which had prevailed for nearly two decades. They were prepared to accept it all the sooner when they were told that the changes proposed would be gradual and not revolutionary or drastic. The Conservatives offered no change in the diet, and persisted in declaring that their policy of protection had created prosperity in the country. The electors took their choice, and the axe fell on the national policy and the promises which had been made in its behalf.

Eighteen years is a long time for a single party to hold office continuously. Horace Greeley used to say that every eight years a party ought to dissolve. In Canada, however, our political system allows a party to rule just so long as it has a majority at its back in Parliament. When that force is taken away it must succumb and give place to the other side.

With the death of Sir John A. Macdonald, passed away forever in Canada, what might be called dictatorial leadership. One-man power has seen its last day, and no successor will come. The influence exerted by Sir John was remarkable. His word was law; his com-



mands were never disobeyed. In the hollow of his hand he virtually held the policy, the principles, the doctrines, and the members of the party which recognized him as its chieftain. Indeed, the party, as it existed during his time, was largely of his own creation. He was himself the party. As he grew in years, the men who began life with him continued to shower their tokens of love and devotion upon him. The younger men took their places in the groove, and awaited his orders. He was a lucky captain, and his ship never lacked sailors, the ancient superstition holding good in his case. When he was called to another scene the times and the manners speedily underwent a change, and no Prime Minister since has been able to sway the party as he swayed it from the day he took command. Four tried it in as many years, but all failed. The conditions, evidently, are not as they used to be. There are many who still believe that had he lived there would have been no school-bill question to vex the voters. It would have been settled years ago by the methods peculiar to his genius. As a panacea, he would have held out to the people the national policy for the fourth time, with every probability of getting them to accept it. But his personality would have been his strongest card, and it might have won the day.

In the new Parliament of Canada there are many members who enter that arena for the first time. Many of the old hands on both sides have gone down in the fight. French-Canada provides the First Minister, and backs him with the largest majority she ever gave to a party. The Independents number about half a score. Later their allegiance will go to the Government, for 't was ever thus. Mr. Laurier's actual majority can only be guessed at until the first vote in the House is taken. It is estimated that he will start with thirty-five, which is considered a good working majority, but it will increase as time goes on. With that majority he can with ease carry out his fiscal and trade policies. He will encounter little obstruction at the hands of the Senate, despite the fact that that body is composed almost entirely of his political opponents. It has not been their habit to interfere much with the measures passed by the lower House. Upon these measures keen glances will be cast from time to time by watchful eyes in both England and the United States.

GEORGE STEWART.



## INDEX.

---

- Administration, Mr. Cleveland's second, 540; Blunders of a Democratic administration: the remedy, 713
- African constitutions, Two South, 145; Manners and customs of the Boers, 118
- Alliance with England the basis of a rational foreign policy, An, 89
- Altruism in economics, 690
- America, Family life in, 1; Spirit of racing in, 109
- American university, The next, 671
- Angell, President: his quarter-centennial, 620
- Anglo-American war, Cost of an, 74
- Arbitration treaty with England, Reasons for an immediate, 534
- Archæology, Modern: recent excavations in Greece—I, 361; II, 735
- Armenia's impending doom: our duty, 449
- Army as a career, The, 34
- ATKINSON, EDWARD. Cost of an Anglo-American war, 74
- Baron de Hirsch, 558
- Belligerency, The question of Cuban, 288
- BEMIS, E. W. Some municipal problems, 53
- BENTZON, TH. Family life in America, 1
- Best thing college does for a man, 44
- Bicycle, Social and economic influence of the, 680
- BISHOP, JOSEPH B. Social and economic influence of the bicycle, 680
- BJÖRNSSON, BJÖRNSTJERNE. Modern Norwegian literature—I, 318; II, 398
- BLACKMAR, F. W. The promises of democracy: have they been fulfilled? 425
- BLANC, MME. ("TH. BENTZON"). Family life in America, 1
- Blunders of a Democratic administration: the remedy, 713
- Boers, Manners and customs of the, 118
- BRYCE, JAMES. Two South African constitutions, 145
- Canadian elections, Significance of the, 753
- Canal, The Nicaragua, an impracticable scheme, 21
- Cardinal Manning, Anglican and Roman, 577
- Career, The army as a, 34
- CARY, EDWARD. The matrimonial market, 747
- CARROLL, H. K. Is the power of Christianity waning?—No! 376
- Cathode ray, The,—its character and effects, 165
- Charity organization societies, The true aim of, 494
- Christianity, Is its power waning?—No! 376
- City lots, The cultivation of vacant, 313
- Cleveland, Mr.: his second administration, 540
- College sixty years ago, A French, 659
- College, The best thing it does for a man, 44
- Constitutions, Two South African, 145
- Conventions, A salutary mandate to the national, 271
- Cost of an Anglo-American war, 74
- Cuban question, The: Our duty to Cuba, 278; The question of Cuban belligerency, 288
- CULLOM, S. M. Blunders of a Democratic administration: the remedy, 713
- Cultivation of vacant city lots, The 313
- DAVIDSON, THOMAS. The democratization of England, 460
- Deficiency of revenue the cause of our financial ills, 129
- Democracy, The promises of: have they been fulfilled? 425; Blunders of a Democratic administration: the remedy, 713
- Democratization of England, The, 460
- D'OOGHE, MARTIN L. President Angell's quarter-centennial, 620
- Economics, Altruism in, 690
- Education of women in Turkey, 440
- Ego, et rex meus: a study of royalty, 471



- Election of senators by popular vote, 385
- Elections, Significance of the Canadian, 753
- ELIOT, CHARLES W. Reasons for an immediate arbitration treaty with England, 534
- England, An alliance with, the basis of a rational foreign policy, 89; The present outlook of socialism in, 193; The democratization of, 460; Reasons for an immediate arbitration treaty with, 534
- Epidemic, The free-coinage, 705
- European situation, The, 100
- Fallacy of territorial extension, The, 414
- Family life in America, 1
- Financial bronco, The, 651
- Financial ills, Deficiency of revenue the cause of our, 129
- Foibles of the new woman, 186
- Foreign policy, An alliance with England the basis of a rational, 89; Armenia's impending doom: our duty, 449; Reasons for an immediate arbitration treaty with England, 534
- FOURNIER, AUGUST. Francis Joseph and his realm, 201
- Francis Joseph and his realm, 201
- Free-coinage epidemic, The, 705
- French college sixty years ago, A, 659
- Future life, Glimmerings of a, 247
- GEFFCKEN, F. H. The European situation, 100
- GENNADIUS, J. Modern archæology: recent excavations in Greece—I, 361; II, 735
- GLEED, CHAS. S. Mr. Godkin on the West; a protest, 641
- Glimmerings of a future life, 247
- GODKIN, E. L. The political situation, 257; Mr. Godkin on the West: a protest, 641
- GORE, J. H. Holland's care for its poor, 228
- GRAFFENRIED, CLARE DE. Need of better homes for wage-earners, 301
- Greece, Modern archæology: recent excavations in,—I, 361; II, 735
- GREEN, GEORGE WALTON. Mr. Cleveland's second administration, 540
- Harriet Beecher Stowe, 727
- HIGGINSON, THOMAS WENTWORTH. A Keats manuscript, 420
- Hirsch, Baron de, 558
- HODGSON, RICHARD. Glimmerings of a future life, 247
- Holland's care for its poor, 228
- Homes for wage-earners, Need of better, 301
- HOWARD, O. O. The army as a career, 34
- Isolation of music, The, 501
- Is the power of Christianity waning?—No! 376
- Is there another life? 607
- Jefferson and his party to-day, 513
- Keats manuscript, A, 420
- LEROY-BEAULIEU, PAUL. The presidential outlook as Europeans view it, 525
- Life in America, Family, 1
- Life, Glimmerings of a future, 247; Is there another? 607
- Literature, Modern Norwegian—I, 318; II, 398; A Keats manuscript, 420; Harriet Beecher Stowe, 727
- LODGE, H. C. Our duty to Cuba, 278
- LOWELL, JOSEPHINE SHAW. The true aim of charity organization societies, 494
- MACDONALD, WILLIAM. The next American university, 671
- MALLOCK, W. H. Altruism in economics, 690
- MANGASARIAN, M. M. Armenia's impending doom: our duty, 449
- Manitoba schools question, The, 65
- Manners and customs of the Boers, 118
- Manning, Cardinal, Anglican and Roman, 577
- Market, The matrimonial, 747
- Matrimonial market, The, 747
- MATTHEWS, BRANDER. On pleasing the taste of the public, 219
- MIKKELSEN, M. A. The cultivation of vacant city lots, 313
- MILLER, J. W. Rumors of war and resultant duties, 237
- MITCHELL, JOHN H. Election of senators by popular vote, 385
- Modern archæology: recent excavations in Greece—I, 361; II, 735
- Modern Norwegian literature—I, 318; II, 398
- Moltke and his generalship, 628
- MOORE, JOHN BASSETT. The question of Cuban belligerency, 288
- MORRILL, JUSTIN S. The free-coinage epidemic, 705
- MORRIS, WILLIAM. The present outlook of socialism in England, 193
- Mr. Cleveland's second administration, 540
- Mr. Godkin on the West: a protest, 641
- Municipal problems, Some, 53
- Music, The isolation of, 501
- National conventions, A salutary mandate to the, 271
- Need of better homes for wage-earners, 301
- Next American university, The, 671
- Nicaragua canal an impracticable scheme, The, 21
- NIMMO, JOSEPH, JR. The Nicaragua canal an impracticable scheme, 21



- Norwegian literature, Modern, 318, 398  
 OUIDA. *Ego, et rex meus : a study of royalty*, 471  
 Our duty to Cuba, 278  
 Our sub-arid belt, 486  
 PATRICK, MARY MILLS. *Education of women in Turkey*, 440  
 PEABODY, FRANCIS G. *Substitutes for the saloon*, 595  
 Pestalozzi and Herbart, 346  
 Pleasing the taste of the public, On, 219  
 Political situation, The, 257 ; Armenia's impending doom : our duty, 449 ; A salutary mandate to the national conventions, 271 ; Our duty to Cuba, 278 ; The presidential outlook as Europeans view it, 525 ; The question of Cuban belligerency, 288  
 Poor, Holland's care for its, 228  
 PORTER, HORACE. *What the Republican party stands for*, 722  
 Poverty and pauperism : Need of better homes for wage-earners, 301 ; The cultivation of vacant city lots, 313 ; The true aim of charity organization societies, 494  
 PRATT, WALDO S. *The isolation of music*, 501  
 Present outlook of socialism in England, The, 193  
 President Angell's quarter-centennial, 620  
 Presidential outlook as Europeans view it, The, 525  
 Promises of democracy : have they been fulfilled ? 425  
 Public, On pleasing the taste of the, 219  
 Question of Cuban belligerency, The, 288  
 Racing, Spirit of, in America, 109  
 Ray, The cathode,—its character and effects, 165  
 Reasons for an immediate arbitration treaty with England, 534  
 REIN, WILHELM. *Pestalozzi and Herbart*, 346.  
 Republican party, what it stands for, 722  
 Revenue, Deficiency of, the cause of our financial ills, 129  
 Roosevelt, Theodore, as a historian, 566  
 Royalty, A study of, 471  
 Rumors of war and resultant duties, 227  
 RUSSELL, WILLIAM E. *Jefferson and his party to-day*, 513  
 SALOMON, WM. *A salutary mandate to the national conventions*, 271  
 Saloon, substitutes for the, 595  
 Salutary mandate to the national conventions, A, 271  
 Schools question, The Manitoba, 65  
 SCHURMAN, J. G. *Teaching,—a trade or a profession ?* 171  
 Senators, Election of, by popular vote, 385  
 SHERMAN, JOHN. *Deficiency of revenue the cause of our financial ills*, 129  
 SHERWOOD, SIDNEY. *An alliance with England the basis of a rational foreign policy*, 89  
 Significance of the Canadian elections, 753  
 SIMON, JULES. *A French college sixty years ago*, 659  
 Situation, The European, 100 ; The political, 257  
 SMALLEY, E. V. *Our sub-arid belt*, 486  
 SMITH, GOLDWIN. *The Manitoba schools question*, 65 ; *Is there another life ?* 607  
 Social and economic influence of the bicycle, 680  
 Socialism in England, The present outlook of, 193  
 Societies, The true aim of charity organization, 494  
 Some municipal problems, 53  
 South African constitutions, Two, 145  
 Southern race problem, The unaided solution of the, 330  
 SPEED, JNO. GILMER. *Spirit of racing in America*, 109  
 Spirit of racing in America, 109  
 STEWART, GEORGE. *Significance of the Canadian elections*, 753  
 Stowe, Harriet Beecher, 727  
 STRAUS, OSCAR S. *Baron de Hirsch*, 558  
 Sub-arid belt, Our, 486  
 Substitutes for the saloon, 595  
 SUMNER, W. G. *The fallacy of territorial extension*, 414  
 Teaching,—a trade or a profession ? 171  
 Territorial extension, The fallacy of, 414  
 Theodore Roosevelt as a historian, 566  
 THWING, CHARLES F. *The best thing college does for a man*, 44  
 TIFFANY, C. C. *Cardinal Manning, Anglican and Roman*, 577  
 Transvaal : Manners and customs of the Boers, 118 ; Two South African constitutions, 145  
 Treaty with England, Reasons for an immediate arbitration, 534  
 TRENT, W. P. *Theodore Roosevelt as a historian*, 566  
 True aim of charity organization societies, The, 494  
 Turkey, Education of women in, 440  
 Two South African constitutions, 145  
 Unaided solution of the Southern race problem, The, 330



- University, The next American, 671  
VAN DE GRAAFF, A. S. The unaided solution of the southern race problem, 330  
VAN DYKE, T. S. The financial bronco, 651  
VERDY DU VERNONIS, J. VON. Moltke and his generalship, 628  
Wage-earners, Need of better homes for, 301  
War, Cost of an Anglo-American, 74; Rumors of, and resultant duties, 237  
WARD, JULIUS H. Harriet Beecher Stowe, 727  
West : Mr. Godkin on the, a protest, 641  
What the Republican party stands for, 722  
WHITE, T. LORRAINE. Manners and customs of the Boers, 118  
WINSTON, ELLA W. Foibles of the new woman, 186  
Woman, new, Foibles of the, 186  
WRIGHT, A. W. The cathode ray,—its character and effects, 165



















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